THE BIBLE
FOR HOME READING

MONTEFIORE

THE BIBLE
FOR HOME READING

EDITED

WITH COMMENTS AND REFLECTIONS FOR THE USE OF JEWISH PARENTS AND CHILDREN

BY

C. G. MONTEFIORE

SECOND PART

CONTAINING SELECTIONS FROM
THE WISDOM LITERATURE, THE PROPHETS, AND THE PSALTER
TOGETHER WITH EXTRACTS FROM THE APOCRYPHA

220.5
M66b
pt.2

COPY 1

London
MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
1899

[*All rights reserved*]

RABBI MORDECAI I. SOLOFF

Oxford
HORACE HART, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

Love is strong as death;
The passion thereof is hard as Sheol:
Its heat is the heat of fire,
A very flame of the Lord!

Many waters cannot quench love,
Neither can the floods drown it:
If a man would give all the substance of his house for love,
He would utterly be despised.

PREFACE

The main principles which underlie the first part of the present work have also governed the compilation of its successor. But I have not attempted to make this second part suitable for very youthful readers. The books of the Bible here included demand comments and reflections hardly fitted for boys and girls under sixteen. For those above that age and also for their parents, and for other 'grown-up' readers generally, I hope that my presentment of the Biblical writings may prove helpful and suggestive. As in Part I, so here too I have assumed that neither religion nor Judaism need suffer from a free and frank criticism of the Biblical books as regards their dates, composition or contents. If the assumption works, its validity is proved.

The arrangement of the volume is explained in the Introductory Chapter, which contains a very brief synopsis of the history of the Jews from Nehemiah to the Maccabees. Four of the five sections which follow may be roughly said to give classified selections from the sacred literature either written or 'edited' within that period.

In accordance with many of the best modern scholars I hold that the so-called *Wisdom Literature* is in its present form and in its largest bulk the product of the post-exilic or even of the post-Nehemian age. As regards one of its

three products in the Bible, and as regards both its two products in the Apocrypha, this would be admitted on all hands. For myself I believe it to be also true for Job and for at least the most salient elements of Proverbs. I therefore start my post-exilic selections with the Wisdom Literature, in which I include portions of *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiasticus* and the *Wisdom of Solomon*, and *Job* and *Ecclesiastes* in their entirety.

The second section shows the post-exilic writers in their capacity as editors of and adders to the Prophetical Literature. Here, first of all, I give *Amos* and *Hosea* (from both of whom only very brief quotations had been made in Part I) without any serious omissions, while by means of brackets and the shortest possible comments I attempt to distinguish between what we may justifiably suppose to have been the prophets' own words, and what is possibly or probably the work of the post-exilic editors. In the next two chapters I follow the same course and make the same attempt for *Isaiah i–xii* and *xxviii–xxxiii*, only small fragments of which had been quoted in Part I. The fifth chapter of this section contains *Isaiah xxiv-xxvii*, which, like *Joel* (chapter vi), is wholly the product of the post-exilic age. The selections from the prophets given in this section, together with the selections from them in Part I, include, I think, almost all that is best and greatest in this wonderful branch of the sacred literature of Judaism.

The third section contains the Books of *Esther* and *Jonah*, the first of which may date from the Maccabean or even the post-Maccabean era. In the fourth section will be found my selections from the *Psalter*, which amount to 121 Psalms (mostly in their entirety) out of the total of 150. In assuming that the vast majority of the Psalms are the product of the post-exilic period, I am occupying a critical position

which is now no longer unfamiliar or paradoxical. I have arranged my 121 Psalms in groups, classified according to a somewhat rough and ready division into subjects. This device may, I trust, prove of some interest even for those to whom the Psalter is the most familiar book in all religious literature.

In the last section of the volume, by means of selections from the *first and second Books of the Maccabees*, I give the story of the Maccabean movement to the death of Simon (135 B. C.). As the second chapter of this section will be found the entire Book of *Daniel*, which is now acknowledged on all hands to be a work of the Maccabean era, and the date of which, within a four years' limit from *terminus a quo* to *terminus ad quem*, can be fixed with satisfactory precision.

The basis of the English translation of the Biblical passages is the Authorized Version, but changes and corrections are naturally more frequent in this volume (which contains such writings as Hosea and Job) than in its predecessor. It is unnecessary to mention the many scholars to whom I am under deep obligation for these corrections and changes. The result of them (including, as they do, several excellent emendations of a frequently corrupt text) will, I think, make many difficult portions of the Bible more intelligible and more interesting to the averagely attentive reader. Where, however, the translation (from whatever cause) is very doubtful, or where the meaning remains obscure, I have put the reader on his guard by an added mark of interrogation in brackets. And in the Book of Job, where many lines are in my opinion untranslatable (without perhaps a mass of highly conjectural emendations which alter too sweepingly the original text), I have not attempted the impossible, and have indicated the extent of omission by lines of dots.

By the kind courtesy of the Delegates of the Oxford and the Syndics of the Cambridge University Presses (to whom I beg to tender my most grateful thanks), the selections from the Apocrypha are given according to the text of the Revised Version.

To the same four friends who gave me excellent criticism and suggestions in the former volume I am again in the present part indebted for similar aid. Once more I would express to them most cordial and unstinted thanks.

April, 1899.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER

JEWISH HISTORY AND LITERATURE, 430–130 B.C.

		PAGE
§ 1.	Three centuries and three periods	1
2.	The Persian period	3
3.	A poem of the Persian period	4
4.	The conquests of Alexander the Great	7
5.	Mosollam and the diviner	9
6.	The foundation of Alexandria	9
7.	Alexander in the Bible	10
8.	The successors of Alexander	10
9.	The Ptolemies and the Jews	11
10.	The Temple and the Psalter	12
11.	The Synagogue, the Wise Men and the Wisdom Literature	14
12.	The Books of Chronicles	15
13.	Students of prophecy	16
14.	The fifteen Prophetical Books	16
15.	Religious tales	17
16.	The Song of Songs	18
17.	The influence of Greece	18
18.	Plan of the volume	20

SECTION I

THE WISDOM LITERATURE

CHAPTER I

THE BOOK OF PROVERBS

		PAGE
§ 1.	Characteristics of the Book of Proverbs	21
2.	Wisdom and folly in speech and silence	24
3.	Against slander	26
4.	Anger and self-control	26
5.	Pride and humility	27
6.	Industry and laziness	27
7.	On cheerfulness	29
8.	Rich and poor	29
9.	Justice and righteousness	31
10.	On forgiveness	33
11.	Wisdom and folly	34
12.	Discipline and reproof	36
13.	Reverence and the Fear of the Lord	37
14.	God and man	38
15.	The king	40
16.	Miscellaneous proverbs	41
17.	The praise of the virtuous woman	46
18.	The praise of Wisdom	48

CHAPTER II

THE BOOK OF ECCLESIASTICUS

§ 1.	Joshua ben Sira	62
2.	The Apocrypha	63
3.	Characteristics of Ben Sira	64
4.	Ben Sira's essays	66
5.	The Preface of the Greek Translator	67
6.	The Fear of the Lord	68

PAGE

§ 7. The methods, nature and opportunities of Wisdom . 73
8. Wisdom and the Law 79
9. Sin and atonement 81
10. The divine justice 83
11. Human freedom 84
12. On pride 85
13. On shame 87
14. The discipline of the tongue 89
15. The virtues of benevolence and forgiveness . . . 91
16. Miscellaneous maxims 92
17. Worldly wisdom 96
18. Prosperity and happiness 99
19. The sadness of life and the advent of death . . . 103
20. The Works of God and his Praise 105
21. Ben Sira's prayer 112

CHAPTER III

THE BOOK OF JOB

§ 1. Characteristics of the Book 115
2. The traditional story of Job 116
3. The problem of Job 118
4. The relation of goodness and wickedness to outward prosperity and adversity 118
5. The prologue and its plot 121
6. The speeches of the drama and the character of Job . 122
7. The speech of God and the epilogue 124
8. Solutions of the problem 125
9. The character of the present translation . . . 126
10. The tying of the knot 127
11. Job's opening soliloquy 130
12. The first speech of Eliphaz 131
13. Job's first reply 134
14. The first speech of Bildad 138
15. The second reply of Job 139
16. The first speech of Zophar 143

PAGE

§ 17. Job's third reply 144
18. The second speech of Eliphaz 149
19. Job's fourth reply 151
20. The second speech of Bildad 153
21. Job's fifth reply 155
22. Zophar's second speech 157
23. The sixth reply of Job 159
24. The third speech of Eliphaz 161
25. Job's seventh reply 164
26. Bildad's third speech 166
27. Job's eighth reply 168
28. An editorial interpolation, or Zophar's third speech . 168
29. The difference between human and divine wisdom . 170
30. Job's final soliloquy 172
31. The first speech of Elihu 178
32. The second speech of Elihu 182
33. The third speech of Elihu 186
34. The Theophany: God's speech 190
35. Hippopotamus and crocodile 196
36. The last words 198
37. Human solidarity 200
38. The great problem and its palliatives 200
39. The 'alleviations' of the Platonic philosophy . . 201
40. Voluntary suffering and sacrifice 205
41. The progress of the race and of the individual . . 206

CHAPTER IV

KOHELETH OR ECCLESIASTES

§ 1. Characteristics of Koheleth 208
2. Vanitas vanitatum, omnia vanitas 210
3. A defence of the transitory 213
4. Two beliefs unharmonized and inconsistent with each other 214
5. Opening keynotes 215
6. The doubtful profit of human labour 217

PAGE

§ 7. Travail and disappointment 219
8. Prudential maxims 222
9. Sorrow and self-restraint 224
10. The golden mean 226
11. Life's ironies 227
12. One event to all and the moral thereof . . . 228
13. Wisdom and folly 229
14. Maxims and observations about kings and rulers . . 230
15. Final counsels of doubtful meaning 231
16. An epilogue of puzzles 234
17. Some reflections on Koheleth 235

CHAPTER V

THE WISDOM OF SOLOMON

§ 1. The last book of the Wisdom Literature . . . 240
2. The fusion of Greek and Hebrew thought . . . 240
3. Idolatry and sin 241
4. An imperfect universalism 242
5. The origin and progress of idolatry 243
6. Righteousness and life eternal 247
7. Life on earth and life hereafter 251
8. The panegyric of Wisdom 253
9. A prayer for wisdom 257

SECTION II

PROPHETICAL LITERATURE

CHAPTER I

THE BOOK OF AMOS

§ 1. A leap backward through the ages 262
2. Amos and his time 263
3. The roll call of the nations 266
4. The ruin to come 269

PAGE

§ 5. Warnings unheeded 271
6. The fall of Israel and its causes 272
7. The visions of the locust, the fire and the plumb-line . 277
8. Amos and Amaziah 278
9. The vision of summer fruit 279
10. A fresh denunciation 279
11. The vision of the smitten sanctuary 280
12. The future restoration 281

CHAPTER II

THE BOOK OF HOSEA

§ 1. Amos and Hosea 284
2. The age of Hosea 285
3. The true parable of the faithless wife 286
4. The moral and religious condition of Israel . . . 291
5. Israel the oppressor 294
6. Ephemeral repentance 295
7. Love, not sacrifice 296
8. Israel the ungrateful 297
9. Israel among the nations 298
10. Ill-timed rejoicing 299
11. Israel as the wild grape 300
12. Israel as the cultivated vine 300
13. Sow righteousness: reap lovingkindness . . . 301
14. The wasted training of Israel 301
15. Israel the supplanter and trafficker 303
16. The doom upon unrepentant Israel 304
17. Last words of promise 305

CHAPTER III

ISAIAH I–XII

§ 1. A pledge redeemed 308
2. The original prophecies of Isaiah and the later additions 308
3. Tests by which to distinguish the work of Isaiah from later additions 310

PAGE

§ 4. Contents of the present chapter and its arrangement . 311
5. Character and object of the post-exilic additions . . 311
6. 'The great arraignment' 312
7. A vision of peace 315
8. Guilt and punishment 316
9. Misgovernment and its consequences 318
10. The wicked daughters of Jerusalem 319
11. The final redemption 320
12. The parable of the vineyard 320
13. A sixfold woe 321
14. The prophet's call 323
15. Isaiah and Ahaz 324
16. The coming invasion of Judah 326
17. The great deliverance 330
18. A prophecy of doom upon the kingdom of Israel . . 331
19. Prophecies against Assyria 333
20. The reign of peace 336

CHAPTER IV

ISAIAH XXVIII–XXXIII (WITH XXII. 1–14)

§ 1. The fall of Samaria 339
2. The mocked-at prophet and his retort 340
3. The covenant with death and its destruction . . 341
4. The parable of the ploughman and the thresher . . 342
5. Jerusalem the altar-hearth 342
6. Spiritual blindness 343
7. A rebuke of doubters and murmurers 344
8. The Egyptian alliance 345
9. The bulging wall and the final crash 346
10. The good time to come 347
11. The destruction of Assyria 348
12. Threat and promise strangely blended 349
13. Impenitent Jerusalem 351

PAGE

§ 14. The ideal ruler 355
15. A fertile soil and a righteous people 356
16. Present trouble and future glory 357

CHAPTER V

ISAIAH XXIV–XXVII

§ 1. The final judgement 362
2. A song of praise 364
3. The annihilation of death 365
4. The ruin of Moab 366
5. A prayer and a retrospect 366
6. The divine indignation 368
7. The song of a vineyard 369
8. The desolation of Jerusalem 369
9. The last ingathering 370

CHAPTER VI

THE BOOK OF JOEL

§ 1. The age and character of the Book of Joel . . . 372
2. The idea of the judgement and its value to-day . . 373
3. The invasion of the locusts 373
4. Fresh ruin foretold 375
5. Outward and inward redemption 377
6. The doom of Judah's foes 379
7. Last extracts from the prophets 381

SECTION III

RELIGIOUS TALES

CHAPTER I

THE BOOK OF ESTHER

§ 1. Esther and Jonah 385
2. The Book of Esther and its critics 386
3. Nation and religion co-extensive with each other . . 387

PAGE

§ 4. The plot of Esther 388
5. How Esther became Queen 388
6. The craft of Haman 392
7. Mordecai's appeal to Esther 394
8. Mordecai and the King 396
9. The deliverance of the Jews 398
10. The moral and religious value of Esther . . . 404
11. The festival of Purim 405
12. Purim and charity 406

CHAPTER II

THE BOOK OF JONAH

§ 1. Date and origin of the story of Jonah 408
2. Outline of the plot 408
3. The tale of Jonah 409
4. Explanation of certain difficulties 412
5. The moral of Jonah 416
6. Tyndale's version of Jonah 420

SECTION IV

THE BOOK OF PSALMS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

§ 1. The origin of the Psalter 424
2. The collections which make up the Psalter . . . 425
3. King David and the Psalter 426
4. Character and contents of the Psalter 428
5. Arrangement of the present section 431

CHAPTER II

PSALMS OF PRAYER IN SEASONS OF TROUBLE

PAGE

§ 1. Characteristics of the group of Psalms collected together in the present chapter 432
2. The first Psalm: the Two Ways 433
3. The third and fourth Psalms 434
4. The fifth Psalm: a morning hymn 435
5. The sixth Psalm 437
6. Psalms eleven, twelve, thirteen and seventeen . . 438
7. The twenty-second Psalm: 'Why hast thou forsaken me?' 442
8. The twenty-fifth Psalm 444
9. Psalms twenty-six and twenty-seven (*b*) . . . 446
10. The thirty-first Psalm: 'In te, Domine, speravi' . . 448
11. The thirty-eighth Psalm: 'Domine, ne in furore' . 450
12. The thirty-ninth Psalm 451
13. The forty-first Psalm 453
14. Psalms forty-two and forty-three: The soul which longs for God 454
15. The fifty-fifth Psalm: 'Exaudi, Deus' 456
16. Psalms fifty-six and fifty-seven 457
17. The sixty-second Psalm 459
18. The sixty-ninth Psalm 460
19. Psalm seventy-one 463
20. The seventy-seventh Psalm: 'Voce mea ad Dominum' 465
21. The eighty-fifth Psalm 466
22. The eighty-sixth Psalm: 'Inclina, Domine' . . . 467
23. The eighty-eighth Psalm 469
24. The ninetieth Psalm: 'Domine, refugium' . . . 470
25. The ninety-fourth Psalm 473
26. The one hundred and second Psalm 475
27. The one hundred and thirty-seventh Psalm . . . 477
28. Psalms one hundred and forty-one and one hundred and forty-two 478

PAGE

§ 29. The one hundred and forty-third Psalm . . . 480
30. The eightieth Psalm 482
31. The seventy-ninth Psalm: 'Deus, venerunt gentes' . 483
32. Psalm seventy-four: 'Ut quid, Deus, repulisti' . . 484
33. The forty-fourth Psalm: 'Deus, auribus nostris audivimus' 486

CHAPTER III

THE FIFTY-FIRST PSALM

§ 1. A whole chapter for a single Psalm 489
2. Who is the speaker? 490
3. Translation of the Psalm 492
4. Explanation of various passages 493
5. The last two verses of the Psalm 499

CHAPTER IV

PSALMS OF HAPPY COMMUNION WITH GOD

§ 1. The sixteenth Psalm: 'Conserva me, Domine' . . 502
2. The twenty-third Psalm: 'The Lord is my shepherd' . 504
3. Older translations of the twenty-third Psalm . . 506
4. The twenty-third Psalm in Scotland 508
5. Psalm twenty-seven (*a*): 'Dominus illuminatio mea' . 508
6. The sixty-third Psalm 509
7. The eighty-fourth Psalm: 'Quam dilecta' . . . 510
8. Once more the 'I' of the Psalter 512

CHAPTER V

PSALMS OF THANKSGIVING.

§ 1. The Present and the Future 515
2. The thirtieth Psalm: 'Exaltabo te, Domine' . . 516
3. The fortieth Psalm 517

PAGE

§ 4. Psalms forty-six and forty-eight 519
5. The eighty-seventh Psalm: Zion, the Spiritual Mother . 521
6. Psalms sixty-six and sixty-seven 523
7. The Accession Psalms: forty-seven and ninety-three . 525
8. The ninety-fifth Psalm: 'Venite, exultemus' . . 527
9. Psalms ninety-six and ninety-seven 529
10. Psalms ninety-eight and ninety-nine 531
11. The hundredth Psalm: 'Jubilate Deo' . . . 533
12. The eighty-first Psalm: 'Exultate Deo' . . . 534
13. The Hallel: Psalms one hundred and thirteen and one hundred and fourteen 535
14. Psalm one hundred and fifteen: 'Non nobis, Domine' 537
15. Psalm one hundred and sixteen 538
16. The one hundred and seventeenth Psalm . . . 540
17. The last of the Hallels: Psalm one hundred and eighteen 540
18. The one hundred and thirty-eighth Psalm . . . 543

CHAPTER VI

PSALMS OF PILGRIMAGE

§ 1. The Songs of Ascents 545
2. The one hundred and twentieth Psalm . . . 546
3. Psalm one hundred and twenty-one: 'Levavi oculos meos in montes' 547
4. Psalm one hundred and twenty-two 548
5. Psalm one hundred and twenty-three: 'Ad te levavi oculos meos' 549
6. Psalm one hundred and twenty-four: 'Nisi quia Dominus' 550
7. The one hundred and twenty-fifth Psalm . . . 551
8. Psalm one hundred and twenty-six 552
9. Psalm one hundred and twenty-seven: 'Nisi Dominus aedificaverit domum' 553
10. Psalm one hundred and twenty-eight 554

PAGE

§ 11. Psalm one hundred and twenty-nine: 'Saepe expugnaverunt' 555
12. The one hundred and thirtieth Psalm: 'De profundis clamavi' 556
13. The one hundred and thirty-first Psalm . . . 557
14. Psalms one hundred and thirty-three and one hundred and thirty-four 558

CHAPTER VII

THE ROYAL PSALMS

§ 1. The eighteenth Psalm: 'Diligam te, Domine' . . 560
2. The eighty-ninth Psalm 565
3. Psalms twenty and twenty-one 568
4. The sixty-first Psalm 570
5. The seventy-second Psalm 571
6. The one hundred and first Psalm: 'Misericordiam et judicium' 574
7. The second Psalm: 'Quare fremuerunt gentes?' . 574
8. The one hundred and tenth Psalm 576
9. The forty-fifth Psalm 578

CHAPTER VIII

DIDACTIC PSALMS

§ 1. The fifteenth Psalm: 'Domine, quis habitabit?' . . 582
2. The twenty-fourth Psalm: 'Domini est terra' . . 583
3. The thirty-second Psalm 584
4. The thirty-fourth Psalm: 'Benedicam Domino' . . 587
5. The thirty-seventh Psalm: 'Noli aemulari' . . 588
6. The forty-ninth Psalm: 'Audite haec, omnes gentes' . 592
7. The seventy-third Psalm 595
8. The fiftieth Psalm 598
9. The ninety-first Psalm 601

PAGE

§ 10. The one hundred and seventh Psalm: 'Confitemini Domino' 602
11. Psalms one hundred and eleven and one hundred and twelve 605

CHAPTER IX

THE PRAISE OF THE LAW

§ 1. The one hundred and nineteenth Psalm: 'Beati immaculati' 608
2. The nineteenth Psalm: 'Coeli enarrant' . . . 622

CHAPTER X

PSALMS OF PRAISE

§ 1. The twenty-ninth Psalm: 'Afferte Domino' . . 627
2. The eighth Psalm: 'Domine, Dominus noster' . . 628
3. The one hundred and third Psalm 630
4. The one hundred and fourth Psalm 632
5. The sixty-fifth Psalm: 'Te decet hymnus' . . . 636
6. The thirty-sixth Psalm 638
7. The ninety-second Psalm: 'Bonum est confiteri' . . 639
8. The one hundred and thirty-ninth Psalm . . . 641
9. Psalm one hundred and forty-five 644
10. The thirty-third Psalm: 'Exultate, justi' . . . 646
11. The one hundred and forty-sixth Psalm: 'Lauda, anima mea' 648
12. The one hundred and forty-seventh Psalm: 'Laudate Dominum' 650
13. The one hundred and forty-eighth Psalm: 'Laudate Dominum de caelis, laudate eum in excelsis' . 651
14. The one hundred and forty-ninth Psalm: 'Cantate Domino' 652
15. The final Hallelujah: Psalm one hundred and fifty . 653

SECTION V

THE MACCABEAN UPRISING

CHAPTER I

FROM THE BEGINNINGS OF THE MOVEMENT TO THE DEATH OF MATTATHIAS

PAGE

§ 1. A return to history 655
2. The first successors of Alexander the Great . . 656
3. The kingdom of Seleucus 657
4. Wars between Ptolemy II and Antiochus II . . 657
5. Further campaigns between the Egyptian and Syrian kings 657
6. Palestine lost to the Ptolemies 658
7. The appearance of Rome in Asia 658
8. The character of Antiochus Epiphanes . . . 660
9. Why Antiochus Epiphanes became a persecutor of the Jews 661
10. Menelaus as high priest 663
11. Antiochus Epiphanes' first invasion of Egypt . . 663
12. Antiochus at Jerusalem 664
13. The circle of Popilius Laenas 666
14. The religious persecution in Judæa 667
15. The story of Eleazar the scribe 670
16. The seven brothers and their mother 671
17. Mattathias of Modin 675
18. The death of Mattathias 678

CHAPTER II

THE BOOK OF DANIEL

§ 1. General characteristics of the book 681
2. The Great Deliverance 681
3. Traditions about Daniel 682

PAGE

§ 4. Visions and Apocalypse 683
5. Reasons for the Maccabean date of Daniel . . . 684
6. Why is Daniel partly written in Hebrew and partly in Aramaic? 685
7. The religious importance of the Book 685
8. The opening story 686
9. The dream of Nebuchadnezzar and its interpretation . 687
10. The golden image and the fiery furnace . . . 692
11. How Nebuchadnezzar was made to dwell with the beasts of the field 695
12. Belshazzar's feast 698
13. Daniel in the lions' den 702
14. The vision of the four great beasts 705
15. The vision of the ram, the goat and the horns . . 708
16. Daniel's prayer and the statement of the angel Gabriel 711
17. The introduction to the final vision 716
18. The angel's apocalypse: from Alexander to Antiochus Epiphanes 718
19. The angel's apocalypse: the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes 721
20. The angel's apocalypse: the death of Antiochus Epiphanes 725
21. The angel's apocalypse: the Resurrection and the Messianic Age 726
22. The precise date of the Book of Daniel . . . 729

CHAPTER III

THE PROWESS OF JUDAS AND THE DEDICATION OF THE TEMPLE

§ 1. The battle of Bethhoron 731
2. The battle of Emmaus 733
3. The battle of Beth-zur 737
4. The purification of the Temple 738

CHAPTER IV

FROM THE DEDICATION OF THE TEMPLE TO THE DEATH OF JUDAS

PAGE

§ 1. The death of Antiochus 743
2. The encounter at Bethzacharias 745
3. Alcimus and the Hasidæans 746
4. The battle of Adasa, 161 B.C. 747
5. The Romans and their government 749
6. Judas sends an embassy to Rome 751
7. The last battle 752
8. The virtue of courage 754

CHAPTER V

JONATHAN AND SIMON

§ 1. The evil time after the death of Judas . . . 756
2. Bacchides leaves Palestine 757
3. Jonathan becomes high priest 757
4. The fall of Jonathan 758
5. Simon at Jerusalem 760
6. The death and burial of Jonathan 761
7. The growing power of Simon 762
8. Simon occupies the citadel of Jerusalem . . . 763
9. The defeat of Cendebæus 764
10. The death of Simon 766
11. A panegyric upon Simon 766

CONCLUSION 768

INDEX I 783

INDEX II. 790

THE BIBLE
FOR HOME READING

THE

BIBLE FOR HOME READING

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER

JEWISH HISTORY AND LITERATURE, 430–130 B.C.

§ 1. *Three centuries and three periods.*—The history of the Jews, so far as it is directly told us in the Bible, comes to an end with the second visit of Nehemiah to Jerusalem. But there are many passages in the Bible, there are even entire books, which were written after that visit. If the date of Nehemiah's second visit may roughly be fixed at 430 B.C. (that is, about 156 years after the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar, and 108 years after the capture of Babylon by Cyrus), then we may also assert that the Hebrew Bible, as we have it now, was not completed for three hundred years after Nehemiah. In other words, considerable portions of it were written at different, and often unknown, intervals between the two limiting years 430 and 130 B.C.

It is therefore clearly desirable that we should know something about the history of the Jews during these three hundred years. For though none of those Biblical books and passages of books written between 430 and 130 deal directly with that history, they often cannot be properly understood without allusion to the events of the time, just as they often themselves contain references, either veiled or distinct, to the circumstances of their writers' age. Many of these references are obscure and disputed, and this is one reason why several passages in the Bible must, as it would seem, always remain dark and doubtful in their meaning. Nevertheless, it sometimes happens that such a passage becomes more intelligible if we adopt provisionally or hypothetically *some* historical explanation, than if we too carelessly suppose that the whole thing is a mere

fantastic lucubration of the author. Thus, for the sake of appreciating and understanding better the very words of the Bible itself, it is necessary to set forth, if we can, the framework of history within which, as it were, these words were composed.

It is therefore most unfortunate that our legitimate desire to know the history of the Jews from 430 to 130 can be so slenderly gratified. Direct Biblical history in narrative form there is, as I have just said, none. And if we seek for information, whether from Jewish or other writers, outside the Bible, for the first two hundred and fifty years of our three hundred we are very ill supplied. A glimpse, an incident, an allusion, an inference here and there, are all that we can ascertain.

One reason for this silence is obvious enough. The Jews had no separate political life of their own. They no longer constituted an independent state as in the old days before the Exile. It is only when, in the last fifty years of our three hundred, under circumstances of severe trial and persecution, the Jews rebel against their masters, and a fresh period of national and political independence begins, that great personalities once more appear upon the stage and historical records begin again to flow.

The three hundred years between 430 and 130 can be divided into three very unequal parts. The first part extends from 430 to 330. For these hundred years the Jews remained under the dominion of Persia. Judæa was a small province of the great Persian Empire. The second part extends from 330 to 175. In these 155 years the Jews are first subjects of the empire of Alexander the Great; secondly, subjects of the kingdoms which grew out of that empire. Lastly, in the third period of forty-five years, they revolt against their masters, and attain to a temporary and precarious independence of their own. It should, however, be noted that this third period does not really end at the year 130. That is only an artificial limit, chosen because it rounds off the three hundred years after Nehemiah, and because in all probability no words of the Hebrew Bible were written after that date. The precise year indeed at which the history of the Jews contained in this volume will close will not be 130, but five years earlier, namely, 135. That is the year in which a famous man, Simon the Maccabee, met his death, and the point at which a certain chronicle, called The First Book of the Maccabees, comes to an end. Thus of the three parts into which I have divided the three hundred years between 430 and 130, the first two parts are *natural* divisions, clearly formed and marked out by important historical events, while the third part is an *artificial* division, made to correspond roughly with the probable conclusion of that collection of many writings which is

called the Hebrew Bible, or which (for reasons that I may elsewhere perhaps explain) is generally known as the Old Testament. As to the natural or historical limit of that period of Jewish history which began in 175 B.C., and as to the events which happened in it after 135, information must be sought in other books than mine.

§ 2. *The Persian period.*—The visits of Nehemiah to Jerusalem took place in the reign of Artaxerxes I. He was king of Persia from 464 to 424 B.C. Nehemiah's second visit was about contemporaneous with the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War (432). The next Persian king, Darius II Ochus, reigned from 424 to 404 B.C. In Greece the years of his reign witnessed the Athenian expedition to Sicily and its disastrous issue (413 B.C.), while the year of his death was the year of Lysander's triumph and the surrender of Athens. But for Judæa these twenty-eight years between 432 and 404 B.C. are a blank. We at least have no event known to us to record in them. Darius II was succeeded by his son Artaxerxes II Mnemon (404–358). During these forty-six years there fall the Retreat of the Ten Thousand (401–400 B.C.), the death of Socrates (399 B.C.), and the sack of Rome by the Gauls (390 B.C.). Now too began a period of distress and suffering for Judæa and Palestine. For during the last years of Darius II, Egypt had thrown off the Persian yoke, though it was not till Artaxerxes II that repeated efforts were made to bring back this most important province into subjection. Persian wars with Egypt were always calamitous for the Jews. Some of them were doubtless compelled to serve in the Persian army, forced contributions of money and provisions would be levied on them, and detachments of Persian troops marching through their territory would prove vexatious and oppressive. In the year 361 there was, according to the Greek historian Diodorus, a widespread insurrection 'of the inhabitants of the sea-coasts of Asia against the Persian rule.' It was headed by Ariobarzanes, the satrap of Phrygia, and the confederates included 'the Syrians and Phoenicians and almost all that bordered on the sea.' It is possible that the Jews, whether willingly or under compulsion, joined in this revolt and suffered at its suppression. In the year 358 B.C. Artaxerxes Mnemon was succeeded by Artaxerxes III Ochus, a cruel but vigorous despot, who set himself, with some success, to stem the growing tide of disorder and dissolution within his motley and disorganized empire.

The opening of his reign was signalized by a fresh revolt in Syria, of which the best known and most dramatic incident is the siege and fate of Sidon. By treachery the city was betrayed into

the hands of Ochus, and 'when the Sidonians saw that the enemy had entered, they shut themselves up, with their wives and their children, in their houses, and set them on fire, and so were all consumed together. Over 40,000 persons, it is said, perished in the flames.' After more than one campaign against Egypt, Ochus succeeded in reconquering it. The Egyptians were severely treated; the walls of their most important towns were demolished; their temples were plundered; their sacred animals were killed. We are therefore the more ready to believe a stray notice of a late historian, who tells us that Ochus dealt cruelly with the Jews.

Either soon after the fall of Sidon, or during a later and final campaign against Egypt, or possibly on both occasions, the Persian army ravaged Judæa and captured Jerusalem. Many Jews were transported, so we are told, to Hyrcania, on the Caspian Sea, and to Babylonia. Moreover, from certain passages in the Book of Isaiah (and, as some would add, from certain passages in the Psalter), taken in conjunction with a certain passage in the historian Josephus, it would seem that Ochus or his general Bagoas treated the temple of Jerusalem even as they had treated the temples of Egypt. It is possible that the Judæan temple was not only plundered and desecrated, but even destroyed and burnt. The date for this terrible event, of which some scholars suppose that echoes have survived to us in mournful prayer and song, would be about 350 B.C.

§ 3. *A poem of the Persian period.*—Let us listen to a passage from the Book of Isaiah (it is not a prophecy but an invocation) which has been attributed to this period. It is rendered and arranged according to the translation and metrical analysis of the distinguished Hebrew scholar, Professor Duhm. The dots, *as used here*, signify lines or parts of lines, which, on metrical and other grounds, have, in Duhm's opinion, fallen out from the difficult and often corrupt Hebrew text.

I will mention the lovingkindnesses of the Lord,
  And his famous deeds,
According to all that he hath wrought for us,
  The Lord great in goodness,
What he hath wrought for us according to his mercies,
  And according to the multitude of his lovingkindnesses.
For he said, Surely they are my people,
  Children that will not lie;
So he became their saviour
  From all their affliction.

No angel and no messenger,—
His presence saved them;
In his love and in his pity
He redeemed them,
And he bare them and carried them
All the days of old.
But they rebelled and grieved
His holy spirit;
Therefore he was turned to be their enemy,
He fought against them.

[Israel] remembereth the days of old,
. . . . . .
Where is he that brought up out of the sea
The shepherd of his flock?
Where is he that put within their midst
His holy spirit?
Who made to go at the right hand of Moses
His glorious arm:
Who divided the waters before them,
To make himself a name:

Who made them pass through the deeps,
As the horse in the prairie,
So that they did not stumble, like the oxen
Which go down into the valley?
. . . . . .
The Spirit of the Lord
Brought them to their rest . . .,
So didst thou lead thy people,
. . . . to make thyself
A glorious name.

Look down from heaven, and behold
From thy holy habitation:
Where is thy zeal and thy strength,
The crying of thy heart?
Do not restrain thy mercy,
For thou art our father.
For Abraham is ignorant of us,
And Israel knoweth us not;

Thou, O Lord, art our father,
Our redeemer from of old thy name!

O Lord, why hast thou made us to err from thy ways,
And hardened our heart from thy fear?
Return for thy servants' sake,
The tribes of thine inheritance.
But for a short time have we possessed thy holy city;
Our adversaries have trodden down thy sanctuary.
We are become like those over whom thou hast never ruled,
Over whom thy name hath not been called.

Oh that thou wouldest rend the heavens, and come down,
That the mountains might shake at thy presence,
As fire kindleth brushwood,
Or as fire causeth water to boil,
To make thy name known to thine adversaries,
That nations might tremble before thee,
While thou didst terrible things which we looked not for,
And of which from of old men have not known.

Ear hath not heard,
Eye hath not seen,
A god beside thee
Who saveth them that wait for him.
Thou meetest them that work righteousness,
That remember thy ways:
Behold, thou wast wroth, and we sinned,
? ? ?
And we all became like the unclean,
And all our righteousness like filthy rags;
We all faded away like the leaf,
Our iniquities, like the wind, bore us away.
And there is none that calleth on thy name,
That stirreth up himself to take hold of thee:
For thou hast hid thy face from us,
And had consumed us, because of our iniquities.

But, now, O Lord, thou art (still) our father,
. . . . . .
We are the clay, and thou art our potter;
We are all the work of thy hand.

Be not wroth over much, O Lord,
  Neither remember iniquity for ever;
Behold, see, we beseech thee,
  We are all thy people.
Thy holy cities are a wilderness,
  Jerusalem a desolation.
Our holy and our beautiful house,
  Where our fathers praised thee,
Is burned up with fire,
  And all our pleasant things are laid waste.
Despite such things, wilt thou refrain thyself, O Lord?
  Wilt thou hold thy peace and afflict us very sore?

The curious words, 'Why hast thou made us to err from thy ways, and hardened our heart from thy fear?' are partly to be explained by the old belief and illusion that suffering must necessarily indicate sin, and partly by an actual consciousness of wrongdoing, such as every community or individual must or ought to feel. Sometimes, however, the writers of this and subsequent periods maintain their innocence, or even their righteousness, by which we are to understand that, in comparison with their heathen oppressors, the Jews considered themselves on a higher plane both of religion and of morality. They were probably right in both respects, but the frequent sense of it engendered a good deal of religious pride and spiritual conceit which reacted with evil issues upon the national character and policy. Yet it also gave the Jews a certain lofty and ideal standard of conduct which has greatly mitigated the degrading influences of long continued persecutions. So strangely mixed in their results for good and evil are the partly true and partly false feelings of the human heart.

§ 4. *The conquests of Alexander the Great.*—It was not without a motive that, a few pages back, I made bare mention of some important events which happened in Greece during the Persian rule of Judæa. It is always interesting to bring the history of different races together in this way. To remember that Solon was a contemporary of Jeremiah, Peisistratus of the Second Isaiah, or Pericles of Nehemiah, is stimulating and suggestive to the historical imagination. But in the fourth century B.C. the history of Hellas becomes interconnected with the history of Palestine, and therefore the affairs of Greece are of direct importance for the historian of Judæa. That second of August, 338 B.C., which witnessed the battle of Chaeroneia, was a day of

fateful issues for Asia as well as for Greece. In the following year, while Philip of Macedon was making vast preparations for the invasion of Persia, Artaxerxes Ochus was murdered by the instigation of his general Bagoas. The youngest son of Ochus, Arses by name, was placed by Bagoas as a puppet king upon the throne. His reign was short, for in 335 he too shared his father's fate, and Bagoas then set up Darius Kodomannus, a nephew or grand-nephew of Artaxerxes II, as the new king. He was the last Achaemenid, the last descendant of Cyrus, to occupy the throne of Persia.

Meanwhile in 336 Philip had fallen a victim to the assassin's knife, and his son Alexander, a youth of twenty, destined to print so imperishable an impress upon the world's history, became ruler of Macedon.

This is not the place to chronicle his story. After the battle of Issus in the year 333 B.C., Alexander marched southwards into Syria and Phoenicia. Only Tyre and Gaza offered a vain resistance, and by the close of the following year the young hero was undisputed master of Egypt and of Palestinĕ.

Judæa shared the fate of every other Persian province. It would appear, however, that Alexander treated the Jews with considerable favour. It was part of his policy to conciliate the former subjects of Persia, and especially to respect the various religions of his huge and heterogeneous empire. The Egyptians no less than the Jews welcomed the change from Ochus to Alexander.

Professor Mahaffy believes that there was a special reason for the favour which Alexander is reported to have shown towards the Jews. The Jews outside Judæa were already no less, perhaps even more, numerous than the Jews at home. Their communities, *scattered* all over Mesopotamia and Media, constituted the so-called *diaspora* or dispersion (from the Greek verb *diaspeirein*, to scatter). Such Jews were, as Professor Mahaffy says, 'in frequent contact with Jerusalem, and made regular voyages to its temple. Finding the importance of friends, who spoke a common language, in every foreign city, they opened their eyes to the advantages of this scattered existence, and spread along coasts and islands, perhaps in the wake of the Phoenicians, so that in Alexander's day they were already a widely-known race. Hence to an invader of Asia, who had no maps, no full information as to the routes and resources for feeding his army, no organized system of interpreters, these Jews were the natural intelligence department.' (It is curious that we find them playing the same part nearly two thousand years later for Cromwell.) 'They knew all the roads, stations,

towns, fords in the interior, and could communicate through the Jewish residents of the *diaspora* with all the foreign nations of the far provinces.' Josephus says that many took military service under Alexander, 'on condition that they should continue in the laws of their forefathers.'

§ 5. *Mosollam and the diviner.*—The Jewish historian Josephus makes several quotations from a book which he says that Hecataeus of Abdera, a Greek historian and younger contemporary of Alexander, wrote about the Jews. It is, however, probable that his alleged book of Hecataeus was written by an Alexandrian Jew on the basis of certain authentic passages from the real Hecataeus. Two of Josephus' quotations are worth transcribing here, and it is not unlikely that one or both of them may be authentic and historical.

He tells us first that 'when Alexander was in Babylon, he determined to reconsecrate the temple of Belus, which had fallen into decay.' Having commanded his soldiers to bring earth for this purpose, the Jews alone 'brought none, but even endured many blows and great punishments, until the king forgave and absolved them.' Then, secondly, he tells us that Hecataeus relates the following incident which happened to himself on some military expedition. 'As I was going to the Red Sea, we were accompanied by a man whose name was Mosollam. He was one of the Jewish cavalry who conducted us, of great courage and strength, and unanimously acknowledged to be the best archer, whether of the Jews or barbarians. Now this man, as many were passing along the road, and a certain diviner who was observing a bird for the purpose of augury bade them all to stand still, inquired why they halted. Thereupon the diviner, pointing out to him the bird, said that if it stayed where it was, they too should halt; if it flew forward, they should advance; and if it flew back, they should retreat. Mosollam made no reply, but drew his bow and shot and killed the bird. And when the augur and some others were very angry and cursed him, 'Why,' he exclaimed, 'are you so mad as to make use of this wretched bird? How can the bird, who could not foresee to save itself, tell us anything of value about our own expedition? For if it had been able to forecast the future, it would never have come to this place, fearing lest it should be shot at and killed by Mosollam the Jew.'

§ 6. *The foundation of Alexandria.*—Alexander's act of greatest influence upon Jews and Judaism was indirect. It was the foundation of the great city of Alexandria in Egypt. In that city

he himself settled, according to Josephus, many Jews, to whom the historian alleges (but in all probability erroneously) that he gave equal civil rights with the Macedonians and the Greeks. His successors continued to encourage such settlements, and some three hundred and fifty years after Alexander we are told that Alexandria contained a Jewish population of not less than a million souls! These Alexandrian Jews were destined to have a great influence upon the religous history of the world; but about all these things you will have to find out and read for yourselves in other books than mine.

§ 7. *Alexander in the Bible.*—Is there any reference to Alexander the Great in the Bible? It would not be chronologically unreasonable, for several portions of the Bible were written after his death, and certain obscure chapters, now included in the Book of Isaiah (xxiv–xxvii), may perhaps have been composed, at least in part, during the career of the great king. One famous book of the Bible, written about a century and a half after Alexander under special circumstances of great danger and distress, often alludes to him. He is the 'mighty king who rules with great dominion, and does according to his will.' He is the 'he-goat that comes from the west,' and does not touch the earth in his flying career of conquest. He is the 'fourth beast, dreadful and terrible and strong exceedingly,' with 'great iron teeth,' who 'devoured and brake in pieces and stamped the residue with its feet.' These quotations come from the Book of Daniel, of which we shall hear again in the last section of this volume.

§ 8. *The successors of Alexander.*—At Alexander's death in 323 B. C. his empire was broken up. You can read in the works of Droysen, Mahaffy, and others how even a nominal unity soon vanished away, and how the great generals of Alexander carved out of his empire important kingdoms of their own, separate from and independent of each other. These successors of Alexander are known as the *Diadochoi*, from the Greek word *Diadochos*, which means a *successor*. Judæa and Palestine were fought over and fought for by three of these new kingdoms, of which the two most important and most permanent are known from the names of their founders as the kingdoms of the Ptolemies and of the Seleucids. Ptolemy or Ptolemaios, to give him his exact Greek name, had received after the death of Alexander the satrapy or province of Egypt as his share of the spoils. Syria and Palestine had been allotted to Laomedon. But in the year 320 Ptolemy overran Syria and annexed it to his own 'kingdom.' (He

was practically an independent monarch from the first, though he did not assume the title of king till 305 B.C.) In 315 Palestine was conquered by Antigonus, at one time the most powerful of the first generation of Diadochoi, and till the battle of Ipsus in the year 301, at which the aged general met with his death, it was mainly in his possession. For the next hundred years it passed again under the control of Egypt, while from about 200 it became a part of the kingdom of the Seleucidae, known also as the kingdom of Syria. Seleucus, the founder of the kingdom, had received shortly after Alexander's death the satrapy of Babylon. But under his successors the centre and capital of the kingdom was shifted to Antioch, while the area of it comprised 'an ill-defined and ever-changing complex of nations, reaching, according to the genius of its actual ruler, from the Aegean to the Indus, or from the Cilician passes to the bounds of Mesopotamia.'

§ 9. *The Ptolemies and the Jews.*—How was the small province of Judæa treated by these contending monarchs? It is easy to understand what Josephus tells us, that 'during these long and frequent wars,' the cities throughout the lands of contention were great 'sufferers, and lost many of their inhabitants in those times of distress.' And elsewhere he says that during the wars of Antiochus III against Egypt (from about 218 to 200 B.C.), which ended in the final annexation of Syria to the Seleucid kingdom, the Jews and their neighbours suffered equally whichever party lost or won, for they resembled a ship in a storm, buffeted by the waves on one side and on the other. When Ptolemy I occupied Palestine in 320, Josephus states, on the authority of a Greek historian called Agatharcides, that he seized Jerusalem through a deceitful stratagem. 'He entered the city upon the Sabbath as if he were going to make a sacrifice, and then easily got possession of it; for the Jews made no resistance, not expecting any hostile attack, and from lack of suspicion and because of the Sabbath day they were at ease and rest and unprepared.' A number of Jews were deported by Ptolemy to Egypt on this occasion.

But these acts of harshness appear to have been exceptional. On the whole, the Egyptian rule (at least till close before its end) was a period of tolerable comfort and prosperity to the Jews both in Judæa and in Egypt. The Jewish population of Alexandria rapidly increased: even under the first Ptolemy many Jews, Josephus tells us, emigrated of their own accord into Egypt, 'attracted by the advantages of the place and the liberality of Ptolemy.' The second Ptolemy, known as Philadelphus (285–247 B.C.), continued to show great favour to the Jews. It is said

by Josephus that he set free 120,000 natives of Jerusalem who were in slavery in Egypt. A doubtful authority describes him as having liberated at his own cost all the enslaved Jews throughout Egypt, paying for them 460 talents, at the rate of 120 drachmas a head. This would give us 18,400 Jews as the total number. Professor Mahaffy and Professor Cheyne both think that there may be 'some basis' for these stories, and it seems certain that Ptolemy Philadelphus was very popular among his Jewish subjects. Long afterwards the Jewish philosopher Philo speaks of him in terms of the highest admiration, and if legend connected itself with his name, there was probably good foundation upon which the legend grew.

Of the attitude of the Seleucid kings towards the Jews from 200 B.C. to the accession of King Antiochus Epiphanes in 175 B.C. we are not fully informed. Antiochus III granted them privileges and showed them favours on his conquest of Coele-Syria (i.e. the *hollow* or lower Syria, from the Greek word '*koilos*,' meaning 'hollow'). There were many communities of Jews in the different towns of his kingdom, but none so famous or so large as that of Alexandria in Egypt.

§ 10. *The Temple and the Psalter.*—How many words in the Bible were written between the death of Alexander and the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes (323–175 B.C.)? We can never precisely tell, but it is tolerably certain that these 148 years contributed their share to the total products which we now possess. Instead of discussing this particular question further, I would rather say something of the *kinds* of religious literature which were being written during the entire period from Nehemiah to the Maccabean revolt, an interval of some 250 years—about as long as from the Great Rebellion in England to the present day.

The Jews had no king after the return from Babylon, and, so far as we know, no native governor of the type of Zerubbabel or Nehemiah was again appointed. For this and other reasons the chief official of the Jerusalem Temple, now called the High Priest, grew gradually in dignity and importance. He became as time went on not merely a priest, but also a ruler. He was the representative of the nation before its foreign masters or its neighbouring communities. And with his more exalted position there went also an increased majesty of the Temple itself. For it was now in very deed the only place in all Judæa at which sacrifices and offerings were made. And as there was, as I have already said, a constant increase of Jewish settlements outside Judæa and outside Palestine, the inhabitants of these settlements by their gifts and pilgrimage

to the Temple of Jerusalem added yet more to its grandeur and reputation.

To the outer world the Temple was the visible sign and embodiment of the Jewish religion. And a very strange embodiment it seemed. Men could not understand why there was only *one* Temple, just as they could with difficulty understand why there was only *one* God. Why, too, in this one Temple should there be no representation of the worshipped deity, no image or idol, no statue or picture? The strangest, and sometimes the most absurd, rumours were spread about as to the nature of the Deity whom the Jews worshipped, and as to the nature of the worship which they paid to him. To the outsider the highest truths of Judaism often seemed foolishness. The need was urgent that the Servant should make known his faith.

For us to-day the main interest of the Temple lies in the fact that it was (so far as we can gather) a main cause of that wonderful collection of religious songs and poems known as the Psalms. *Psalmos* is a Greek word meaning, first of all, as Liddell and Scott inform us, *a touching sharply, a pulling with the fingers* or *a twanging of musical strings*, and then, *the sound of a musical instrument thus played, the sound of the cithara or harp.* In the Greek translation of the Bible it is used for a song sung to the harp, and is therefore closely parallel in meaning to our use of the word *lyric.* The collection of Psalms in the Bible is often called the 'Psalter. Psalter is the English form of the Greek word *Psalterion*, which (like *Psalmos*, connected with the root verb *Psallo, to touch sharply, to play*) means *a stringed instrument*, or specifically *a harp.*

The Psalms, then, are essentially hymns. Just as hymns are associated in everybody's mind with singing and churches, so the Psalms were closely associated with singing and the Temple. Many of them were directly composed for the Temple services, though many others (and these perhaps the oldest) were not primarily written for liturgical purposes. Some of our present Psalms are clearly not intended to be sung, for they are unlyrical in structure, but yet it is true to say that one main impulse to the composition of Psalms (and the chief reason for the preservation of all) was due to the Temple services, while many of their writers may well have been closely connected with the Temple, 'singers' who wrote as well as sang. As so many of the Psalms were put to congregational use, they are also congregational or national in form. They are written from the national or congregational point of view, and even where the pronoun is not plural but singular (not 'we,' but 'I'), this can still be the case. The 'I' is

frequently a personification. The writer identifies himself with the pious nation of Israel as a whole, or with the pious worshippers in the Temple. He is at one with them in feeling, aspiration and belief, and this union of spirit with the community gives an added fervour and intensity to his speech.

It is impossible to date with accuracy all the 150 Psalms in our present collection. It is probable that most of them were written after the return from Babylon in 537 B.C. A very considerable number may be safely assigned to the century between Nehemiah and Alexander the Great. Many were doubtless written in the 157 years between Alexander's conquest of Syria and the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes. Lastly, there are a few which in all probability were written during and after the Maccabean revolt, so that we cannot safely fix the completion of the Psalter much before 130 B.C. Of the reasons why some 73 out of 150 Psalms were ascribed by the editors to David, I have already spoken in Part I.

§ 11. *The Synagogue, the Wise Men and the Wisdom Literature.*— Alongside of the Temple there grew up in post-exilic times another institution of far deeper significance. It is the Synagogue. Synagogue, again, is a Greek word, and means *a bringing together*, hence an *assembly* or *place of assembly*. Just because no man might sacrifice except at Jerusalem, the need arose for a system of public worship in the numerous Jewish communities outside the capital, which should be satisfying and yet legal. Out of this need grew up the synagogue. I cannot attempt the shortest history of the synagogue in this place, but I must just point out that whereas at the Temple the servitor could only be a priest, the minister and teacher at a synagogue could be a layman. Thus with the synagogue there now first comes upon the stage the figure of the *Rabbi*. He is not called Rabbi at first, but *Wise Man* or *Scribe* or *Teacher*. He is the expounder and interpreter of the Law. In the age of Nehemiah, the Priest, the Teacher and the Scribe are usually one and the same. The under-priests, or Levites, are also frequently associated with teaching. Later on, however, the Wise Man and the Rabbi are often laymen, and sometimes opposed to the religious and political views of the official priesthood. And just as the Temple was overshadowed in religious significance by the synagogue, so the Priest was overshadowed by the Wise Man or Rabbi.

The Wise Man was the teacher of the people in their synagogues and schools. But he too became a writer, so that a whole division of the Bible, represented by three separate books

(to which two other books in a later collection, called the Apocrypha, are closely allied), is due to the literary industry of the Wise Men. The first and earliest of these three books is called the *Book of Proverbs.* As its name implies, it is for the greater part a collection of maxims and adages—'wise saws and modern instances'—of unknown authorship and date. But the editing or revision of these maxims (as well as the creation of many) was the work of the Wise Men, and the more consecutive and important portions of the entire book were probably written by a few chosen spirits among them within the fifty years which precede and the fifty years which follow the conquest of Syria by Alexander the Great (i.e. between 380 and 280 B.C.).

The division of the Bible to which the Book of Proverbs belongs is known as the Wisdom Literature. Its two other portions are the Book of Job and the Book of Ecclesiastes. The dates of these are uncertain, but they were perhaps written between 380 and 180 B.C., the one, Job, nearer to the earlier limit, the other, Ecclesiastes, nearer to the later. Outside the Bible there are two books, one written in Hebrew and the other in Greek, which also belong to the Wisdom Literature. The date of the one is about 180 B.C.; the date of the other falls at the earliest at the very close of our third period, and very possibly beyond it. These two books are called respectively Ecclesiasticus (or the Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach) and the Wisdom of Solomon. They both form part of that collection of Graeco-Jewish writings to which I have before referred, commonly known as the Apocrypha. From both of them I shall quote hereafter.

§ 12. *The Books of Chronicles.*—We have thus noticed two ways in which the nascent Bible was being increased during the period between Nehemiah and the Maccabean revolt: first, by the Psalmody of the Temple, and secondly, by the Wisdom Literature. The Psalter, the Proverbs, Job and Ecclesiastes together make up rather more than an eighth of the whole Hebrew Bible.

But the literary activity and the religious thought of these 250 years were not confined to these particular books. They found expression in other ways, and have left their record in still other books.

Of contemporary history there seems to have been none. But I ought to mention that the work of our 'Levitical idealist,' who told the story of the Judæan monarchy and of the restoration period till at least the second visit of Nehemiah, was written about 300 B.C. We must be grateful to that writer for one reason especially: it is apparently to him that we owe the preservation of

those precious fragments of Ezra's and Nehemiah's memoirs, which were quoted in Part I. After his time, the restoration period was separated from his main work (known now as the Books of Chronicles), and cut off into the two independent Books of Ezra and Nehemiah. But originally the three now separate books formed one whole.

§ 13. *Students of prophecy.*—Even as there were no historians or chroniclers of current events during these three hundred years, so too there were no prophets—no prophets, that is to say, in the older sense of the word, no men like Isaiah or Jeremiah, or even like Haggai and Zechariah. In one of the later Psalms the words occur: 'We see not our signs; there is no more any prophet.' Into the causes of this decline of prophecy I cannot here enter. One great reason is that *it was not wanted as it had been wanted before the Exile.* There was no more any worship of Baal or Ashtoreth against which to protest. The Jews were now ardent worshippers of one God, ardent believers that all divinity was summed up and contained in that one and only God. The accepted laws of the state embodied precepts of justice and charity. It is beyond legitimate doubt that the average morality, no less than the average religiousness, of Judæa in 300 B.C. was very considerably higher than in 600 B.C. The primary occupation of the prophets was gone. Not that the best teaching of the prophets had been *completely* absorbed. Far from it. But it could be taken up and reproduced by other kinds of teachers. A Psalmist could declare: 'The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit.' The Wise Man could urge: 'The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination to the Lord: but the prayer of the upright is his delight.'

If there were no prophets, there were many students of prophecy. And these students edited, and added to, the prophetic utterances of older times. They were not conscious of any breach of faith in doing so, and some of their additions show that they too were possessed in varying measure of the divine spirit. For several of their additions contain noble thoughts and high teaching. We have already seen how the collection of prophecies now known as the Book of Isaiah was constantly being added to, and some of these additions we have still to hear.

§ 14. *The fifteen Prophetical Books.*—The collection of 'Prophets' in the present Hebrew Bible consists of three large 'books' and twelve little ones. The three large ones are the 'books' of Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel. The twelve little ones are usually grouped together as a single book and called the 'Minor Prophets.' Of

these twelve minor or rather shorter prophets the two oldest, and by far the greatest and most important, are *Amos* and *Hosea*. A third, *Micah*, was a contemporary of Isaiah. To his short book there were added words from an unknown prophet who lived in the reign of Manasseh. A famous excerpt from him has been quoted on p. 391 of Part I. During the reign of Josiah there may probably be placed the two prophets, *Nahum* and *Zephaniah*. A sixth 'minor' prophet, *Habakkuk*, may be assigned to the reign of Jehoiakim. I have not attempted to make any extracts from these three writers, for they are very difficult and very obscure. The seventh and eighth of the minor prophets in order of time are *Haggai* and *Zechariah*, of whom we have already heard. To the Book of Zechariah considerable additions were made at a later date. The ninth prophet, *Malachi*, belongs to the age of Ezra. His short book is also difficult and unsuitable for use in a Bible for home reading. It needs long and elaborate explanations. The tenth prophet is *Obadiah*, a younger contemporary perhaps of Malachi, whose 'vision,' extending only to twenty-one 'verses,' is concerned with Edom. The eleventh prophet is *Joel*. He appears to be an exception to the rule. For his date almost certainly falls after Nehemiah, but, nevertheless, he is an independent and original prophet, and not merely a student of, or an adder to, the prophecies of others. His prophecy contains more than one famous passage, and at least one striking religious maxim: 'Rend your heart, and not your garments, and turn unto the Lord your God.' The twelfth and latest 'prophet' is *Jonah*. But his short book, one of the very greatest in all the Bible, has not been properly included among the prophets at all. It is not a prophecy, but a tale: a story 'with a purpose,' like that story of Ruth which we have already heard.

§ 15. *Religious tales.*—Religious or moral tales in the form of history or of fiction constituted another kind of literature in which the thoughts and teaching of the age found expression. Ruth is the oldest of these tales: it was perhaps written in the Nehemian age as a protest against the exclusive and separatist policy pursued by Nehemiah and his colleagues. Jonah has a similar tendency; its date is uncertain, and one can only say that it was probably not written much before 400 or much after 300 B.C. A third example in the Bible of the story with a moral is the Book of Esther. It was written at a time when gratitude for national deliverance was mingled in equal parts with hatred of foreign dominion. Lastly, as a fourth example, but wholly different in quality, of the religious story comes the Book of Daniel. This

book was written, as we shall hear, during the course of the Maccabean revolt. Its date can be fixed with certainty between the years 168 and 164 B.C. It is a remarkable work both for its own sake and also because it is, so far as we know, the first instance of a novel type of religious literature, of which there are many other surviving examples outside the Bible. It is the literature known as Apocalyptic, or revealing.

§ 16. *The Song of Songs.*—In this list of Biblical books which were written from Nehemiah to the Maccabees, I have omitted one short book of uncertain date which stands quite by itself. It is called the Song of Songs. What a wonderful collection the Bible is! What amazing variety there is contained in it! For this Song of Songs is neither more nor less than a poem about Love, not the religious love of man to God, but the love of man and woman for each other. It is probable that this poem about love was included in the Bible because the editors erroneously supposed that it was a religious allegory, partly also because the writer of it assumed in his poem the person and name of Solomon. But whatever the reasons, we may be rightly glad that the Song of Songs is in the Bible—in the book of books that is at once human and divine. For is not this mingling of the human and the divine the very essence and reality of love? If the Song of Songs had not been preserved to us through the Bible, we should not possess the simple and supreme glorification of love in those superb lines:—

Set me as a seal upon thine heart,
  As a seal upon thine arm:
For love is strong as death;
  The passion therefore is hard as Sheol:
Its heat is the heat of fire,
  A very flame of the Lord!
Many waters cannot quench love,
  Neither can the floods drown it:
If a man would give all the substance of his house for love,
  He would utterly be despised.

§ 17. *The influence of Greece.*—Were the Jews influenced in their religious ideas by their foreign masters? The influence of Persia is doubtful and obscure, but the influence of Greece is certain and significant. Through the conquests and settlements of the great Alexander, Greek thought and culture were introduced into the East. And as the most important consequence of this introduction,

there came the meeting of the Greek with the Hebrew. Readers of Plato, whether in the original or in the late Professor Jowett's beautiful English, will not need to be told what great and noble thoughts, on politics, on morals, and even on religion, were contained in Greek philosophy. With that philosophy the Jewish settlers in the new Hellenistic cities might gradually become familiar. For these Jews quickly acquired the use of the Greek language. In Alexandria, and in many other cities of that type, it soon became their mother-tongue. They spoke, thought, wrote and prayed in Greek. In the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus the Pentateuch, and after a time the entire Hebrew Bible, was translated into Greek. But of the immense importance of this translation in the past, and of its present-day value in enabling us frequently to correct the Hebrew text when corrupt, this is not the place to speak.

The headquarters of Greek or Hellenistic Judaism was Alexandria. The central synagogue of that city was one of its grandest buildings. And the service was conducted in Greek, the mother-tongue of the worshippers. A famous passage in the Talmud about this synagogue runs as follows: 'R. Judah says: "He who has not seen the double gallery of Alexandria has not seen the glory of Israel." It was a kind of basilica, one row of pillars within another. At times there were present 600,000 people, as many as the Israelites who left Egypt. There were seventy-one golden seats, corresponding to the seventy-one elders, and each seat contained gold to the value of 250,000 dinars. A platform of wood was built in the middle, and the verger stood on it with flags in his hand. When the moment came for the congregation to say Amen, he waved the flags, and all answered at the signal. The congregation sat in groups. The goldsmiths alone, and the silversmiths alone; the iron-workers had their own place, and so had the workers in brass, and the weavers. When a stranger or a poor man entered, he saw where the members of his trade were seated, and he made his way to them and found entertainment during his stay in the city, or support for himself and his household.'

Even in Judæa Greek influence gradually made itself felt. That influence was by no means wholly good, and the evil side of it led some men on to loose and careless living, and to apostasy from the national religion. But in such Biblical literature as seems to belong to the third century B.C. (300–200), we can perhaps trace some of the good and wholesome influences of Hellas. In those hundred years the Jews, both within and without Palestine, began to understand better than they had ever understood before the doctrine—for us so obvious and beautiful, but for them so hard and unsympa-

thetic—that all nations are equally children of one God, and that the aim of the Jews should be not to widen the gulf between themselves and other peoples, but to bring these other peoples over to their own religion and to the knowledge of the one true God. Righteousness and peace should unite nation to nation and the common worship of a single God.

§ 18. *Plan of the volume.*—A last word of introduction as to the general scheme of the present volume. I propose to divide it into five sections (of one or more chapters), and to allot one section to each of the kinds of religious literature which have been enumerated in the foregoing paragraphs. In the first section (including four separate chapters) I shall give selected extracts from the Wisdom Literature. The next section will be devoted to the Books of Amos, Hosea and Joel, and to certain portions of the Book of Isaiah. The quotations from Isaiah will show how earnest and pious students of the post-Nehemian age edited and enlarged the fragments of pre-exilic prophecy. I shall thereby also fulfil a promise made in Part I, p. 373. The following short section will contain two of the tales mentioned in § 15, in striking and vehement contrast to each other. These will be the Book of Esther and the Book of Jonah. Upon them, in the fourth section, will follow liberal extracts from the Psalter. And lastly, in a concluding section, I shall resume the thread of Jewish history from the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes, and continue it to the death of Simon the Maccabee. In that section will be included the Book of Daniel.

SECTION I

THE WISDOM LITERATURE

CHAPTER I

THE BOOK OF PROVERBS

§ 1. *Characteristics of the Book of Proverbs.*—I have already mentioned that the Wise Men were the authors of a particular kind of religious writing known as the Wisdom Literature. Of this literature there are three very different specimens in the Bible, and yet different as they are from one another, there are points of contact and connexion between them. The Book of Proverbs is the oldest and the simplest. As its name implies, a large part of the book is made up of *proverbs*—detached aphorisms about life and conduct. Many of these proverbs are probably much older than the age at which the book as a whole was put together and compiled. The Wise Men collected, sifted and adapted the proverbial wisdom of their people and country. Nevertheless, these detached proverbs bear a marked family likeness to each other, as well as a general conformity to the type of *proverbs* all the world over. I can only allude in the briefest possible way to a few of their common characteristics, for I am not writing a commentary upon the Bible, but merely supplying the best or most profitable parts of it with the minimum of framework and explanation.

(1) The Proverbs are broadly human. They have no background of special history. The sages address their disciples not as Jews but as men.

(2) At the same time the results of a long struggle are assumed. That there is one God is no longer a matter of dispute, nor that this God is all-knowing, all-powerful, all-just.

(3) As in other proverbs of other races, goodness tends some-

times to be regarded as a matter of prudence. The Proverbs seem one long glorification and exemplification of the maxim, 'Honesty is the best policy.' Yet, as Mr. Moulton has so well said, their ethical spirit is not commercial. 'Their purpose is not to bribe with offers of advantage, but to exclaim against the folly of thinking that there could be any path towards advantage except through rightdoing.'

(4) The sovereign virtue of the Proverbs is Wisdom. By wisdom we are not to understand knowledge in the sense of learnedness: we are to understand rather a practical insight into life and conduct, founded on the reverence of God. The sages' wisdom is religious. It is also moral, for wisdom and goodness become aspects of each other. But it makes a difference that the sages, as it were, get to goodness through wisdom. Though their wisdom is not learning, still it has a marked intellectual tinge, and this way of looking at goodness has been a strong, sometimes a too strong, element of Jewish ethics ever since the days of the first sages. Their ideal wise man is not merely good, but he is also, in a respectable sense of the term, worldly wise; he knows times and seasons, he knows how to behave in all the varying circumstances of life; he knows when to speak and when to be silent, how to take reproof and how to give it. The fool, on the contrary, is not only unrighteous, but he is also foolish in the ordinary sense of the word. He is described not only as a bad man, but also as a boor and a simpleton. This identification of folly and wickedness is more doubtful and dangerous.

(5) Calm and measured reflection seems the source of the Proverbs. There is an absence of fervour, of *abandon*, of enthusiasm. Their authors seem to stand a bit aloof from conflict and passion as well as from spiritual ardours and aspiration. This, again, is partly due to the necessities of the proverbial manner. Spiritual realities cannot be grasped by the intellect alone; feeling in its highest form is needed for their right apprehension, and this feeling must run over into the words that describe them. But an emotional proverb is almost a contradiction in terms. It is here that proverbial literature falls short. A purely intellectual conception of spiritual truth does not vitally touch us. It does not seem to unlock the deeper secrets; its key does not fit the most delicate wards of our nature; its answers do not satisfy our finer needs. The Book of Proverbs is at its best when it is least proverbial, as we shall see at the end of this chapter. It may also be noted as a curious and certain fact that the tendency of Jewish sages and teachers was to become more spiritual as time went on. It would almost seem as if the spiritual

effect of the monotheism to which the first generations of the post-exilic sages had attained could develop but gradually. It was assimilated as an intellectual fact before it produced its inevitable spiritual quickening. Yet even if, from the ethical point of view, the range of virtue upon which the earlier sages dilate seems a little restricted, or its degree a little measured, this must be partly set down to the exigencies of the form in which their teaching is cast rather than to its spirit. He who was truly 'wise,' according to the full compass of our sages' teaching, would have possessed a moral character neither feeble nor commonplace. If we add item to item, the gross result is fairly adequate.

(6) Wisdom or goodness (with its opposite of folly or vice) is represented by the sages as expressing itself in several main directions. The wise man is humble; the fool is proud. The one is peaceful; the other contentious. The one is industrious; the other is slothful. The one is charitable and benevolent; the other is cruel and niggardly. The one is forgiving; the other revengeful. The one is sparing of words; the other is a chatterbox. The one is discreet; the other a talebearer. The one is temperate; the other a glutton. Above all, the one fears the Lord; the other despises Him. It is in the nature of antithetical aphorisms, like our Proverbs, to admit of no degrees. On the one side there is the sage who has all the virtues; on the other side there is the fool who has all the vices. But the value of the Proverbs is not thereby decreased. We must read them as tendencies. The old Jewish teachers knew well enough that men are not divided into two rigorous classes of good and evil.

(7) The whole Book of Proverbs contains thirty-one chapters, and may be divided into seven sections of very unequal length. The *first* section (which is probably latest in date and will come last in this volume) includes chapters i–ix. The *second* section, containing three hundred and seventy-five detached aphorisms, extends from chapter x. to xxii. 16. The *third* section reaches only from xxii. 17 to xxiv. 22. The *fourth* section, shortest of all, has only twelve verses (xxiv. 23–34). The *fifth* section, containing about one hundred aphorisms, includes five chapters (xxv–xxix). The *sixth* and *seventh* sections comprise about one chapter each (xxx, xxxi). One word more as to the form of the larger number of the detached or separate aphorisms. Each of them constitutes a distich, of which the second line gives usually the antithesis in thought to the first. Hence the second lines begin frequently with a 'but.' Sometimes, however, the second line is an amplification or a parallelism, and occasionally the first line gives a comparison and the second line provides the application.

§ 2. *Wisdom and folly in speech and silence.*—First let us collect together a number of detached proverbs about wisdom and folly as shown in silence and speech.

In the multitude of words there wanteth not sin:
But he that refraineth his lips is wise.
The tongue of the just is as choice silver:
The understanding of the wicked is little worth.
The lips of the righteous feed many:
But fools die for want of understanding.
The mouth of the just buddeth with wisdom:
But the perverse tongue shall be cut out.
There is that chattereth like the piercings of a sword:
But the tongue of the wise bringeth healing.
The lip of truth shall be established for ever:
But a lying tongue is but for a moment.
Lying lips are an abomination to the Lord;
But they that deal faithfully are his delight.
A prudent man concealeth knowledge:
But the heart of fools proclaimeth its own folly.
In the mouth of the foolish is a rod for pride:
But the lips of the wise preserve them.
A gentle tongue is a tree of life:
But perverseness therein is a wound in spirit.
A man hath joy by the answer of the mouth:
And a word in its season, how good it is!
The heart of the righteous studieth to answer:
But the mouth of the wicked poureth out evil things.
Pleasant words are as an honeycomb,
Sweet to the soul, and health to the bones.
He that hath a froward heart findeth no good:
He that hath a perverse tongue falleth into calamity.
He that spareth his words hath knowledge:
And the cool of spirit is a man of understanding.
Even a fool, when he holdeth his peace, is counted wise,
When he shutteth his lips, as a man of understanding.
The words of a man's mouth are as deep waters,
As a gushing brook, as a wellspring of wisdom.
A fool's lips bring contention;
And his mouth calleth for strokes!
A fool's mouth is his own destruction:
And his lips are a snare for his soul.

He that answereth a matter before he heareth it,
It is reckoned to him as folly and shame.
Death and life are in the power of the tongue:
They who rule it shall eat its fruits.
There is gold, and a multitude of rubies:
But understanding lips are a (more) precious jewel.
Whoso keepeth his mouth and his tongue
Keepeth his soul from troubles!
The wise in heart receiveth the commandments:
But a prating fool shall fall.
The mouth of the righteous is a fountain of life:
But the mouth of the wicked concealeth violence.
A lying tongue hateth those whom it hath injured;
And a flattering mouth worketh ruin.
Apples of gold in vessels of silver—
A right word fitly spoken!
A man eateth good by the fruit of his mouth:
But the desire of the faithless is violence.
He that keepeth his mouth keepeth his life:
But he that openeth wide his lips shall have destruction.
In all labour there is profit:
But idle talk leadeth only to want.
The wise in heart is called intelligent;
And the sweetness of the lips increaseth learning.

'Concealeth knowledge': a wise man is reserved; he imparts his knowledge at fit places and times; the fool by his constant talk proclaims his folly.

'Cool of spirit': i.e. self-controlled; the German, *kaltblütig*.

'They who rule it.' Good profit comes to those who can rule their tongues.

'Concealeth violence.' The friendly talk of the wicked is hypocritical and masks the evil he intends to do.

Parallels to these simple and yet often pregnant sayings can be found in the immense proverbial literature both of the East and of the West. A patient English clergyman, who was both a great linguist and a great lover of the Bible, set himself from his undergraduate days at Oxford to make a collection of these parallels. He confined himself mainly to the literature of the East. His book fills three thick volumes, and in the preface to it he tells his readers that he has collected and printed about 16,000 maxims and sayings, every one of which he himself copied and translated from the originals. To what long and laborious work of different kinds the

love and study of the Bible has prompted men and encouraged them!

§ 3. *Against slander.*—Now let us hear some proverbs against talebearing and slander.

He that hideth hatred is of lying lips,
And he that uttereth slander is a fool.
A talebearer revealeth secrets:
But he that is of a faithful spirit concealeth a matter.
A guileful man soweth strife:
And a whisperer separateth bosom friends.
The scoundrel giveth heed to false lips:
A liar giveth ear to a destructive tongue.
He that covereth a transgression seeketh love;
But he that returneth to a matter separateth very friends.
Where no wood is, there the fire goeth out:
So where there is no talebearer, the strife ceaseth.
The words of a talebearer are like dainties,
And they penetrate into the chambers of the belly.
He that goeth about as a talebearer revealeth secrets:
Therefore meddle not with him that blabbeth with his lips.

'Returneth to a matter.' If A, the friend of B, has committed a fault, B should not allude to it: passing over his friend's error, he will preserve his affection. If he 'returns to it' and dwells upon it, the friendship may be strained and broken.

§ 4. *Anger and self-control.*—Strife and anger are vices which the sages held in special abhorrence, just as peace and gentleness are their special delight.

A fool's anger is shewn at once;
But the prudent man covereth an insult.
He that is slow to anger is of great intelligence:
But he that is quick tempered exalteth folly.
A soft answer turneth away wrath:
But sharp words stir up anger.
Better a dinner of herbs and love thereby,
Than a stalled ox and hatred with it.
He that is slow to anger is better than the mighty;
And he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city.
Better is a dry morsel and quietness therewith,
Than a house full of banquets of contention.

The beginning of strife is as when one letteth out water:
Therefore leave off contention before the teeth be shewn.
As the bellows are to coals and wood to fire,
So is a quarrelsome man to kindle strife.
He loveth transgression that loveth strife:
And he that exalteth his gate seeketh destruction.
It is an honour for a man to refrain from strife:
But every fool sheweth his teeth.
By long forbearing is a prince persuaded,
And a soft tongue breaketh a bone.
He that hath no rule over his own spirit
Is like a city that is broken down or without walls.

'Letteth out water.' It is easy to let the water out; it is very hard to dam it up again.

'Exalteth his gate': i.e. builds a grand house and lives in pomp and pride.

'Breaketh a bone': i.e. overcomes the hardest opposition.

§ 5. *Pride and humility.*—Like all proverbial philosophy, the Hebrew sages have many aphorisms on pride and humility.

When pride cometh, then cometh shame:
But with the lowly is wisdom.
Pride goeth before destruction,
And a haughty spirit before a fall.
Better it is to be of a lowly spirit with the humble,
Than to divide the spoil with the proud.
A haughty heart precedeth destruction,
But humility leadeth to honour.
Who can say, I have made my heart clean,
I am pure from my sin?
A proud man who is puffed up is called a scoffer,
Even one that dealeth in the presumptuousness of pride.
Let another man praise thee, and not thine own mouth,
A stranger, and not thine own lips.

§ 6. *Industry and laziness.*—The wisdom of the Proverbs is often primitive, but there is much ingenuity in the way in which the simplest maxims of everyday counsel are worded and expressed. Let us, e.g., hear our sages on industry and sloth.

He that worketh with a slack hand becometh poor:
But the hand of the diligent causeth riches.

He that gathereth in summer is wise:
  But he that sleepeth at harvest winneth disgrace.
As vinegar to the teeth, and as smoke to the eyes,
  So is the sluggard to them that send him.
Wealth gotten hastily shall be diminished:
  But he that gathereth gradually shall increase.
The way of the slothful man is as an hedge of thorns:
  But the way of the righteous is well laid.
Slothfulness casteth into a deep sleep;
  And an idle soul shall suffer hunger.
He that loveth pleasure shall be a poor man:
  He that loveth wine and oil shall not be rich.
The slothful coveteth all the day long:
  But the righteous giveth and spareth not.
A slothful man putteth his hand in the dish,
  And will not so much as bring it to his mouth again!
At winter time the sluggard will not plough:
  When he looks for prudence at the harvest, nothing is there.
Love not sleep lest thou come to poverty;
  Keep thine eyes open, and thou shalt be filled with bread.
The soul of the sluggard desireth, and hath nothing;
  But the soul of the diligent shall be made fat.
The desire of the slothful killeth him;
  For his hands refuse to labour.

'The desire of the slothful': i.e. his desire for ease and repose.

The short *fourth* section, which, like the *third*, may be better regarded as an appendix to the long *second* section, contains a short poem, or *sonnet*, as Mr. Moulton terms it, on the sluggard. It runs thus:—

I went by the field of the slothful,
  And by the vineyard of the man void of understanding;
And, lo, it was all grown over with thorns,
  And nettles had covered the face thereof,
And the stone wall thereof was broken down.
  Then I saw, and laid it to heart;
    I looked upon it, and received instruction:
  'Yet a little sleep, a little slumber,
    A little folding of the hands to sleep'—

So shall poverty come upon thee like a highwayman,
And want as an armed man.

In the *fifth* section there occurs a group of several maxims together about the sluggard—'a proverb cluster,' as Mr. Moulton calls it.

The sluggard saith, 'There is a lion in the way;
A lion is in the streets.'
As the door turneth upon its hinges,
So doth the sluggard upon his bed.
If the sluggard put his hand unto the dish,
It is a trouble to him to bring it again to his mouth.
The sluggard is wiser in his own conceit
Than seven men that can answer discreetly.

Another 'sonnet' on the sluggard will be quoted from the first section of the book later on.

§ 7. *On cheerfulness.*—Industry and cheerfulness go hand in hand. The sages' ideal of life is far from gloomy. They realized too the power of sympathy.

Heaviness in a man's heart boweth it down;
But a friendly word maketh it glad.
A merry heart maketh a cheerful countenance:
But by sorrow of the heart the spirit is broken.
All the days of the miserable are evil:
But he that is of a merry heart hath a continual feast.
A friendly look rejoiceth the heart,
And happy tidings make the bones fat.
A merry heart bringeth good healing;
But a broken spirit drieth the bones.
The courage of a man will endure his sickness;
But a downcast spirit who can bear?

'His sickness.' Bodily maladies can be endured by courage, but there is no mind behind the mind to endure or grapple with its own depression. But perhaps we should translate 'But who can raise up a downcast spirit?' or possibly, 'But with a downcast spirit who can bear it?' (i.e. sickness).

§ 8. *Rich and poor.*—The contrast between poor and rich often exercised the thoughts of the sages. Their experience did not let them ignore the troubles and trials of the poor, or the temptations

and meannesses of the rich. The virtue of benevolence is strongly emphasized, and occasionally a deeper note is sounded, as when the rich are reminded that one God has created all, and that before him the differences of station and of wealth fall utterly away.

There is that giveth freely, and yet increaseth;
And there is that spareth what is due, and yet becometh poorer.
The liberal soul shall be made fat;
And he that watereth shall himself be watered.
He that withholdeth corn, the people curse him;
But blessing is upon the head of him that selleth it.
He that trusteth in his riches shall fall:
But the righteous shall flourish as a leaf.
Much food is in the tillage of the poor:
But there is that is destroyed for want of justice.
The poor is hated even of his own neighbour:
But the lovers of the rich are many.
He that despiseth his neighbour sinneth;
But he that hath pity on the poor, happy is he.
He that oppresseth the poor revileth his Maker:
But he that hath mercy on the poor honoureth him.
The poor useth entreaties;
But the rich answereth roughly.
Better is the poor that walketh in his integrity,
Than he that is perverse in lips and wealthy.
The rich man's wealth is his strong city,
And as a high wall in his own conceit.
He that hath pity upon the poor lendeth unto the Lord;
And that which he hath given will he pay him again.
Treasures got with a lying tongue
Are as vapour driven to and fro, and snares of death.
Whoso stoppeth his ears at the cry of the poor,
He also shall cry himself, but shall not be heard.
A man in authority that oppresseth the needy
Is like a sweeping rain which bringeth no food.
He that by usury and unjust gain increaseth his substance,
Gathereth it for him who will pity the poor.
A faithful man shall abound with blessings:
But he that maketh haste to be rich shall not be unpunished.

He that giveth unto the poor shall not lack:
But he that hideth his eyes shall have many a curse.
The righteous considereth the cause of the poor:
But the wicked understandeth not knowledge.
The poor and the oppressor meet together:
The Lord lighteneth the eyes of both.
The rich and poor meet together:
The Lord is the maker of them all.

'Much food in the tillage of the poor.' The righteous poor shall prosper in the little which he has: injustice will destroy abundance.

'Snares of death.' Ill-gotten wealth will not last; it tends to the evil and ill-doing of those who have acquired it.

'Understandeth not knowledge': i.e. the knowledge of the just claims of the poor and the ordinances of the law.

In these proverbs ethical teaching jostles against satiric reflection upon the seamy sides of human character. The satire is a little cheap. The sacrifice of the poor for his neighbour is truer to facts than the 'hatred' imputed to him by the sages. But they never falter in their fundamental belief that in the long run it is well with the righteous, and with the righteous only. What did they mean by 'well'? Sometimes they meant outward prosperity, and here their assurance occasionally jars upon us. For we realize that true *well*-being is inward, dependent upon ourselves rather than upon outward circumstance; moreover, we are well aware that the righteous are by no means always 'healthy and wealthy,' and that much goodness and much adversity often go hand in hand. We know too that by adversity goodness is strengthened and ripened, so that without storm and stress mankind would never have risen to the fullness of its stature. Its divine capacities would never have shown themselves. Fair-weather goodness is not the most heroic. But at the same time we, too, are sure that society and the state do in the long run prosper by righteousness and justice and by these alone, and it is perhaps because we cling to the hope of a better life and a higher development for the human spirit after death (a hope which had not yet been granted to our sages) that we are less anxious to maintain, in the face of facts, a correspondence between outward circumstance and inward desert, and no less ready to see the good of earthly sorrow than its seeming injustice and its actual misery.

§ 9. *Justice and righteousness.*—As in the days of the prophets, so too in the days of the sages, justice is the fundamental virtue of human society.

He that justifieth the guilty, and he that condemneth the righteous,
Even they both are an abomination to the Lord.
A bribe is as a precious stone in the eyes of him that hath it;
Whithersoever he turneth, he prospereth.
A wicked man taketh a gift out of the bosom
To pervert the ways of judgement.
A man's gift maketh room for him,
And bringeth him before great men.
He that is first in his cause seemeth just;
But his neighbour cometh and searcheth him out.
To have respect of persons in judgement is not good.
He that saith unto the wicked, 'Thou art righteous,'
Him shall the peoples curse, nations shall abhor him:
But to them that rebuke him shall be delight,
And a good blessing shall come upon them.

'Out of the bosom': i.e. secretly, out of the folds of his cloak.
'First in his cause': i.e. the plaintiff in his suit. *Audi alteram partem.*

Justice is to the Hebrew only another aspect of righteousness. Let us, then, hear what the sages have to say of righteousness and its results.

Treasures of wickedness profit nothing:
But righteousness delivereth from death.
The memory of the righteous is a blessing:
But the name of the wicked will rot.
The expectation of the righteous endeth in gladness:
But the hope of the wicked shall perish.
The righteous shall never be moved:
But the wicked shall not inherit the earth.
The innocence of the upright shall guide them:
But the crookedness of transgressors shall destroy them.
The righteousness of the spotless maketh his way plain:
But the wicked shall fall by his own wickedness.
The righteousness of the upright shall deliver them:
But the faithless are caught in their own desire.
By the blessing of the upright a city is exalted:
But it is overthrown by the mouth of the wicked.
In the way of righteousness is life:
But the way of wickedness leadeth to death.

In the house of the righteous is much treasure:
But in the revenues of the wicked is destruction.
He that is greedy of gain troubleth his own house;
But he that hateth gifts shall live.
Better is a little with righteousness
Than great revenues without justice.
The wicked flee when no man pursueth:
But the righteous are bold as a lion.
He that concealeth his sins shall not prosper:
But whoso confesseth and forsaketh them shall have mercy.
In the transgression of an evil man there lieth a snare for him:
But the righteous can run and rejoice.

'The memory of the righteous is a blessing.' Famous words in Hebrew literature: *Zecher tzadik librachah.* The name and memory of the righteous will be held in grateful recollection even after his death. Such is the literal meaning. But it was expanded to denote the fine idea that the memory of the righteous is a blessing by being an exemplar and a beacon light, by stirring people up from age to age to imitate noble lives of high endeavour and lofty deed.

'By his own wickedness.' A line of great meaning and wide significance. Not external is the ruin that in the long run must befall wickedness. It contains within itself the causes of its own decay: it brings about its own dissolution.

§ 10. *On forgiveness.*—The contents of righteousness included forgiveness. We may note an aspiring conception of morality in the maxims which follow.

Whoso rewardeth evil for good,
Evil shall not depart out of his house.
The discretion of a man maketh him long suffering:
And it is his glory to pass over a transgression.
Say not thou, I will recompense evil;
Wait on the Lord, and he shall save thee.
Say not, I will do so to him as he hath done to me;
I will render to the man according to his work.
Hatred stirreth up strifes:
But love covereth all sins.
Rejoice not when thine enemy falleth,
And let not thine heart be glad when he stumbleth.
Lest the Lord see it, and it displease him,
And he turn away his wrath from him.

If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat;
And if he be thirsty, give him water to drink:
For thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head,
And the Lord shall reward thee.

The last two quotations are not pure proverbs, but what Mr. Moulton calls 'epigrams.' They are injunctions, and not maxims. The motive of the former spoils the value of the bidding. It is for us to appropriate and follow the noble bidding, but to neglect and ignore the unworthy motive. In the second epigram the motive is twofold. The stimulus of expected or deserved reward will, I hope, appeal nowadays to but few; the meaning of the 'coals of fire' is more doubtful. It probably refers to the painful stings of conscience which a requital of good for evil will awaken in the evil-doer. Such pains it is right to cause, for they are healing: they bring repentance and amendment.

§ 11. *Wisdom and folly.*—From the peculiar point of view of the sages, righteousness, as I have said before, is closely connected with wisdom. The one may indeed be said to be merely another aspect of the other. Here are a few of the aphorisms about wisdom and folly. The higher and more detailed praise and picture of wisdom we shall hear later on.

How much better it is to get wisdom than gold!
And to get understanding is preferable than to get silver!
Let a bear robbed of her whelps meet a man,
Rather than a fool in his folly.
A scorner seeketh wisdom and findeth it not:
But knowledge is easy to him that hath understanding.
As a jewel of gold in a swine's snout,
So is a beautiful woman without decorum.
The wisdom of the prudent is to understand his way:
But the folly of fools is deceit.
The simple believeth every word:
But the prudent man looketh well to his going.
The wise feareth, and departeth from evil:
But the fool rageth, and is confident.
Folly is joy to him destitute of wisdom:
But a man of understanding walketh straightforwards.
It is pleasure to a fool to do wickedness:
And so is wisdom to a man of understanding.

Understanding is a fountain of life unto him that hath it:
But the chastisement of fools is folly.
The folly of man overthroweth his way;
And his heart fretteth against the Lord.
Counsel in the heart of man is like deep water;
But a man of understanding will draw it out.
Buy the truth, and sell it not;
Yea, wisdom, and instruction, and understanding.
Through wisdom is an house builded;
And by understanding it is established:
And by knowledge are the chambers filled
With all precious and pleasant riches.
A wise man is better than a man of strength;
Yea, a man of knowledge than one mighty in power.
A foolish purpose is sin:
And the scorner is an abomination to men.
Though thou shouldest bray a fool in a mortar among wheat with a pestle,
Yet will not his foolishness depart from him.
The rich man is wise in his own conceit;
But the poor that hath understanding searcheth him out.

In these proverbs we have to remember—

(1) That the wisdom of the sages, while not without a marked intellectual element, is yet mainly moral.

(2) That worldly prudence has not yet been clearly differentiated from the higher wisdom or the higher goodness.

(3) That the sharp-cut antitheses answer to tendencies rather than to facts of experience.

The 'scorner' seeks 'wisdom,' but does not find it: in truth the wisdom which *he* seeks is not wholly the 'wisdom' which the sages inculcate. He may seek for knowledge and for intellectual ability, but by his very nature he cannot seek for that moral wisdom which is founded on humility and the fear of God. And indeed we may say quite generally that the truest wisdom, as a state of the mind, is not compatible with pride and conceit.

Without being able to give a philosophical explanation of their thought, and without feeling the necessity of analyzing it, the sages seem to have possessed a deep conviction that if the disposition or heart be set towards wisdom and rooted in the fear of God, all else comes 'easy'; whereas, given the disposition set towards folly or 'scorning,' and all development is in the wrong direction. The one kind of man gets better and better; the other worse and

worse. The one gets wiser and wiser; the other stupider and stupider. Though this view is not wholly true, it has elements of truth in human nature, and it has been largely adopted and inculcated (in a variety of different forms) by many religious teachers of different ages and lands. What several of them feel is that we are, as it were, in the midst of the divine life, seeing that God is omnipresent. He who is humble, loving and pure becomes increasingly more apt to receive and assimilate the divine light which shines always, but which only the eye of an enlightened soul can see. The 'scorner' in his pride and conceit draws the curtain so that no light can pass through. His soul becomes darker and darker. To some these metaphors may mean little; to others much. They rest on the belief that wisdom and goodness are divine, and still divine even when ours. Whatever is best in us is not merely given us from God, as I give a toy to a child, but is in itself divine, so that what is most truly ours is most essentially from him.

In the fifth section of our book there occurs what Mr. Moulton calls 'a proverb cluster about fools.'

A whip for the horse, a bridle for the ass,
And a rod for the fool's back.
Answer not a fool according to his folly,
Lest thou also be like unto him.
Answer a fool according to his folly,
Lest he seem wise in his own conceit.
As the trailing of the legs of a lame man,
So is a parable in the mouth of fools.
As a thorn in the hand of a drunkard,
So is a parable in the mouth of fools.
Seest thou a man wise in his own conceit?
There is more hope of a fool than of him.

'Answer not a fool': i.e. do not be carried away by annoyance or anger to make a foolish retort to a foolish speech.

'Answer a fool': i.e. do not by silence or untimely assent let the 'fool' think that you approve his words.

§ 12. *Discipline and reproof.*—There are two fundamental requirements for a man's attainment of wisdom, of which one has to do with his fellow-men, and the other with God. First, then, the student of wisdom, the aspirant to goodness, must know how to receive and how to profit from discipline and reproof.

He is in the way of life that regardeth discipline,
But he that refuseth reproof erreth.
By pride there only cometh contention,
But with them that let themselves be counselled there is wisdom.
A fool despiseth his father's discipline:
But he that regardeth reproof is prudent.
The ear that heareth the reproof of life
Abideth among the wise.
He that refuseth discipline despiseth his own soul:
But he that heareth reproof getteth understanding.
A rebuke entereth more into a wise man,
Than a hundred stripes into a fool.
Whoso loveth discipline loveth knowledge:
But he that hateth reproof is a boor.
Open reproof is better than hidden love.
He that reproveth a man shall find thereafter
More favour than he that flattereth with his tongue.
Poverty and shame shall be to him that refuseth discipline:
But he that regardeth reproof shall be honoured.

'Open reproof.' Love which never expresses itself, whether by the encouragement of praise or by counsel and criticism, is valueless. Frank 'reproof' is better than such sleepy affection.

§ 13. *Reverence and the Fear of the Lord.*—The second and most fundamental requirement of all is the Fear of God: the Reverence of God, as we may more fitly say, for it is no craven fear of punishment, but a reverence for One who is not merely all-powerful but all-wise.

Better is little with the fear of the Lord
Than great treasure and disquietude.
The fear of the Lord is the discipline of wisdom;
And before honour is humility.
By mercy and truth iniquity is atoned for:
And by the fear of the Lord men avoid evil.
He that walketh in uprightness feareth the Lord:
But he that is crooked in his ways despiseth him.
In the fear of the Lord is strong confidence:
And his children shall have a place of refuge.
The fear of the Lord is a fountain of life,
To escape from the snares of death.

The reward of humility, the fear of the Lord,
Is riches, and honour, and life.
The fear of man bringeth a snare:
But he that putteth his trust in the Lord shall be safe.

§ 14. *God and man.*—The sages have many aphorisms about God and of his dealings and relations with man.

A false balance is abomination to the Lord:
But just weights are his delight.
They that are of a froward heart are abomination to the Lord:
But such as are upright in their way are his delight.
The eyes of the Lord are in every place,
Beholding the evil and the good.
The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination to the Lord:
But the prayer of the upright is his delight.
The way of the wicked is an abomination unto the Lord;
But he loveth him that followeth after righteousness.
Sheol and Abaddon are before the Lord:
How much more then the hearts of the children of men!
The thoughts of wickedness are an abomination to the Lord:
But words of pleasantness are pure before him.
The Lord is far from the wicked:
But he heareth the prayer of the righteous.
Commit thy works unto the Lord,
And thy purposes shall be established.
Every one that is proud in heart is an abomination to the Lord:
He shall surely not be unpunished.
A man's heart deviseth his way:
But the Lord directeth his steps.
Just balance and scales are the Lord's:
All the weights of the bag are his work.
Divers weights, and divers measures,
Both of them are alike abomination to the Lord.
He that giveth heed to the Word shall find good:
And whoso trusteth in the Lord, happy is he.
The fining pot is for silver, and the furnace for gold:
But the Lord trieth the hearts.
The name of the Lord is a strong tower:
The righteous runneth into it, and is safe.
There are many devices in a man's heart;
But the purpose of the Lord, that shall stand.

The fear of the Lord tendeth to life:
And he that hath it shall pass the night satisfied;
He shall not be visited with evil.
The hearing ear, and the seeing eye,
The Lord hath made even both of them.
The spirit of man is a lamp of the Lord,
Searching all the chambers of the body.
Every way of man is right in his own eyes:
But the weigher of hearts is the Lord.
To do justice and judgement
Is more acceptable to the Lord than sacrifice.
The horse is prepared against the day of battle:
But victory is of the Lord.
Evil men understand not justice;
But they that seek the Lord understand all things.
He that is of an insatiate soul stirreth up strife:
But he that trusteth in the Lord shall be made fat.
Many seek the ruler's favour;
But every man's right cometh from the Lord.

'A man's heart deviseth his way': compare the German proverb, *Der Mensch denkt, Gott lenkt.*

'The weights of the bag': the merchant carried his weights and balance in a bag.

'Heed to the Word': i.e. in all probability, the written Word of the Law.

'Every way of man': the usual exaggeration of a proverb. We must constantly substitute 'many' for 'every,' 'often' for 'always,' 'something' for 'everything.'

'Evil men understand not justice.' The wicked lose the sense of right and wrong; the righteous tend to hit the nail upon the head in every moral question.

'The ruler's favour': the point is, Flatter not the powerful, but trust in God.

Many of these simple adages are yet deeply true. The two points wherein they fail have been noticed before. First, the prosperity of them who fear the Lord is often only, if we may use the phrase, the prosperity of suffering or of sorrow. Secondly, while God loves the righteous, we are not prepared to say that he is far from the wicked. Evil must be an abomination to goodness, impurity to the divine pureness, and yet we must not allow that the providence of God does not extend to all. The coalescence, the equivalence in God of justice and love must never

be lost sight of. Love will never in him be divorced from justice, but justice will never be divorced from love.

§ 15. *The king.*—The aphorisms of our sages deal but slightly with public life. We must remember that they were living under foreign domination, either at a time when the vast empire of Persia was controlled by the sovereign will of one man, or when, under the rule of the Ptolemies, the best policy was to remain quiet, the best hope to be undisturbed. Their ideal king is a just despot.

Wicked doing is an abomination to kings;
For the throne is established by righteousness.
Righteous lips are the delight of kings;
And they love him that speaketh right.
The wrath of a king is as messengers of death;
But a wise man will pacify it.
In the light of the king's countenance is life;
And his favour is a cloud of spring rain.
The king's wrath is as the roaring of a lion;
But his favour is as dew upon the grass.
A king that sitteth on the throne of judgement
Sifteth away all evil with his eyes.
Take away the dross from the silver,
And there shall come forth a vessel for the finer;
Take away the wicked from before the king,
And his throne shall be established in righteousness.
Put not forth thyself in the presence of the king,
And stand not in the place of great men:
For better it is that it be said unto thee, Come up hither;
Than that thou shouldest be put lower in the presence of the prince.
The king that faithfully judgeth the poor,
His throne shall be established for ever.
A king by judgement establisheth the land:
But one of many taxes overthroweth it.
Mercy and truth preserve the king:
And his throne is upholden by mercy.
My son, fear thou the Lord and the king,
And meddle not with them that are given to change:
For their calamity shall rise suddenly:
And who knoweth the ruin of their years?

§ 16. *Miscellaneous proverbs.*—I will now put together some miscellaneous proverbs and epigrams from the second to the fifth sections of the book, beginning with a few about women and children.

A gracious woman obtaineth honour:
But a woman that hateth righteousness is a seat of disgrace.
It is better to dwell in a corner of the roof,
Than to keep common house with a brawling woman.
It is better to dwell in the wilderness,
Than with a quarrelsome woman and vexation.
Whoso findeth a good wife findeth a treasure,
And obtaineth favour from the Lord.
A virtuous woman is a crown to her husband:
But she that maketh him ashamed is as rottenness in his bones.
Houses and riches are the inheritance of fathers;
But a prudent wife is from the Lord.

He that spareth his rod hateth his son:
But he that loveth him chasteneth him betimes.
Children's children are the crown of old men;
And the glory of children are their fathers.
Even a child is known by his doings,
Whether his disposition be pure and upright.
Train up a child in the way he should go:
And when he is old he will not depart from it:
Foolishness clings to the heart of a child;
But the rod of correction shall drive it far from him.
The father of the righteous shall greatly rejoice:
And he that hath a wise child shall have joy of him.

The labour of the righteous tendeth to life:
The revenue of the wicked to sin.
A righteous man regardeth the soul of his beast:
But the heart of the wicked is cruel.
Hope deferred maketh the heart sick:
But the fulfilled desire is a tree of life.
The heart knoweth its own bitterness;
And a stranger cannot intermeddle with its joy.
There is a way which seemeth right to a man,
But the end thereof are the ways of death.

Even in laughter the heart may be sorrowful;
And there is mirth whose end is grief.
The backslider hath his fill from his own ways;
And a good man from his own deeds.
A tranquil heart is the life of the flesh:
But passion the rottenness of the bones.
Righteousness exalteth a nation:
But sin is a people's reproach.
There is a path of life upwards for the wise,
That he may depart from Sheol beneath.
An ungodly man diggeth mischief:
And in his lips there is as a burning fire.

A friend loveth at all times,
As a brother is he in adversity.
A man of many friends cometh into trouble:
But there is a friend that sticketh closer than a brother.
Many men are called good-natured;
But a faithful friend who can find?
Faithful are the wounds of a friend;
But the kisses of an enemy are deceitful.
Iron is sharpened by iron;
So a man sharpeneth the wit of his friend.
A man that flattereth his neighbour
Spreadeth a net for his feet.
Ointment and perfume rejoice the heart;
But a friend is sweeter than fragrant wood.

It is naught, it is naught, saith the buyer:
But when he is gone his way, then he boasteth.
Bread of deceit is sweet to a man;
But afterward his mouth shall be filled with gravel.
The glory of young men is their strength:
And the beauty of old men is the hoary head.
The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination to the Lord:
How much more when he bringeth it for a crime!
A good name is rather to be chosen than great riches;
And grace is better than silver and gold.
He that hath a bountiful eye shall be blessed;
For he giveth of his bread to the poor.
If thou faint in the day of adversity,
Thy strength is small.

As an earring of gold, and a setting of fine gold,
So is a wise speech upon a listening ear.
As the cold of snow in the time of harvest,
So is a faithful messenger to them that send him:
For he refresheth the soul of his masters.
As snow in summer, and as rain in harvest,
So honour is not seemly for a fool.
A man that beareth false witness against his neighbour
Is a maul, and a sword, and a sharp arrow.
Confidence in a faithless man in time of trouble
Is like a broken tooth, and a foot out of joint.
As vinegar falling upon a wound,
So is he that singeth songs to a heavy heart.
As cold water to a thirsty soul,
So is good news from a far country.
As the sparrow in its fluttering, or as the swallow in its flying,
So the causeless curse; it shall not come to pass.
Whoso boasteth of gifts which he doth not give,
Is like mist and wind without rain.
He that exciteth himself over a quarrel which does not concern him,
Is like one that taketh a passing dog by the ears.
As a madman that casteth firebrands and deadly arrows,
So is the man that deceiveth his neighbour,
And saith, Am not I in sport?

Fervent lips and a wicked heart—
Silver dross that overlayeth a potsherd.
He that hateth dissembleth with his lips,
But he layeth up deceit within him;
When he speaketh fair, believe him not:
For there are seven abominations in his heart.
Though his hatred be covered by deceit,
His wickedness will betray itself before the whole congregation.

Whoso diggeth a pit shall fall therein:
And he that rolleth a stone, it will return upon him.
Boast not thyself of to-morrow;
For thou knowest not what a day may bring forth.
Wrath is cruel, and anger overflowing;
But who can stand before jealousy?

The satisfied treadeth an honeycomb under foot;
But to the hungry every bitter thing is sweet.
As a bird that wandereth from her nest,
So is a man that wandereth from his home.
As in water face answereth to face,
So the heart of man to man.

Toil not to be rich:
Cease from turning thy wisdom thereto.
Wilt thou but let thine eyes glance upon it, and it is gone!
For riches certainly make themselves wings:
They fly away as an eagle towards heaven.

Remove not the ancient landmark,
Which thy fathers have set.
Remove not the landmark of the widow;
And enter not into the fields of the fatherless:
For their Redeemer is mighty;
He shall plead their cause with thee.

Deliver them that are drawn away unto death,
Keep back those that move to the slaughter;
If thou sayest, Behold, we knew it not;
Doth not he that weigheth the heart consider it?
And he that keepeth thy soul, doth not he know it?
And shall he not render to every man according to his work?

Hear thou, my son, and be wise,
And guide thine heart in the right way.
Be not among wine-bibbers;
Among gluttonous eaters of flesh:
For the drunkard and the riotous liver shall come to poverty:
And drowsiness shall clothe a man with rags.

Who hath woe? who hath sorrow?
Who hath quarrellings, who hath complainings?
Who hath wounds without cause?
Who hath redness of eyes?
They that tarry long at the wine;
They that go to try mixed wine.
Look not thou upon the wine, how red it is,
How it sheweth in the cup its gleaming,

How smoothly it glideth down!
  At the last it biteth like a serpent,
  And stingeth like an adder.
Thine eyes shall behold strange things,
  And thine heart shall utter perversity.
Yea, thou shalt be as he that lieth down in the midst of the sea,
  Or as he that lieth on the top of a mast.
'They have stricken me,' shalt thou say, 'and I was not hurt;
They have beaten me, and I felt it not.
When shall I awake?
I will seek it yet again.'

Be not jealous of evil men,
  Neither desire to be with them:
For their heart studieth destruction,
  And their lips talk of mischief.
Fret not thyself against evil men,
  Be not jealous of the wicked;
For there shall be no future to evil men;
  The lamp of the wicked shall be put out.
Let not thine heart be jealous of sinners;
  But let it be jealous for the fear of the Lord all the day long:
For surely there is a future;
  And thine hope shall not be cut off.

'Iron is sharpened by iron.' The translation and meaning are doubtful. The usual explanation is that social intercourse sharpens the wits. If we press the word 'friend,' it is no less true that a friend draws out and evokes the best that is in us.

'When he bringeth it for a crime': i. e. as an attempted atonement for his guilt. The false sin-offering is the worst of all sacrifices.

'The cold of snow.' The simile is used twice in two different ways. In the first maxim the reference is to the deliciousness of a drink cooled by snow to a worker in the harvest field; in the second, the allusion is to the untimeliness of snow in the summer season.

'As in water face answereth to face.' The meaning is not wholly clear. It is sometimes said to mean that 'in the heart of our friend we see our own character reflected just as gazing into a still pool we see the reflection of our own face. It is in

the frank and sympathetic intercourse of friendship that we really get to know ourselves, and to realize what is in us' (Horton). Or it may perhaps mean that finding our own feelings echoed by another we can both give and obtain sympathy. A third view interprets the proverb in a bad sense, taking it to mean that a man is prone to recognize his own faults in his neighbour: the conceited man notices conceit, the proud man pride, and so on.

'Deliver them that are drawn away unto death.' The allusion is apparently to those who have been unjustly condemned and who might have been or might yet be saved if certain witnesses or intercessors, silent through fear or self-interest, came forward on their behalf.

'Jealous for the fear of the Lord.' It is a sort of play upon words. The seeming and precarious prosperity of the wicked must not cause unrest or envy. Be excited to become as good as possible: that is the only legitimate jealousy.

One noticeable adage the too casual reader might be inclined to pass over with small notice. 'The backslider hath his fill from his own ways; and a good man from his own deeds.' In other words, sin and virtue carry in them and with them their own inevitable reward. The true 'reward' or 'punishment,' as the case may be, is not something 'external,' something which may or may not be added on by another (whether by man or by God), but it is something 'internal.' There is a recoil both from goodness and wickedness, like the recoil of a gun after it has been fired. 'Bread of deceit is sweet to a man; but afterward his mouth shall be filled with gravel.' Who put the gravel there? *Himself. His own deed.*

'Surely there is a future to the good,' say the sages, implying that to the wicked there is none. So far as that we do not and we cannot go. The hope of humanity is common for all. But leaving the wicked to the just and purifying hands of God, we echo with even deeper meaning the words of the sages, 'Surely there is a future, and thy hope shall not be in vain.' As a later sage has written—

> 'The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God:
> Their hope is full of immortality.'

§ 17. *The praise of the virtuous woman.*—The last section of the Book of Proverbs is very famous. It consists of an acrostic upon the virtuous woman, or, rather, using two German words for which we have no exact English equivalents, upon *die wackere Hausfrau.* It is an acrostic because in the original the twenty-two distichs begin with the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet.

Who can find a virtuous woman?
For her price is far above rubies.
The heart of her husband doth safely trust in her,
And of substance he hath no lack.
She will do him good and not evil
All the days of her life.
She seeketh wool and flax,
And worketh willingly with her hands.
She is like the merchants' ships;
She bringeth her provision from afar.
She riseth also while it is yet night,
And giveth food to her household,
And their portion to her maidens.
She considereth a field, and buyeth it:
Of the fruit of her hands she planteth a vineyard.
She girdeth her loins with strength,
And strengtheneth her arms.
She perceiveth that her merchandise is good:
Her candle goeth not out by night.
She layeth her hands to the spindle,
And her fingers hold the distaff.
She stretcheth out her hand to the poor;
Yea, she reacheth forth her arms to the needy.
She is not afraid of the snow for her household:
For all her household are clothed with scarlet.
She maketh herself coverings of tapestry;
Her clothing is silk and purple.
Her husband is known in the gates,
When he sitteth among the elders of the land.
She maketh fine linen, and selleth it;
And delivereth girdles unto the merchant.
Strength and dignity are her clothing;
And she laugheth at the time to come.
She openeth her mouth with wisdom;
And on her tongue is a teaching of kindness.
She looketh well to the ways of her household,
And eateth not the bread of idleness.
Her children arise up, and call her blessed;
Her husband also, and he praiseth her.
Many daughters have done virtuously,
But thou excellest them all.
Favour is deceitful, and beauty is vain:

But a woman that feareth the Lord, she shall be praised.
Give her of the fruit of her hands;
And let her own works praise her in the gates.

§ 18. *The Praise of Wisdom.*—The finest part of the Book of Proverbs I have left to the last. It is the opening section of the book, comprising the first nine chapters out of the total thirty-one. These chapters are a sort of introduction to the whole, prefixed, as we may presume, by the editor and collector of the remaining portions. They are not wholly continuous (for they themselves contain some disconnected groups of aphorisms), and yet they are sufficiently of one mould and character to deserve a common title. Hence they are often called 'the Praise of Wisdom.' They are sufficiently connected, moreover, as to make it likely that they were written by one man, perhaps the collector, as I have already suggested, of the proverbs that are to follow. Hence the *first* nine chapters are probably the *latest* chapters in the book. But it seems likely that there is at least one insertion in them, including one 'sonnet' upon the Sluggard and two upon the Sower of Discord. I will indicate these insertions by a bracket.

The wisdom which is celebrated and praised in these introductory chapters is of a higher type or kind than the wisdom of the separate proverbs. That wisdom, though rooted in the reverence of God, tended sometimes, as applied to human affairs, to degenerate into worldly prudence or into the cautious and negative discretion that is won from a narrow and chilling experience. But the wisdom of the introductory chapters, while not without points of connexion with 'prudence,' yet soars high and far above the more petty affairs of earth until it finds its ultimate rest and origin in the very purpose and nature of God. Of the same virtue through which God created and governs the world, man too may claim his infinitesimal share. Wisdom in this exalted and ethical sense is the bond which unites heaven and earth, mankind and God.

I am not able to give these introductory chapters in their entirety. But this book only pretends to give selections from the Bible, with helps and thoughts for the better and wiser appreciation of it; the entire Bible is not contained in it.

The author of the introduction first gives, as it were, the contents and objects of the entire book. He puts the proverbs in the mouth of King Solomon. I have already explained, on p. 281 of Part I, how the tendency increased to ascribe all proverbs to Solomon, just as laws were ascribed to Moses, and Psalms to David. The tendency was much older than the author of our introductory chapters; he simply followed the custom of his time and concealed

himself under the shadow of a great hero of the past. There was no deception intended, and for some generations probably nobody misunderstood the fashion of the time.

The proverbs of Solomon the son of David, king of Israel:
To know wisdom and instruction;
To comprehend the words of understanding;
To obtain the discipline of wisdom,
Justice, and right, and equity;
To give subtilty to the simple,
To the young man knowledge and discretion:
That the wise may hear, and increase his learning;
And the man of understanding acquire guidance:
To understand a proverb, and a figure;
The words of the wise, and their riddles.

Then comes a distich which some people regard as the intended motto for the whole book.

THE FEAR OF THE LORD IS THE BEGINNING OF KNOWLEDGE;
WISDOM AND DISCIPLINE FOOLS DESPISE.

A warning against bloodshed and the company of murderers and robbers opens the discourse. A teacher of wisdom would not nowadays warn his disciples against the temptations of a highwayman's life. But in the unsettled days of the fourth century B.C. the warning was doubtless necessary.

My son, hear the discipline of thy father,
And forsake not the teaching of thy mother:
For they shall be a wreath of grace unto thy head,
And chains about thy neck.
My son, if sinners entice thee, consent thou not.
If they say, 'Come with us, let us lay wait for the upright,
Let us lurk privily for the innocent:
Let us swallow them up alive as Sheol;
And the guiltless, as those that go down into the pit:
We shall find all kinds of precious substance,
We shall fill our houses with spoil:
Cast in thy lot among us;
Let us all have one purse':

Walk not thou in the way with them;
  Refrain thy foot from their path.
For in vain the net is spread in the sight of any bird.
But they lay wait for their own blood;
  They lurk privily for their own lives.
Such is the lot of them that are greedy of unjust gain;
  Through their own wickedness they are taken away.

The next passage, another cry of warning, is put as a monologue in the mouth of personified Wisdom. (We must remember, for even the genders of words have their importance in theology, that the Hebrew '*Chochmah*' or Wisdom is a feminine noun, like the Greek '*Sophia*.' The Hebrew *Dabar* or Word is a masculine noun, like the Greek *Logos*.)

Wisdom crieth in the street;
  She uttereth her voice in the open spaces:
She crieth in the chief place of concourse, in the openings of
    the gates:
  In the city she uttereth her words:

'How long, ye simple ones, will ye love simplicity,
  And the scorners delight in their scorning,
  And fools hate knowledge?
Turn you at my reproof:
Behold, I will pour out my spirit unto you,
  I will make known my words unto you.

'Because I have called, and ye refused;
  I have stretched out my hand, and no man regarded;
But ye have set at nought all my counsel,
  And would none of my reproof:
I also will laugh at your calamity;
  I will mock when your fear cometh;
When your fear cometh as desolation,
  And your calamity cometh as a whirlwind;
  When distress and anguish cometh upon you:
Then shall they call upon me, but I will not answer;
  They shall seek me earnestly, but they shall not find me:
For that they hated knowledge,
  And did not choose the fear of the Lord;
They would none of my counsel;
  They despised all my reproof.

Therefore shall they eat of the fruit of their own way,
And be filled with their own devices.
For the backsliding of the simple shall slay them,
And the prosperity of fools shall destroy them.
But whoso hearkeneth unto me shall dwell safely,
And shall rest free from fear of evil.'

It is scarcely necessary to say that 'simplicity' in this passage is a mere synonym for folly.

Is this speech of wisdom vindictive? So far as wisdom is the representative of God, it is wholly unfit to imagine her as 'laughing' even at the inevitable and self-wrought ruin of those who stubbornly shut their ears against her teaching and influence. But wisdom seems endowed dramatically with some of the grosser traits of a humanized goddess. She 'laughs' at the ruin of her opponents as Athene might laugh in Homer.

Next comes a consecutive passage on the fruits of wisdom, both negative and positive. It is marked by the customary conviction of the sages that all wrongdoing must, even on earth, find at last its evil issue, and all rightdoing its just reward. In this conviction they were both wrong and right. Wrongdoing *must* cause calamity, but the calamity does not always fall upon the wrong-doer. It *must* add to the amount of evil in the world; but the misery it causes, as distinct from the evil, may fall upon the innocent, and not only, or even also, upon the wrong-doer. Rightdoing and pure purposing *must* add to the well-being and happiness of the world; but sometimes the well-being and happiness caused and created by them are not shared by the right-doer himself. In the cause of goodness the good must often suffer and be sacrificed. But a sacrifice made for goodness, for love, or for God, is in itself a kind of beatitude which may transfigure calamity. And even so the consciousness of impurity and of evil, or the stings of remorse and of shame, may be a powerful 'punishment' in the midst of apparent sunshine and prosperity. Rightly does the great philosopher Plato urge again and again that the most miserable and pitiable of all men is the sinner who suffers no 'punishment,' whether by outward calamity or by the stings of remorse. He sinks deeper and deeper into the mire of evil. For the only true evil is sin, and the only true good is righteousness.

My son, if thou wilt receive my words,
And hide my commandments with thee;
So that thou incline thine ear unto wisdom,
And apply thine heart to understanding;

Yea, if thou criest after knowledge,
And liftest up thy voice for understanding;
If thou seekest her as silver,
And searchest for her as for hid treasures;
Then shalt thou understand the fear of the Lord,
And find the knowledge of God.
For the Lord giveth wisdom:
Out of his mouth cometh knowledge and understanding.
He layeth up true welfare for the righteous:
He is a buckler to them that walk uprightly,
And keep the paths of judgement:
He preserveth the way of his pious ones.
Then shalt thou understand righteousness and judgement,
And equity; yea, every good path.
For wisdom shall enter into thine heart,
And knowledge will be pleasant unto thy soul;
Discretion shall preserve thee,
Understanding shall keep thee:
To deliver thee from the way of evil,
From them that speak perversity;
Who leave the paths of uprightness,
To walk in the ways of darkness;
Who rejoice to do evil,
And delight in wicked perversity;
Who make their ways crooked,
And bend aside in their paths:
That thou mayest walk in the way of good men,
And keep the paths of the righteous.
For the upright shall dwell in the land,
And the flawless shall remain in it.
But the wicked shall be cut off from the earth,
And the faithless shall be rooted out of it.

Now follow further exhortations to wisdom and to the fear of God.

My son, forget not my law;
But let thine heart keep my commandments:
For length of days, and long life,
And peace, shall they add to thee.
Let not mercy and truth forsake thee:
Bind them about thy neck;

Write them upon the table of thine heart:
So shalt thou find favour and good repute
In the sight of God and man.

Trust in the Lord with all thine heart;
And lean not unto thine own understanding.
In all thy ways acknowledge him,
And he shall make plain thy paths.

Be not wise in thine own eyes:
Fear the Lord, and depart from evil.
It shall be health to thy flesh,
And refreshment to thy bones.

Honour the Lord with thy substance,
And with the firstfruits of all thine increase:
So shall thy barns be filled with plenty,
And thy presses shall overflow with new wine.

My son, despise not the chastening of the Lord;
Neither be weary of his correction:
For whom the Lord loveth he correcteth;
And he giveth pain to the son in whom he delighteth.

The last exhortation is deservedly famous. It is one of the deepest sayings in the Bible. The second half of it in the present Hebrew text runs thus: 'For whom the Lord loveth he correcteth; even as a father the son in whom he delighteth.' But as the present text is not good Hebrew, and the Greek translation gives what I have put above, it is probable that the original Hebrew ran according to the Greek. The change involved is very small.

Happy is the man that findeth wisdom,
And the man that getteth understanding.
For the merchandise of it is better than the merchandise of silver,
And the gain thereof than fine gold.
She is more precious than rubies:
And all the things thou canst desire are not to be compared unto her.
Length of days is in her right hand;
And in her left hand riches and honour.
Her ways are ways of pleasantness,
And all her paths are peace.

She is a tree of life to them that lay hold upon her:
And happy is every one that retaineth her.

The Lord by wisdom hath founded the earth;
By understanding hath he established the heavens.
By his knowledge the depths were broken up,
And the clouds drop down the dew.

My son, let not them depart from thine eyes;
Keep sound wisdom and discretion:
So shall they be life unto thy soul,
And grace to thy neck.
Then shalt thou walk in thy way safely,
And thy foot shall not stumble.
When thou liest down, thou shalt not be afraid:
Yea, thou shalt lie down, and thy sleep shall be sweet.
Be not afraid of sudden fear,
Neither of the desolation of the wicked, when it cometh.
For the Lord shall be thy confidence,
And shall keep thy foot from being taken.

Withhold not good from them to whom it is due,
When it is in the power of thine hand to do it.
Say not unto thy neighbour,
Go, and come again, and to-morrow I will give;
When thou hast it by thee.

Envy thou not the violent man,
And choose none of his ways.
For the froward is an abomination to the Lord:
But his communion is with the righteous.

Hear, ye children, the instruction of a father,
And attend to know understanding.
For I give you good doctrine,
Forsake ye not my law.
While I was a son to my father,
Tender and an only one in the sight of my mother,
He taught me also, and said unto me,
'Let thine heart retain my words:
Keep my commandments, and forget them not;
Neither decline from the words of my mouth.
Get wisdom, get understanding;
Forsake her not, and she shall preserve thee:

Love her, and she shall keep thee.
As the firstfruits of thy substance get wisdom:
And with all thy possessions get understanding.
Exalt her, and she shall promote thee:
She shall bring thee to honour, when thou dost embrace her.
She shall give to thine head a wreath of grace:
A crown of glory shall she deliver to thee.'

Hear, O my son, and receive my sayings;
And the years of thy life shall be many.
I have taught thee in the way of wisdom;
I have led thee in right paths.
When thou goest, thy steps shall not be straitened;
And when thou runnest, thou shalt not stumble.
Take fast hold of discipline; let her not go:
Keep her; for she is thy life.

Enter not into the path of the wicked,
And go not in the way of evil men.
Avoid it, pass not by it,
Turn from it, and pass away.
For they sleep not, except they have done mischief;
And their sleep is taken away, unless they cause some to fall.
For they eat the bread of wickedness,
And drink the wine of violence.
The way of the wicked is as darkness:
They know not at what they stumble.
But the path of the just is as the shining light,
That shineth more and more unto the perfect day.

My son, attend to my words;
Incline thine ear unto my sayings.
Let them not depart from thine eyes;
Keep them in the midst of thine heart.
For they are life unto those that find them,
And health to all their flesh.

Keep thy heart with all diligence;
For out of it are the sources of life.
Put away from thee a froward mouth,
And perverse lips put far from thee.

Let thine eyes look right on,
And let thine eyelids look straight before thee.
Make even the path of the feet,
And let all thy ways be direct.
Turn not to the right hand nor to the left,
Remove thy foot from evil.

My son, attend unto my wisdom,
And bow thine ear to my understanding:
That thou mayest guard discretion,
And that thy lips may keep knowledge.
His own iniquities shall capture the wicked,
And he shall be held with the cords of his own sin.
He shall die for want of discipline;
And through the greatness of his folly he shall reel and fall.

'The froward is an abomination to the Lord.' It seems a pity to change a good old English word like 'froward,' but it may be questioned whether the meaning it now conveys to most readers represents the original. The Hebrew *naloz* means 'turned aside,' *deviating* from the right and straight path, perverse, crooked, transgressing; hence it becomes a mere synonym for 'wicked,' the sense of the metaphor being often as much lost as in our word 'transgression.' 'Froward,' the opposite of *toward* (compare the German *zuvorkommend*, where the ethical sense is predominant), means, according to Dr. Murray, 'disposed to go counter to what is demanded or what is reasonable; perverse, difficult to deal with, hard to please; refractory, ungovernable; also in a wider, now obsolete sense, bad, evilly disposed, naughty.' In Proverbs then it must be understood in its wider sense, as a synonym for 'evilly disposed' or 'bad.'

'His communion is with the righteous.' Another hard Hebrew word to translate. *Sôd* means a secret, a friendly intercourse, intimacy, friendship. The idea seems to be not merely that God 'shows himself friendly' to the righteous, but that the righteous are conscious of it. God is near them and reveals himself to them; through righteousness they have understood God, through goodness they commune with him. A great truth in a few words.

'The path of the just is as the shining light.' The perfect day is the hour of noon. A beautiful metaphor. The path of the wicked is veiled in growing obscurity. They become less and less able to distinguish between good and evil: their moral perceptions grow blunter and yet more blunt. Upon the righteous, on the

other hand, the divine light shines with increasing clearness. They recognize more quickly and distinguish more surely good and evil in all their infinite manifestations; their insight and their will act in complete and harmonious accord. The path of light is also the path of happiness. The highest righteousness is the deepest joy. In itself and apart from untoward circumstance the sunny nature is rooted in goodness; the atmosphere in which the good live, the very air they, as it were, create around them, are lightsome and joyful. Such seem the ideas contained in this famous distich.

[Go to the ant, thou sluggard;
Consider her ways, and be wise:
Who having no judge, overseer, or ruler,
Provideth her meat in the summer,
And gathereth her food in the harvest.
How long wilt thou sleep, O sluggard?
When wilt thou arise out of thy sleep?
'Yet a little sleep, a little slumber,
A little folding of the hands to sleep':
So shall poverty come upon thee as a highwayman,
And want as an armed man.

A worthless person, a wicked man—
He walketh with a froward mouth.
He winketh with his eyes,
He scrapeth with his feet,
He pointeth with his fingers;
Frowardness is in his heart,
He deviseth mischief continually;
He soweth discord.
Therefore shall his calamity come suddenly;
Suddenly shall he be broken without remedy.

These six things doth the Lord hate:
Yea, seven are an abomination unto him:
A proud look, a lying tongue,
And hands that shed innocent blood,
An heart that deviseth wicked imaginations,
Feet that be swift in running to mischief,
A false witness that speaketh lies,
And he that soweth discord among brethren.]

The introductory chapters are closed by two sections which I will here give in their reverse order so as to reserve the most famous and the greatest passage for the last.

Of the section, then, to be given first, the subject may be called, in Mr. Moulton's phrase, 'The House of Wisdom and the House of Folly.' The banquet of the one is contrasted with the banquet of the other. The one is a feast of life; the other is a feast of death. For righteousness endures, prospers, lives; wickedness passes, perishes, dies.

Wisdom hath builded her house,
She hath hewn out her seven pillars:
She hath killed her beasts; she hath mingled her wine;
She hath also furnished her table.
She hath sent forth her maidens:
She crieth upon the highest places of the city,
'Whoso is simple, let him turn in hither,'
As for him that wanteth understanding, she saith to him:
'Come, eat of my bread,
And drink of the wine which I have mingled.
Forsake folly, ye simple ones, and live;
And walk in the way of understanding.
For by me thy days shall be multiplied,
And the years of thy life shall be increased.
If thou be wise, thou shalt be wise for thyself:
And if thou scornest, thou alone shalt bear it.'

Dame Folly is clamorous:
She is simple, and knoweth nothing.
She sitteth at the door of her house,
On a throne in the high places of the city,
To call to passers by,
To them that walk straight in their paths:
'Whoso is simple, let him turn in hither':
And as for him that wanteth understanding, she saith to him,
'Stolen waters are sweet,
And secret bread hath a pleasant taste.'
But he knoweth not that the shades are there;
And that her guests are in the depths of Sheol.

The second section is once more a long soliloquy put in the mouth of Wisdom. And now the height of her argument is reached. The wisdom which teaches kings to reign well and

ministers to govern justly, which is the source of righteousness, and gives fruit better and more durable than gold,—this wisdom of man is akin to, as it is bestowed by, the universal or divine wisdom, which has no beginning and no end, and is scarcely separable, except in a figure of poetry, from the very function, and even from the very essence of God.

Doth not Wisdom cry?
And understanding put forth her voice?
In the top of high places by the way,
In the place where the paths meet she taketh her stand.
She crieth at the gates, at the entry of the city,
At the coming in at the doors:

'Unto you, O men, I call;
And my voice is to the sons of man.
O ye simple, understand wisdom:
And, ye fools, be ye of an understanding heart.
Hear; for I will speak of excellent things;
And the opening of my lips shall be right things.
For my mouth speaketh truth;
And wickedness is an abomination to my lips.
All the words of my mouth are in righteousness;
There is nothing froward or perverse in them.
They are all clear to him that understandeth,
And plain to them that find knowledge.

'Receive my instruction, and not silver;
And knowledge rather than choice gold.
For Wisdom is better than rubies;
And all the things that may be desired are not to be compared to it.
I Wisdom am possessed of sagacity,
And the knowledge of wise purposes is ready to my hand.
The fear of the Lord is to hate evil:
Pride, and arrogancy, and the evil way,
And the froward mouth, do I hate.
Counsel is mine, and sound wisdom:
I am understanding; I have strength.

'By me kings reign,
And princes decree justice.
By me princes rule,
And nobles, even all the judges of the earth.

I love them that love me;
And those that seek me earnestly shall find me.
Riches and honour are with me;
Yea, durable riches and righteousness.
My fruit is better than gold, yea, than fine gold;
And my revenue than choice silver.
I walk in the way of righteousness,
In the midst of the paths of judgement;
That I may cause those that love me to inherit substance;
And that I may fill their treasuries.

'The Lord produced me as the beginning of his way,
As the first of his works of old.
I was established from everlasting.
From the beginning, or ever the earth was.
When there were no floods, I was brought forth;
When there were no fountains abounding with water.
Before the mountains were settled,
Before the hills was I brought forth:
While as yet he had not made the earth, nor the fields,
Nor all the dust clods of the world.
When he prepared the heavens, I was there:
When he marked off the firmament over the face of the flood:
When he made firm the clouds above:
When he strengthened the fountains of the deep:
When he gave to the sea his decree,
That the waters should not pass his commandment:
When he fixed the foundations of the earth:
Then I was by him, as a master workman,
And I was daily all delight,
Playing always before him;
Playing on his habitable earth;
And my delight was in the sons of men.

'Now therefore hearken unto me, O ye children:
For happy are they that keep my ways.
Hear instruction, and be wise,
And refuse it not.
Blessed is the man that heareth me,
Watching daily at my gates,
Waiting at the posts of my doors.

For whoso findeth me findeth life,
And hath obtained favour of the Lord.
But he that misseth me wrongeth his own soul:
All they that hate me love death.'

'The Lord produced me.' Wisdom is God's firstborn. But the poetical figure is not meant to be taken literally. Wisdom, an attribute or aspect of God, is coeternal with himself, nor can thought imagine a time antecedent to creation.

'As a master workman.' A somewhat doubtful translation. Wisdom is represented as God's builder. Emphasis is laid on the joy felt by wisdom in her creative capacity. Her work is accomplished easily as if in play. Her delight culminates in creation's crown. For man alone, amid all the wonders of earth, was created in the image of God: man alone through wisdom, God's gift, can appreciate and praise the wisdom of his Maker. In this sense, as man's highest self, as the divine element within him, which manifests itself as knowledge and as goodness, and is the source of science and of love, wisdom is in very deed that by which man truly lives, so that the absence of wisdom is the advent of death. Without wisdom no true life; with her no true death. Not quite so much as this did our great sage yet mean, but no less than this was before long to come.

CHAPTER II

THE BOOK OF ECCLESIASTICUS

§ 1. *Joshua ben Sira.*—The Book of Proverbs, as we have it now, was probably in existence soon after the death of Alexander the Great. But the general tone of thought and point of view which prevail in it continued for long. The Jewish sages still spoke and taught on the same lines as the wise men of 'Proverbs.' About the year 180 B.C. a sage or scribe of Jerusalem composed or compiled a new book of 'proverbial philosophy' closely parallel to the Biblical book of adages and exhortations from which selections were made in the last chapter. His book was naturally written in Hebrew, but up till the other day no manuscript of the Hebrew, and no fragment of the manuscript, were believed to exist. The book was only known to us in an early Greek translation. (Later translations into other languages, such as Syriac and Ethiopic, exist also.) It was not placed by its author into the mouth of Solomon. He spoke in his own person. His name was Joshua ben Sira, or, as he is now called (from the Greek translation), Jesus the son of Sirach.

The collection of writings which we know as the Hebrew Bible was almost complete in the year 180 B.C., although at least one component part, the Book of Daniel, was still unwritten. A proverb book existed already; the erroneous notion that the bulk of it was written by Solomon had probably won by that time a general and unsuspecting acceptance. There was therefore no room or opportunity for this fresh compilation within the charmed circle of authorized and 'canonical' writings. It had to stand on its own merits outside. And for many ages it still continued to exist in its original Hebrew, but gradually the Jews (very foolishly, for there is much in it that is good and valuable) neglected it more and more; old copies were not recopied, but suffered to crumble and wear away; and so at last, after a somewhat feeble and shadowy existence of a thousand years and

more, it vanished wholly out of sight. But in the year 1896 a strange discovery was made. Two ladies brought back from their travels in the East a bundle of Hebrew manuscripts which they had obtained in Egypt. They gave these manuscripts to Dr. Schechter, who is the Reader in Rabbinic Literature at the University of Cambridge. In this bundle there were many fragments of this thing and of that, but among them the eagle eye of Dr. Schechter soon detected the most precious fragment of all—a fragment of the long-lost Hebrew original of the Book of Joshua ben Sira! This fragment extended from the fifteenth verse of the thirty-ninth chapter to the sixth verse of the fortieth chapter. It was at once printed by Dr. Schechter, with a literal English translation, in the magazine called the *Expositor* for July, 1896. Scholars could at once compare the Hebrew original with the existing Greek and Syriac translations. Even as I write these lines, I hear that Dr. Neubauer, the learned sub-librarian of the Bodleian Library at Oxford, fired by Dr. Schechter's example and discovery, made a fresh search among certain bundles of Hebrew manuscripts which had already been acquired from Egypt for the library; and lo! he did not seek in vain. For among them too were discovered fragments of Ben Sira's book, and these fragments will doubtless before long be also given to the world. Perhaps new discoveries may at last enable scholars to resuscitate the whole of Ben Sira's book in the language in which he wrote it.

[It is interesting to leave these lines as they were originally written. The hope expressed in them has already been partially fulfilled. Dr. Neubauer's fragments have been printed, and extend from the seventh verse of the fortieth chapter to the eleventh verse of the forty-ninth. Thus eleven chapters out of fifty-one are already before the world in their original form, and many more will shortly be published. For Dr. Schechter brought back a vast quantity of manuscripts from the *Genizah* or store-room of the synagogue at Cairo, and among these manuscripts he has discovered yet further portions of the Hebrew original of Ben Sira, which in the course of the present year (1898) will, let us hope, be printed and published.]

§ 2. *The Apocrypha.*—Some fifty years after Ben Sira's book had been written in Hebrew it was translated into Greek. It now forms, as I have already mentioned, one of that collection of Greek books called the Apocrypha. The word is the neuter plural of the Greek adjective *apokruphos*, *hidden* or *concealed*, and it means literally the *hidden* or *concealed* writings. Only a cursory explanation of the term can here be given. When the Greek trans-

lations of the books which now compose the Hebrew Bible were collected together for use in the Christian Churches of the East, where Greek was the universal language of prayer and of familiar speech, there was added to them a small group of other writings, not portions of the Hebrew Bible at all, and not all of them even originally written in Hebrew. One of these writings was the Greek translation of Ben Sira. A controversy grew up as to whether these books, concerning the origin and claims of which there was obscurity or dispute, did or did not rightly belong to the Sacred Scriptures. Hence they were called Apocrypha—the obscure or hidden writings. By the Roman Catholic Church they are regarded as 'canonical'—i. e. as parts of the 'Bible'; by all Protestants, including the Church of England, they are not so recognized. Neither are they by Jewish authorities.

For us to-day the whole dispute has become of small value and meaning. A book is wise and good and true on account of what it contains, and not because it is included in or excluded from a particular collection. The Bible is holy because of its contents, but its contents are not holy because *it* is called so. We have no other means and criterion of knowing whether any given chapter or paragraph in the Bible is good and wise and true than those by which we decide whether any parts of any other book are so or are not so. We cannot defend any particular sentence in the Bible by merely saying, 'It is in the Bible'; nor is any sentence in the Apocrypha of less value or beauty because it is not in the Bible. The greatness of the Bible needs no external props. Like a deed of goodness, its value is in itself. And as to the apocryphal writings, they too must stand or fall on their own internal merit. Ben Sira's work has no cause to fear the test.

§ 3. *Characteristics of Ben Sira.*—Joshua ben Sira's book, then, is one, and the largest one, of the apocryphal books. It is divided into fifty-one chapters (Proverbs has thirty-one), and forms about one-fifth part of the entire Apocrypha. It is also known to us under the name of *Ecclesiasticus*. That Latin word means 'belonging to a church,' and Ben Sira's book was called 'ecclesiasticus liber,' the church book, because it was considered a book suitable to be read in church, but not (at that time) 'canonical,' or authoritative in matters of faith. The subject of it (like the Biblical Book of Proverbs) is the Praise of Wisdom, together with numerous counsels, exhortations, and reflections upon the many sides and circumstances of human life. The book has been well described by Professor Schürer in the following words:—

'The fundamental thought of the author is that of wisdom. For

him the highest and most perfect wisdom resides only in God, who has established and who continues to govern all things in accordance with his marvellous knowledge and understanding. On the part of man, therefore, true wisdom consists in his trusting and obeying God. The fear of God is the beginning and end of all wisdom. Hence it is that the author, living as he did at a time when the fear of God and the observance of the law were already regarded as one and the same thing, inculcates above all the duty of adhering faithfully to the law and keeping the commandments. But besides this he also points out in the next place how the truly wise man is to comport himself in the manifold relationships of practical life. And accordingly his book contains an inexhaustible fund of rules for the regulation of conduct in joy and sorrow, in prosperity and adversity, in sickness and in health, in struggle and temptation, in social life, in intercourse with friends and enemies, with high and low, rich and poor, with the good and the wicked, the wise and the foolish, in trade, business, and one's ordinary calling; above all, in one's own house and family in connexion with the training of children, the treatment of men-servants and maid-servants, and the way in which a man ought to behave towards his own wife and towards women generally. For all those manifold relationships the most precise directions are furnished—directions that are prompted by a spirit of moral earnestness which only now and then degenerates into mere worldly prudence. The counsels of the author are the mature fruit of a profound and comprehensive study of human things and of a wide experience of life. In entering as they do into such a multiplicity of details, they at the same time furnish us with a lively picture of the manners and customs and of the culture generally of his time and his people. How far the thoughts expressed, as well as the form in which they are expressed, were the author's own, and how far he only collected what was already in current and popular use, it is of course impossible in any particular instance to determine. To a certain extent he may have done both. But in any case he was not a mere collector or compiler, the characteristic personality of the author stands out far too distinctly and prominently for that. Notwithstanding the diversified character of the apothegms, they are all the outcome of one connected view of life and the world.'

The son of Sira was a professional sage; he was a scribe, an expounder of the law. As we shall see, he held his office high, and glorified it in his book. He was a little inclined to look down on those who laboured with their hands and had no leisure for study and thought. Herein we may see a trace of Greek influence,

for the Greek philosophers believed that leisure (*scholê*) was necessary for the attainment of wisdom and the highest life. The later sages and rabbis were wont to combine 'the study of the law' with manual labour. In this they were perhaps superior to Ben Sira. He resembles them in the perilous identification of Wisdom with the Pentateuch. For herein we shall mark a difference between Ben Sira and the author of the Praise of Wisdom in the Book of Proverbs. For the latter, Wisdom, the essential attribute of God, has not yet been absorbed into a book, or made co-equal with a code; but Ben Sira idealizes the Law so as to make it the incarnation of Wisdom, and sometimes lowers Wisdom to a complete equivalence with a book.

It is also noticeable, as Mr. Moulton in his excellent introduction to Ecclesiasticus, in the *Modern Reader's Bible*, well points out, that 'on the whole the book contains not so much general ethical notions as the particular applications of them which we call behaviour. . . . The separation has not yet taken place between manners and morals.' Good counsel how to behave at a feast and to be silent during the music is excellent in itself and quite desirable, but it seems strange to find in close juxtaposition to it an adage on the fear of the Lord. One might too hastily imagine that the author put the fear of God on the same plane of importance as foolish or inexpedient behaviour. But this would be a ludicrously false inference. It is merely that manners and morals were not yet rigorously marked off from each other. Their close connexion in history is clearly indicated by language. The Latin word *mos* means first of all *custom, usage, habit*, and then in the plural, *manners, moral habits, character, morals*. In French *les mœurs* still mean *manners*. In German we have the word *Sitte*, which means *custom, fashion*, and the cognate word *Sittlichkeit*, which means *morality*. It is a fascinating chapter of human history to trace in language, in history, and in thought the development of *Sittlichkeit* out of *Sitte*, of *morality* out of *mos*. We may venture to doubt whether a too absolute separation between manners and morals is of advantage to either. We call to mind that fine old English proverb which, through William of Wykeham their founder, has become the motto of his great school at Winchester and his great college at Oxford: *Manners maketh man*.

§ 4. *Ben Sira's essays.*—The literary form of Ecclesiasticus is not quite the same as that of Proverbs. There are in Ben Sira also a number of separate and disconnected adages, but no less frequent is a grouping together of several adages to form a single

whole about a single subject. In fact it is often more than mere grouping or addition of one to one; it is a connected little discourse. Mr. Moulton does not hesitate to call these little discourses *essays*. He finds some forty-seven of these essays in the book, besides the two long *rhetoric encomia* which fill its last eight chapters. Mr. Moulton's introduction deals admirably with Ben Sira's form and style, and I hope that many readers of my book will pass on to his.

§ 5. *The Preface of the Greek Translator.*—The Greek version of Ben Sira is opened by a preface from the pen of the translator, who was the grandson of the author. He explains why he made the translation, and asks, in quite a modern sort of way, for the indulgence of the friendly reader. Perhaps this is one of the earliest prefaces by a translator in all literature.

And here I may take the opportunity to state again that my selections from Ecclesiasticus and from all other books of the Apocrypha are taken from the Revised Version. For permission to use this Version, I must express my sincere thanks and gratitude to the authorities of the University Presses of Oxford and Cambridge.

Whereas many and great things have been delivered unto us by the law and the prophets, and by the others that have followed in their steps, for the which things we must give Israel the praise of instruction and wisdom; and since not only the readers must needs become skilful themselves, but also they that love learning must be able to profit them which are without, both by speaking and writing; my grandfather Jesus, having much given himself to the reading of the law, and the prophets, and the other books of our fathers, and having gained great familiarity therein, was drawn on also himself to write somewhat pertaining to instruction and wisdom; in order that those who love learning, and are addicted to these things, might make progress much more by living according to the law.

Ye are intreated therefore to read with favour and attention, and to pardon us, if in any parts of what we have laboured to interpret, we may seem to fail in some of the phrases. For things originally spoken in Hebrew have not the same force in them, when they are translated into another tongue: and not only these, but the law itself, and the prophecies, and the rest of the books, have no small difference, when they are spoken in their original language.

For having come into Egypt in the eight and thirtieth year of Euergetes the king, and having continued there some time, I found a copy affording no small instruction. I thought it therefore most necessary for me to apply some diligence and travail to interpret this book; applying indeed much watchfulness and skill in that space of time to bring the book to an end, and set it forth for them also, who in the land of their sojourning are desirous to learn, fashioning their manners beforehand, so as to live according to the law.

The words 'I found a copy affording no small instruction' should probably run thus: 'I found no small difference of culture.' The translator means that he thought the standard of piety was higher in Palestine than in Egypt, and that the Egyptian Jews would therefore be benefited by the translation of his grandfather's work into their vernacular, that is to say, into Greek. The thirty-eighth year of Ptolemy Euergetes (Ptolemy Physcon VII) would be 132 B.C.

§ 6. *The Fear of the Lord.*—The fundamental virtue to the son of Sirach, as to the sages of Proverbs, is the fear of the Lord. His book opens with its praise. But this fear is no slavish terror. It is a reverence which admits and is almost synonymous with love. Ben Sira closely connects this fear of the Lord with the wisdom which is God's attribute and his gift.

All wisdom cometh from the Lord,
And is with him for ever.
The sand of the seas,
And the drops of rain,
And the days of eternity, who shall number?
The height of the heaven,
And the breadth of the earth, and the deep,
And wisdom, who shall search them out?
Wisdom hath been created before all things,
And the understanding of prudence from everlasting.

To whom hath the root of wisdom been revealed?
And who hath known her shrewd counsels?
There is one wise,
Greatly to be feared,
The Lord sitting upon his throne:
He created her,

And saw, and numbered her,
And poured her out upon all his works.
She is with all flesh according to his gift;
And he gave her freely to them that love him.

The fear of the Lord
Is glory and exultation,
And gladness, and a crown of rejoicing.

The fear of the Lord
Shall delight the heart,
And shall give gladness, and joy, and length of days.

Whoso feareth the Lord,
It shall go well with him at the last,
And in the day of his death he shall be blessed.

To fear the Lord
Is the beginning of wisdom;
With men she laid an eternal foundation;
And with their seed shall she be had in trust.

To fear the Lord
Is the fulness of wisdom;
And she satiateth men with her fruits.
She shall fill all her house with desirable things,
And her garners with her produce.

The fear of the Lord
Is the crown of wisdom,
Making peace and perfect health to flourish.
He both saw and numbered her;
He rained down skill and knowledge of understanding,
And exalted the honour of them that hold her fast.
To fear the Lord is the root of wisdom;
And her branches are length of days.

The author demands whole-hearted faith in God, even in the midst of sorrow and affliction. He has small patience with the 'fearful hearts' and the 'faint hands'; they are to him sinners who halt between two stools, that 'go two ways.'

Ye that fear the Lord,
Wait for his mercy;
And turn not aside, lest ye fall.

Ye that fear the Lord,
  Put your trust in him;
  And your reward shall not fail.
Ye that fear the Lord,
  Hope for good things,
  And for eternal gladness and mercy.

Look at the generations of old, and see:
  Who did ever put his trust in the Lord, and was ashamed?
  Or who did abide in his fear, and was forsaken?
  Or who did call upon him, and he despised him?
For the Lord is full of compassion and mercy;
  And he forgiveth sins, and saveth in time of affliction.

Woe unto fearful hearts, and to faint hands,
  And to the sinner that goeth two ways!
Woe unto the faint heart! for it believeth not,
  Therefore shall it not be defended.
Woe unto you that have lost your patience!
  And what will ye do when the Lord shall visit you?

They that fear the Lord will not disobey his words;
  And they that love him will keep his ways.
They that fear the Lord will seek his good pleasure;
  And they that love him shall be filled with the law.
They that fear the Lord will prepare their hearts,
  And will humble their souls in his sight, saying,
'We will fall into the hands of the Lord,
  And not into the hands of men:
  For as his majesty is,
  So also is his mercy.'

The 'fear' of the Lord makes other 'fear' impossible. Note well that fear and love are used indifferently. This mingled fear and love of God has been the stay and support of the Jews amid all their sore and shameful persecutions. This fearless fear prepared the way for the courage of the Maccabean martyrs. The sentence, 'Look at the generations of old, and see,' is interesting for lovers of that great and pious Englishman, John Bunyan. Those who read his strange and striking autobiography, *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*, will find out why.

The spirit of those that fear the Lord shall live;
  For their hope is upon him that saveth them.

Whoso feareth the Lord shall not be afraid, and shall not play the coward;
For he is his hope.
Blessed is the soul of him that feareth the Lord:
To whom doth he give heed? and who is his stay?
The eyes of the Lord are upon them that love him:—
A mighty protection and strong stay,
A cover from the hot blast, and a cover from the noonday,
A guard from stumbling, and a succour from falling.
He raiseth up the soul, and enlighteneth the eyes,
He giveth healing, life, and blessing.

Elsewhere in a striking enumeration of various boons and blessings, the fear of the Lord is reckoned as the crowning glory.

The life of one that laboureth and is contented shall be made sweet;
And he that findeth a treasure is above both.
Children and the building of a city establish a man's name;
And a blameless wife is counted above both.
Wine and music rejoice the heart;
And the love of wisdom is above both.
The pipe and the psaltery make pleasant melody;
And a pleasant tongue is above both.
Thine eye shall desire grace and beauty;
And above both the green blade of corn.
A friend and a companion never meet amiss;
And a wife with her husband is above both.
Brethren and succour are for a time of affliction;
And almsgiving is a deliverer above both.
Gold and silver will make the foot stand sure;
And counsel is esteemed above them both.
Riches and strength will lift up the heart;
And the fear of the Lord is above both.

There is nothing wanting in the fear of the Lord,
And there is no need to seek help therein.
The fear of the Lord is as a garden of blessing,
And covereth a man above all glory.

The loving Fear of the Lord will cause a whole-hearted trust in him. That trust is enjoined by the son of Sirach in the following noble and important passage.

My son, if thou comest to serve the Lord, prepare thy soul for temptation. Set thy heart aright, and constantly endure, and make not haste in time of calamity. Cleave unto him, and depart not, that thou mayest be increased at thy latter end. Accept whatsoever is brought upon thee, and be longsuffering when thou passest into humiliation. For gold is tried in the fire, and acceptable men in the furnace of humiliation. Put thy trust in him, and he will help thee: order thy ways aright, and set thy hope on him.

The Greek word here translated 'temptation' is *peirasmos*. The Hebrew original was perhaps *nêsayon*. What the author means by temptation is explained by what follows: he means the trials of adversity. Ben Sira amplifies and develops the maxims of the older sages. The trials of adversity should purify. He maintains the simple faith of his ancestors: it will be well with the righteous at the last. And we too cling to the same belief, though we are fain to interpret 'at the last' as beyond the grave. Yet let us not despair too hastily of earthly justice either. 'Honesty is the best policy' is not always true, if by 'best' we mean externally most prosperous, and this is well, for if it were, the holiest kinds of goodness and self-sacrifice would never have been revealed. And yet, happily, it is true mainly and in the long run, for otherwise human society would be unworkable and impossible. 'Virtue is its own reward' is not always true, if by 'reward' we mean successful achievement and delightsome results, for there are sorrows which come to us independently of our own character and action, and there are sacrifices of which the pain is endless; but, nevertheless, it is very frequently true, and all of us who act rightly may experience the truth of it.

An old Hebrew prayer runs thus: 'O lead us not into the power of sin, or of transgression or of iniquity, or of temptation or of scorn.' I do not know how far the writer of that prayer meant the same thing by 'temptation' as Ben Sira. Perhaps he was thinking of circumstances where there might be a sudden temptation to commit a particular sin. At any rate it is far nobler and manlier to pray with Ben Sira that we may have the strength to resist temptation rather than that the temptation itself may never be presented to us. Few are so situated that no temptations ever befall them. Prosperity has its temptations no less than adversity, and perhaps

of a more insidious and therefore more powerful kind. And though the highest character is his who, given the most tempting circumstance, has not the smallest wish to do wrong, it is doubtful whether this elevation of mind and purity of heart will often be attained until or unless many opportunities of probation and trial have been successfully encountered and overcome.

§ 7. *The methods, nature and opportunities of Wisdom.*—Ben Sira speaks suggestively in the following 'essay' of Wisdom's method with those who seek her.

Wisdom exalteth her sons, and taketh hold of them that seek her. He that loveth her loveth life; and they that seek to her early shall be filled with gladness. He that holdeth her fast shall inherit glory; and where he entereth, the Lord will bless. They that do her service shall minister to the Holy One; and them that love her the Lord doth love.

He that giveth ear unto her shall judge the nations; and he that giveth heed unto her shall dwell securely. If he trust her, he shall inherit her; and his generations shall have her in possession. For at the first she will walk with him in crooked ways, and will bring fear and dread upon him, and torment him with her discipline, until she may trust his soul, and try him by her judgements; then will she return again the straight way unto him, and will gladden him, and reveal to him her secrets. If he go astray, she will forsake him, and give him over to his fall.

A little further on there is a similar passage and exhortation.

My son, gather instruction from thy youth up: and even unto hoar hairs thou shalt find wisdom. Come unto her as one that ploweth and soweth, and wait for her good fruits; for thy toil shall be little in the tillage of her, and thou shalt eat of her fruits right soon. How exceeding harsh is she to the unlearned! And he that is without understanding will not abide in her. As a mighty stone of trial shall she rest upon him; and he will not delay to cast her from him. For wisdom is according to her name; and she is not manifest unto many.

Give ear, my son, and accept my judgement, and refuse not my counsel, and bring thy feet into her fetters, and thy

neck into her chain. Put thy shoulder under her, and bear her, and be not grieved with her bonds. Come unto her with all thy soul, and keep her ways with thy whole power. Search, and seek, and she shall be made known unto thee; and when thou hast got hold of her, let her not go. For at the last thou shalt find her rest; and she shall be turned for thee into gladness. And her fetters shall be to thee for a covering of strength, and her chains for a robe of glory. For there is a golden ornament upon her, and her bands are a riband of blue. Thou shalt put her on as a robe of glory, and shalt array thee with her as a crown of rejoicing.

My son, if thou wilt, thou shalt be instructed; and if thou wilt yield thy soul, thou shalt be prudent. If thou love to hear, thou shalt receive; and if thou incline thine ear, thou shalt be wise. Stand thou in the multitude of the elders; and whoso is wise, cleave thou unto him. Be willing to listen to every godly discourse; and let not the proverbs of understanding escape thee. If thou seest a man of understanding, get thee betimes unto him, and let thy foot wear out the steps of his doors. Let thy mind dwell upon the ordinances of the Lord, and meditate continually in his commandments: he shall establish thine heart, and thy desire of wisdom shall be given unto thee.

'As a stone of trial.' St. Jerome says that it was an ancient custom in Palestine, still maintained even in his day, for the youths to try their strength by lifting great stones of heavy weight. Some would lift them to the waist, others to the shoulders, some even above the head. The metaphor in this place refers to such stones of trial. The least strong would have to drop them soonest.

'Wisdom is according to her name.' The meaning is quite uncertain. The Greek translator may have misunderstood the Hebrew.

Two main thoughts seem to have been before the writer's mind. (1) The path of wisdom is at first hard and painful. There is no desirable thing which can be attained without effort and toil. Without discipline and training, no achievement and no prize. But (2) there is also another side to the acquisition of wisdom which is only seemingly in opposition to the first. To him who yearns to reach the goal, the toil and pain of the means sink into insignificance. 'He who loves to hear, shall receive': given the inclination, and the fruits of wisdom shall be eaten 'right soon.' Both thoughts are true. Effort and endurance are necessary, and

yet noble character and wisdom are got more speedily the more inclined one is to get them. They are like a snowball, which grows more quickly with each completed revolution. In the words of an old maxim: 'To him who has, there shall be given.'

Human wisdom is expressed and made manifest in a pure and a godly life and in the keeping of the law. It would appear as if, under the influence of Grecian culture, some Jewish sages were inclined to venture upon fields of thought which seemed to the son of Sirach to trench upon the prerogative of God. A school of thought was doubtless beginning which sought to make distinctions between the different precepts of the law; Ben Sira is alarmed at this boldness. Perhaps it led to a neglect of certain ritual ordinances; our author was not able to distinguish between the temporary and the abiding. The law was to him the word of God, and all its ordinances were to be obeyed simply because they were there. Their meaning and purpose must not be investigated, for the law contains 'more' than 'men can understand.' To ask for any why or wherefore, to distinguish between greater and less, were not wisdom but presumption. 'Conceit' and 'vain surmises' lead astray: in other words, a rash philosophy may cause laxity of observance. Though we of to-day would wish to set no bounds and limits to the range of the human intellect, which is the greatest of God's gifts, and by which alone we can judge the good and the evil, the lower and the higher, in any book or code, yet for us too the bidding to humility is not unnecessary. Only humbly and reverently must we criticize the great religious records of the past. And of philosophy, with its dauntless searching for the fullest truth, it might also be said, as of poetry, *Willst du dichten, sammle dich, Sammle dich wie zum Gebete.*

My son, go on with thy business in meekness; so shalt thou be beloved of an acceptable man. The greater thou art, humble thyself the more, and thou shalt find favour before the Lord. For great is the potency of the Lord, and he is glorified of them that are lowly. Seek not things that are too hard for thee, and search not out things that are above thy strength. The things that have been commanded thee, think thereupon; for thou hast no need of the things that are secret. Be not over busy in thy superfluous works; for more things are shewed unto thee than men can understand. For the conceit of many hath led them astray; and evil surmising hath caused their judgement to slip.

Elsewhere Ben Sira says—

All wisdom is fear of the Lord; and in all wisdom is doing of the law. And the knowledge of wickedness is not wisdom; and the prudence of sinners is not counsel. There is a wickedness, and the same is abomination; and there is a fool wanting in wisdom. Better is one that hath small understanding and feareth, than one that hath much prudence and transgresseth the law.

This is a highly important and most deeply interesting passage. The words in the middle, 'There is a wickedness,' &c., should probably run thus: 'There is a *wisdom*, and it is an abomination; and there is a fool who is wanting in *wickedness*.' In the last sentence the word 'prudence' is used in a sense now obsolete. We should say 'cleverness.'

'The knowledge of wickedness is not wisdom.' There is such a thing as an ignorance that is both wise and good. Most important is the acknowledgement that a man can have small understanding and yet fear God, and the similar confession that many a fool is wanting in sin. We have here a significant limitation to the equivalence of wisdom and goodness. As Ben Sira says in another passage, 'There is a cleverness which maketh bitterness to abound.' This is a real and notable development to the doctrine of Proverbs, which might with advantage have been more noticed and emphasized by later teachers. Doubtless the highest type of manhood is he who is both good and wise, but as a matter of fact some of the best people in the world are far from being among the wisest. Such a statement may seem a mere commonplace, but in the days of Ben Sira and his successors there was a real danger of making religion depend on knowledge, even though the knowledge was of a particular kind. Ignorance of ritual details was sometimes looked upon as wickedness; a detailed knowledge (and a minute observance) of them was sometimes looked upon as virtue. There was a danger that such false identifications might make men forget that the highest excellences of religion—faith, humility and love—were within the reach of the ignorant as well as of the learned, and were perhaps possessed by 'fools' (*in that sense*) no less frequently than by 'sages.'

Ben Sira, like the Greek philosophers, believed that wisdom needs leisure. He bids his readers: 'Hate not laborious work, neither husbandry, which the Most High has ordained.' But he holds that the ploughman cannot 'become wise.' Thus he writes

in an 'essay,' which Mr. Moulton entitles 'The Wisdom of Business and the Wisdom of Leisure':—

The wisdom of the scribe cometh by opportunity of leisure; and he that hath little business shall become wise. How shall he become wise that holdeth the plough, that glorieth in the shaft of the goad, that driveth oxen, and is occupied in their labours, and whose discourse is of the stock of bulls? He will set his heart upon turning his furrows; and his wakefulness is to give his heifers their fodder. So is every artificer and workmaster, that passeth his time by night as by day; they that cut gravings of signets, and his diligence is to make great variety; he will set his heart to preserve likeness in his portraiture, and will be wakeful to finish his work. So is the smith sitting by the anvil, and considering the unwrought iron: the vapour of the fire will waste his flesh, and in the heat of the furnace will he wrestle with his work: the noise of the hammer will be ever in his ear, and his eyes are upon the pattern of the vessel; he will set his heart upon perfecting his works, and he will be wakeful to adorn them perfectly. So is the potter sitting at his work, and turning the wheel about with his feet, who is alway anxiously set at his work, and all his handywork is by number; he will fashion the clay with his arm, and will bend its strength in front of his feet; he will apply his heart to finish the glazing, and he will be wakeful to make clean the furnace.

All these put their trust in their hands; and each becometh wise in his own work. Without these shall not a city be inhabited, and men shall not sojourn nor walk up and down therein. They shall not be sought for in the council of the people, and in the assembly they shall not mount on high; they shall not sit on the seat of the judge, and they shall not understand the covenant of judgement; neither shall they declare instruction and judgement, and where parables are they shall not be found. But they will maintain the fabric of the world; and in the handywork of their craft is their prayer.

Not so he that hath applied his soul, and meditateth in the law of the Most High. He will seek out the wisdom of all the ancients, and will be occupied in prophecies. He will keep the discourse of the men of renown, and will enter in

amidst the subtilties of parables. He will seek out the hidden meaning of proverbs, and be conversant in the dark sayings of parables. He will serve among great men, and appear before him that ruleth: he will travel through the land of strange nations; for he hath tried good things and evil among men. He will apply his heart to resort early to the Lord that made him, and will make supplication before the Most High, and will open his mouth in prayer, and will make supplication for his sins.

If the great Lord will, he shall be filled with the spirit of understanding: he shall pour forth the words of his wisdom, and in prayer give thanks unto the Lord. He shall direct his counsel and knowledge, and in his secrets shall he meditate. He shall shew forth the instruction which he hath been taught, and shall glory in the law of the covenant of the Lord. Many shall commend his understanding; and so long as the world endureth, it shall not be blotted out: his memorial shall not depart, and his name shall live from generation to generation. Nations shall declare his wisdom, and the congregation shall tell out his praise. If he continue, he shall leave a greater name than a thousand: and if he die, he addeth thereto.

It is no longer true to say that craftsmen 'shall not be sought for in the council of the people.' Intelligent mechanics often possess excellent grasp and knowledge of political affairs, and there have been several craftsmen who have made good members of Parliament. The happier conditions of modern labour tend in certain cases to give the needed 'leisure' for thought and study outside the 'craft.' Ben Sira, however, shows an adequate appreciation of the value to the State of the skilled workmen whose best powers are concentrated upon their work. 'Without these shall not a city be inhabited; they will maintain the fabric of the world.'

It is worthy of note that the ideal sage is not only learned in the law and in the wisdom of the ancients, but also a man of experience and travel. Sirach himself had seen a good deal of the world. He tells us: 'In my wanderings I have seen many things; and I was ofttimes in danger even unto death.' So the sage 'travels through the land of strange nations, making trial of good and evil things among men.' The fame of his wisdom is known of many, and after his death 'his memorial shall not depart.' When the hope of personal immortality was unknown or feeble, the desire for posthumous glory in the remembrance of posterity was

perhaps a more frequent form of ambition than it is now. For us to-day an immortality of fame would supply small motive for high endeavour. And rightly. Professor Jowett has wisely said: 'To have been a benefactor to the world, whether in a higher or a lower sphere of life and thought, is a great thing: to have the reputation of being one, when men have passed out of the sphere of earthly praise or blame, is hardly worthy of consideration.'

§ 8. *Wisdom and the Law.*—Ben Sira takes the fateful step of frequently identifying Wisdom with the Law, and of assuming that the whole contents of wisdom are to be found within the 'Mosaic' Code. This extreme exaltation of that heterogeneous collection of stories and ordinances which we now know as the Pentateuch was fraught with great evil for the whole future development of the Jewish religion. The Pentateuch, as we have seen in our previous volume, contains many noble ordinances and much practical wisdom: fundamental truths of morality and religion are to be found in its pages. Its stories are deeply interesting and often exceedingly beautiful. But it is irrational to identify wisdom, still more divine wisdom, with any book which the hands of men have written, even though the Divine Spirit (as we may well believe) has often strengthened and purified the human insight and understanding. For if a book be the embodiment of Wisdom, every part of it must be equally wise and true, so that the greatest saying in the Pentateuch would be no better than the most imperfect, and the dross would be as pure as the gold. Now the Rabbis did make this unfortunate identification, and so they were compelled to draw these no less unfortunate inferences. Hence the Pentateuch became, from one important point of view, a real hindrance to the development and diffusion of Judaism, and it is only within the last hundred years that determined efforts have been made to emancipate the religion from the bondage of a book, and to discriminate between the ore and the alloy, between the true and the false, between the permanent and the obsolete.

Let us, however, hear what our Ben Sira has to say. Parts of his Praise of Wisdom are clearly modelled upon the famous panegyric in Proverbs. Note that the writer first, by way of preface, explains the monologue that is to follow, and then, speaking again in his own person, appends an epilogue of interpretation.

Wisdom shall praise herself, and shall glory in the midst of her people. In the congregation of the Most High shall she open her mouth, and glory in the presence of his power.

'I came forth from the mouth of the Most High,
And covered the earth as a mist.
I dwelt in high places,
And my throne is in the pillar of the cloud.
Alone I compassed the circuit of heaven,
And walked in the depth of the abyss.
In the waves of the sea, and in all the earth,
And in every people and nation, I got a possession.
With all these I sought rest;
And in whose inheritance shall I lodge?
Then the Creator of all things gave me a commandment;
And he that created me made my tabernacle to rest,
And said, Let thy tabernacle be in Jacob,
And thine inheritance in Israel.
He created me from the beginning before the world;
And to the end I shall not fail.
In the holy tabernacle I ministered before him;
And so was I established in Sion.
In the beloved city likewise he gave me rest;
And in Jerusalem was my authority.
And I took root in a people that was glorified,
Even in the portion of the Lord's own inheritance.

'I was exalted like a cedar in Libanus,
And as a cypress tree on the mountains of Hermon.
I was exalted like a palm tree on the sea shore,
And as rose plants in Jericho,
And as a fair olive tree in the plain;
And I was exalted as a plane tree.
As cinnamon and aspalathus, I have given a scent of perfumes;
And as choice myrrh, I spread abroad a pleasant odour;
As galbanum, and onyx, and stacte,
And as the fume of frankincense in the tabernacle.
As the terebinth I stretched out my branches;
And my branches are branches of glory and grace.
As the vine I put forth grace;
And my flowers are the fruit of glory and riches.

'Come unto me, ye that are desirous of me,
And be ye filled with my produce.
For my memorial is sweeter than honey,
And mine inheritance than the honeycomb.

They that eat me shall yet be hungry;
And they that drink me shall yet be thirsty.
He that obeyeth me shall not be ashamed;
And they that work in me shall not do amiss.'

All these things are the book of the covenant of the Most High God, even the law which Moses commanded us for a heritage unto the assemblies of Jacob. It is he that maketh wisdom abundant, as Pishon, and as Tigris in the days of new fruits; that maketh understanding full as Euphrates, and as Jordan in the days of harvest; that maketh instruction to shine forth as the light, as Gihon in the days of vintage. The first man knew her not perfectly; and in like manner the last hath not traced her out. For her thoughts are filled from the sea, and her counsels from the great deep.

And I came out as a stream from a river, and as a conduit into a garden. I said, I will water my garden, and will water abundantly my garden bed; and lo, my stream became a river, and my river became a sea. I will yet bring instruction to light as the morning, and will make these things to shine forth afar off. I will yet pour out doctrine as prophecy, and leave it unto generations of ages. Behold that I have not laboured for myself only, but for all them that diligently seek her.

'All these things are the book': i.e. they are contained in or are given by the book.

'It is he that maketh,' i.e. God; but perhaps we should translate 'It is this which maketh,' supposing the reference to be to the Law.

'And I came out.' This last paragraph is difficult. Most commentators suppose that it is Ben Sira who now speaks again in his own person. The meaning seems to be that when the author began to study the Law and first became a disciple of Wisdom, he did it for his own sake. But as he studied, his material grew under his hands, and all that he could deduce from the Law, and all that Wisdom inspired him to know, became so large that he can now 'pour it forth' as if it were the outburst of a prophet, and dedicate it in confidence to all the ages of the future.

§ 9. *Sin and atonement.*—Like the earlier sages, Ben Sira held high the prophetic doctrine that material sacrifices could make no atonement for evil-doing. Thus he says:—

Bind not up sin twice; for in one sin thou shalt not be unpunished. Say not, He will look upon the multitude of my gifts, and when I offer to the Most High he will accept it.

Think not to corrupt with gifts; for he will not receive them: and set not thy mind on an unrighteous sacrifice; for the Lord is judge, and with him is no respect of persons. He will not accept any person against a poor man; and he will listen to the prayer of him that is wronged. He will in no wise despise the supplication of the fatherless; nor the widow, when she poureth out her tale. Do not the tears of the widow run down her cheek? And is not her cry against him that hath caused them to fall? He that serveth God according to his good pleasure shall be accepted, and his supplication shall reach unto the clouds.

He that sacrificeth of a thing wrongfully gotten, his offering is made in mockery; and the mockeries of wicked men are not well-pleasing. The Most High hath no pleasure in the offerings of the ungodly; neither is he pacified for sins by the multitude of sacrifices. As one that killeth the son before his father's eyes is he that bringeth a sacrifice from the goods of the poor. The bread of the needy is the life of the poor: he that depriveth him thereof is a man of blood. As one that slayeth his neighbour is he that taketh away his living; and as a shedder of blood is he that depriveth a hireling of his hire.

One building, and another pulling down, what profit have they had but toil? One praying, and another cursing, whose voice will the Lord listen to? He that washeth himself after touching a dead body, and toucheth it again, what profit hath he in his washing? Even so a man fasting for his sins, and going again, and doing the same; who will listen to his prayer? and what profit hath he in his humiliation?

He that keepeth the law multiplieth offerings; he that taketh heed to the commandments sacrificeth a peace offering. He that requiteth a good turn offereth fine flour; and he that giveth alms sacrificeth a thank offering. To depart from wickedness is a thing pleasing to the Lord; and to depart from unrighteousness is a propitiation. See that thou appear not in the presence of the Lord empty. For all these things are to be done because of the commandment.

These sayings remind us of the Rabbinic teaching relative to the Day of Atonement quoted in Part I, p. 151, with which we may profitably compare them. The last paragraph is extremely interesting. When Ben Sira says, 'He that keepeth the law multiplieth offerings,' he seems to be thinking of the moral injunctions of the law, its ordinances of gratitude, righteousness and charity. To obey these is better than a myriad bullocks. But he then seems to remember that the law actually commands sacrifices, and that a stingy man might make evil use of the higher teaching which he has just laid down. So he adds a caution against any meanness in the due observance of the sacrificial ordinances or any neglect of what the law has enjoined. Whether it seem to us important or not, whether we understand the reason of the particular ordinance or not, it must be fulfilled because it is there. 'All these things are to be done because of the commandment.' And this is a perfectly logical point of view. Once believe that every order in a given code is the direct command of God, and there can be no greater and smaller, no distinctions and differences. If the code be uniformly divine, we cannot criticize its parts. Where the assumption or theory fails is that there is no test of 'divinity' except moral and religious excellence. Hence we are again brought back to the use of our reason, and are justified in distinguishing between a better and a worse, between lower and higher, between the obsolete and the permanent. No commandment in any book is good because God has ordered it; but because it is good therefore it is of God.

§ 10. *The divine justice.*—Let no man fancy, exclaims Ben Sira, that he can escape the all-knowing justice of God. Nor let him presume upon God's mercy to sin at his own pleasure, certain that God will forgive him because his compassion is so abundant.

Say not, 'I sinned, and what happened unto me? For the Lord is longsuffering.' Be not without fear to add sin upon sins: and say not, 'His compassion is great; he will be pacified for the multitude of my sins': for mercy and wrath are with him, and his indignation will rest upon sinners.

Even if there be one stiffnecked person, it is marvel if he shall be unpunished: for mercy and wrath are with him; he is mighty to forgive, and he poureth out wrath. As his mercy is great, so is his correction also; he judgeth a man according to his works. The sinner shall not escape with his plunder; and the patience of the godly shall not be

frustrate. He will make room for every work of mercy; each man shall find according to his works.

Say not thou, 'I shall be hidden from the Lord; and who shall remember me from on high? I shall not be known among so many people; for what is my soul in a boundless creation?' Behold, the heaven, and the heaven of heavens, the deep, and the earth, shall be moved when he shall visit. The mountains and foundations of the earth together are shaken with trembling when he looketh upon them. And no heart shall think upon these things: and who shall conceive his ways? And there is a tempest which no man shall see; yea, the more part of his works are hid. 'Who shall declare the works of his righteousness? or who shall endure them? for his covenant is afar off.' He that is wanting in understanding thinketh upon these things; and an unwise and erring man thinketh follies.

It is the light-hearted sinner who is supposed to say the words, 'Who shall declare the works of his righteousness' down to the words 'for his covenant is afar off.' They mean that the supposed covenant of God to reward the righteous and requite the sinner was made a long while ago, and seems for the present suspended. These doubts about God's providence and justice the author can only meet by counter-assertions of a sudden and unexpected judgement which shall render to every man according to his works. He would have done better to maintain his belief in divine justice, while freely acknowledging that we do not fully understand the methods of its working. Yet we can even now discern (as I have so often said) that there is a higher theory of justice than that of tit for tat. And if the object of punishment be the improvement of the sinner, the absence of punishment is the cruellest sentence that can be inflicted upon him.

§ 11. *Human freedom.*—Ben Sira is very sure that it lies in man's own power to be good or to be bad. Readers of philosophy are aware that there has been a vast dispute continuing for many ages on what is usually called the Freedom of the Will. That dispute has a metaphysical and psychological aspect, and it has also a theological and even religious aspect. It is far too huge and difficult a problem for me to enter on here, even if I were fully competent to do so. Beyond a warm personal assent to Ben Sira's teaching, I will only add the following. Everybody recognizes that when we are most good we are most 'free,' and that the man who is the slave of his passions is less 'free' than he who is

the servant of duty and of God. It is also agreed that the better a man is, the more difficult it is for him in any given contingency not to choose the right. So that in that sense the perfect man is the least 'free.' He is only 'free' to be good. He could not do wrong if he tried, as we sometimes half jestingly say. And in the saying there lies a truth, as there lies an awful measure of truth in the opposite saying of the habitual sinner, 'He could not do right even if he wished.' For the power of resistance to temptation (other things remaining the same) becomes less and less after each occasion on which the temptation has been yielded to. The Germans have a grim proverb: *Wer Sünde thut, der ist der Sünde Knecht.* There is finally another sense in which we are free, inasmuch as there is no external power of sin under whose force and influence we are. Sin does not exist outside humanity. The devil is a figment of the human brain, with no true basis in religion or philosophy. But Love and Goodness do possess an independent existence. For they are God.

Say not thou, 'It is through the Lord that I fell away'; for thou shalt not do the things that he hateth. Say not thou, 'It is he that caused me to err'; for he hath no need of a sinful man. The Lord hateth every abomination; and they that fear him love it not. He himself made man from the beginning, and left him in the hand of his own counsel. If thou wilt, thou shalt keep the commandments; and to perform faithfulness is of thine own good pleasure. He hath set fire and water before thee: thou shalt stretch forth thy hand unto whichsoever thou wilt. Before man is life and death; and whichsoever he liketh, it shall be given him.

For great is the wisdom of the Lord: he is mighty in power, and beholdeth all things; and his eyes are upon them that fear him; and he will take knowledge of every work of man. He hath not commanded any man to be ungodly; and he hath not given any man licence to sin.

§ 12. *On Pride.*—In common with the sages of every land, Sirach preaches earnestly against pride and vainglory.

Be not wroth with thy neighbour for every wrong; and do nothing by works of violence. Pride is hateful before the Lord and before men; and in the judgement of both will unrighteousness err. Sovereignty is transferred from nation to nation because, of iniquities, and deeds of violence,

and greed of money. It is a long disease; the physician mocketh: and he is a king to-day, and to-morrow he shall die. For when a man is dead, he shall inherit creeping things, and beasts, and worms. It is the beginning of pride when a man departeth from the Lord; and his heart is departed from him that made him. For the beginning of pride is sin; and he that keepeth it will pour forth abomination. For this cause the Lord brought upon them strange calamities, and overthrew them utterly. The Lord cast down the thrones of rulers, and set the meek in their stead. The Lord plucked up the roots of nations, and planted the lowly in their stead. The Lord overthrew the lands of nations, and destroyed them unto the foundations of the earth. He took some of them away, and destroyed them, and made their memorial to cease from the earth.

Pride hath not been created for men, nor wrathful anger for the offspring of women.

In the midst of brethren he that ruleth them hath honour; and in the eyes of the Lord they that fear him. The rich man, and the honourable, and the poor, their glorying is the fear of the Lord. It is not right to dishonour a poor man that hath understanding; and it is not fitting to glorify a man that is a sinner. The great man, and the judge, and the mighty man, shall be glorified; and there is not one of them greater than he that feareth the Lord. Free men shall minister unto a wise servant; and a man that hath knowledge will not murmur thereat.

Be not over wise in doing thy work; and glorify not thyself in the time of thy distress. Better is he that laboureth, and aboundeth in all things, than he that glorifieth himself, and lacketh bread. My son, glorify thy soul in meekness, and give it honour according to the worthiness thereof. Who will justify him that sinneth against his own soul? and who will glorify him that dishonoureth his own life? A poor man is glorified for his knowledge; and a rich man is glorified for his riches. But he that is glorified in poverty, how much more in riches? and he that is inglorious in riches, how much more in poverty? The wisdom of the lowly shall lift up his head, and make him to sit in the midst of great men.

Commend not a man for his beauty; and abhor not a man for his outward appearance. The bee is little among such as fly, and her fruit is the chief of sweetmeats. Glory not

in the putting on of raiment, and exalt not thyself in the day of honour. For the works of the Lord are wonderful, and his works are hidden among men. Many kings have sat down upon the ground; and one that was never thought of hath worn a diadem. Many mighty men have been greatly disgraced; and men of renown have been delivered into other men's hands.

§ 13. *On shame.*—More striking and original is the following short 'essay' on True and False Shame:—

Observe the opportunity, and beware of evil; and be not ashamed concerning thy soul. For there is a shame that bringeth sin; and there is a shame that is glory and grace. Accept not the person of any against thy soul; and reverence no man unto thy falling. Refrain not speech, when it tendeth to safety; and hide not thy wisdom for the sake of fair-seeming. For by speech wisdom shall be known, and instruction by the word of the tongue. Speak not against the truth; and be abashed for thine ignorance. Be not ashamed to make confession of thy sins; and force not the current of the river. Lay not thyself down for a fool to tread upon; and accept not the person of one that is mighty. Strive for the truth unto death, and the Lord God shall fight for thee.

What a fine text for a fine sermon: 'There is a shame that bringeth sin; and there is a shame that is glory and grace.' Happily we can all preach that sermon to ourselves.

'Force not the current of the river.' The metaphor of swimming against the stream is here used to express the absurdity (to use no stronger word) of refusing to acknowledge an error or a sin which may be patent to all the world and is certainly patent to God.

'Lay not thyself down.' Maintain a proper self-respect. Be not led into sin by weak yielding to fools. In the company of fashionable and frivolous weaklings, it may need some strength of purpose not to join in their follies. False shame may prevent proper firmness.

'Accept not the person.' Do not cringe to the great, or act like a toady. Do not allow false respect and feeble flattery towards rank and station to make you swerve or deviate from the strait path of equity, honour and truth.

Elsewhere Ben Sira says—

There is that destroyeth his soul through bashfulness;
And by a foolish countenance he will destroy it.
There is that for bashfulness promiseth to his friend;
And he maketh him his enemy for nothing.

The word translated by 'bashfulness' in the last two distichs is the same as that translated by 'shame' in the essay. It is *Aischunê*, a famous word which, with its parallel (but not synonym) *Aidôs*, is of considerable importance in Greek morality.

Towards the end of his book Sirach has an essay about things to be rightly and of things to be wrongly ashamed of. We may note in this essay how the author mixes up morality with behaviour, and rightdoing with worldly prudence. As regards slaves and children he is no worse and no better than the average man of his age in Palestine and outside it. In some parts of the essay the Greek text is very corrupt and the meaning very obscure.

It is not good to retain every kind of shame; and not all things are approved by all in good faith. Be ashamed of a lie before a prince and a mighty man; of an offence before a judge and ruler; of iniquity before the congregation and the people; of unjust dealing before a partner and friend; and of theft in regard of the place where thou sojournest, and [of lying] in regard of the truth of God and his covenant; and of leaning with thine elbow at meat; and of scurrility in the matter of giving and taking; and of silence before them that salute thee; and of turning away thy face from a kinsman; of taking away a portion or a gift; of upbraiding speeches before friends; and after thou hast given, upbraid not; of repeating and speaking what thou hast heard; and of revealing of secrets. So shalt thou be truly shamefast, and find favour in the sight of every man.

Of these things be not ashamed, and accept no man's person to sin thereby: of the law of the Most High, and his covenant; and of judgement to do justice to the ungodly; of reckoning with a partner and with travellers; and of a gift from the heritage of friends; of exactness of balance and weights; and of getting much or little; of indifferent selling of merchants; and of much correction of children; and of making the side of an evil servant to bleed. Whatsoever thou handest over, let it be by number and weight;

and in giving and receiving let all be in writing. Be not ashamed to instruct the unwise and foolish, and one of extreme old age that contendeth with those that are young. And so shalt thou be well instructed indeed, and approved in the sight of every man living.

§ 14. *The discipline of the tongue.*—Ben Sira follows in the wake of Proverbs in speaking a good deal about the tongue and its discipline. Here is an example. In the third line of this 'sonnet,' as Mr. Moulton calls it, 'it' refers to the 'watch'; in the sixth line, 'their' refers to the 'lips'; in the tenth line, 'they' refers to 'scourges'; and in the eleventh line, 'their' refers to 'ignorances.' But the text is probably corrupt.

Who shall set a watch over my mouth,
And a seal of shrewdness upon my lips,
That I fall not from it,
And that my tongue destroy me not?

O Lord, Father and Master of my life,
Abandon me not to their counsel:
Suffer me not to fall by them.

Who will set scourges over my thought,
And a discipline of wisdom over mine heart?
That they spare me not for mine ignorances,
And my heart pass not by their sins:
That mine ignorances be not multiplied,
And my sins abound not.

Ben Sira warns earnestly against idle oaths and coarse speech.

Hear ye, my children, the discipline of the mouth; and he that keepeth it shall not be taken. The sinner shall be overtaken in his lips; and the reviler and the proud man shall stumble therein. Accustom not thy mouth to an oath; and be not accustomed to the naming of the Holy One. For as a servant that is continually scourged shall not lack a bruise, so he also that sweareth and nameth God continually shall not be cleansed from sin.

A man of many oaths shall be filled with iniquity; and the scourge shall not depart from his house; if he shall offend, his sin shall be upon him; and if he disregard it,

he hath sinned doubly; and if he hath sworn in vain, he shall not be justified; for his house shall be filled with calamities.

There is a manner of speech that is clothed about with death: let it not be found in the heritage of Jacob; for all these things shall be far from the godly, and they shall not wallow in sins. Accustom not thy mouth to gross rudeness, for therein is the word of sin.

And another essay 'On the Tongue' runs as follows:—

A slip on a pavement is better than a slip with the tongue. If thou blow a spark, it shall burn; and if thou spit upon it, it shall be quenched: and both these shall come out of thy mouth. Curse the whisperer and double-tongued: for he hath destroyed many that were at peace. A third person's tongue hath shaken many, and dispersed them from nation to nation; and it hath pulled down strong cities, and overthrown the houses of great men. A third person's tongue hath cast out brave women, and deprived them of their labours. He that hearkeneth unto it shall not find rest, nor shall he dwell quietly. The stroke of a whip maketh a mark in the flesh; but the stroke of a tongue will break bones.

Many have fallen by the edge of the sword; yet not so many as they that have fallen because of the tongue. Happy is he that is sheltered from it, that hath not passed through the wrath thereof; that hath not drawn its yoke, and hath not been bound with its bands. For the yoke thereof is a yoke of iron, and the bands thereof are bands of brass. The death thereof is an evil death; and Hades were better than it. It shall not have rule over godly men; and they shall not be burned in its flame. They that forsake the Lord shall fall into it; and it shall burn among them, and shall not be quenched: it shall be sent forth upon them as a lion, and as a leopard it shall destroy them. Look that thou hedge thy possession about with thorns; bind up thy silver and thy gold; and make a balance and a weight for thy words; and make a door and a bar for thy mouth. Take heed lest thou slip therein; lest thou fall before one that lieth in wait.

But Ben Sira is equally alive to the importance of speaking out when speech is difficult, and with a wise discrimination he also

points out that a slip from the tongue need not come from the heart.

Reprove a friend; it may be he did it not: and if he did something, that he may do it no more. Reprove thy neighbour; it may be he said it not: and if he hath said it, that he may not say it again. Reprove a friend; for many times there is slander: and trust not every word. There is one that slippeth, and not from the heart: and who is he that hath not sinned with his tongue?

§ 15. *The virtues of benevolence and forgiveness.*—There is nothing more characteristically Jewish and Rabbinic in Ben Sira's book than his insistence on benevolence and charity.

My son, deprive not the poor of his living, and make not the needy eyes to wait long. Make not a hungry soul sorrowful; neither provoke a man in his distress. To a heart that is provoked add not more trouble; and defer not to give to him that is in need. Reject not a suppliant in his affliction; and turn not away thy face from a poor man. Turn not away thine eye from one that asketh of thee, and give none occasion to a man to curse thee; for if he curse thee in the bitterness of his soul, he that made him will hear his supplication. Incline thine ear to a poor man, and answer him with peaceable words in meekness. Deliver him that is wronged from the hand of him that wrongeth him; and be not fainthearted in giving judgement. Be as a father unto the fatherless, and instead of a husband unto their mother: so shalt thou be as a son of the Most High, and he shall love thee more than thy mother doth.

To the poor man stretch out thy hand, that thy blessing may be perfected. A gift hath grace in the sight of every man living; and for a dead man keep not back grace. Be not wanting to them that weep, and mourn with them that mourn. Be not slow to visit a sick man, for by such things thou shalt gain love. In all thy matters remember thy last end, and thou shalt never do amiss.

In the following passage the doctrine of Ben Sira is again quite Rabbinic. It says in the Talmud: 'To whom is sin pardoned? To him who forgiveth an injury. Every time that thou art merciful, God will be merciful to thee; and if thou art not merciful, God will not show mercy to thee.'

One that casteth a stone on high casteth it on his own head; and a deceitful stroke will open wounds. He that diggeth a pit shall fall into it; and he that setteth a snare shall be taken therein. He that doeth evil things, they shall roll upon him; and he shall not know whence they have come to him. He that taketh vengeance shall find vengeance from the Lord; and he will surely make firm his sins.

Forgive thy neighbour the hurt that he hath done thee; and then thy sins shall be pardoned when thou prayest. Man cherisheth anger against man; and doth he seek healing from the Lord? Upon a man like himself he hath no mercy; and doth he make supplication for his own sins? He being himself flesh nourisheth wrath: who shall make atonement for his sins? Remember thy last end, and cease from enmity: remember corruption and death, and abide in the commandments. Remember the commandments, and be not wroth with thy neighbour; and remember the covenant of the Highest, and wink at ignorance. Abstain from strife, and thou shalt diminish thy sins: for a passionate man will kindle strife; and a man that is a sinner will trouble friends, and will make debate among them that be at peace.

§ 16. *Miscellaneous maxims.*—At this point I will bring together a few miscellaneous adages and maxims from Ben Sira's book.

Be not hasty in thy tongue,
And in thy deeds slack and remiss.

Let not thy hand be stretched out to receive,
And closed when thou shouldest repay.

Do no evil, so shall no evil overtake thee;
Depart from wrong, and it shall turn aside from thee.
My son, sow not upon the furrows of unrighteousness,
And thou shalt not reap them sevenfold.

Laugh not a man to scorn when he is in the bitterness of his soul;
For there is one who humbleth and exalteth.

Intreat not evil a servant that worketh truly,
Nor a hireling that giveth thee his life.
Let thy soul love a wise servant;
Defraud him not of liberty.

There is one that keepeth silence, for he hath no answer to make;
And there is that keepeth silence, as knowing his time.

Prate not in the multitude of elders;
And repeat not thy words in thy prayer.

Change not a friend for a thing indifferent;
Neither a true brother for the gold of Ophir.
A faithful friend is a strong defence;
And he that hath found him hath found a treasure.
There is nothing that can be taken in exchange for a faithful friend;
And his excellency is beyond price.
A faithful friend is a medicine of life;
And they that fear the Lord shall find him.
He that feareth the Lord directeth his friendship aright;
For as he is, so is his neighbour also.

If thou hast drawn a sword against a friend, despair not; for there may be a returning. If thou hast opened thy mouth against a friend, fear not; for there may be a reconciling; except it be for upbraiding, and arrogance, and disclosing of a secret, and a treacherous blow: for these things every friend will flee.

He that revealeth secrets destroyeth credit, and shall not find a friend to his mind. Love a friend, and keep faith with him: but if thou reveal his secrets, thou shalt not pursue after him; for as a man hath destroyed his enemy, so hast thou destroyed the friendship of thy neighbour. And as a bird which thou hast loosed out of thy hand, so hast thou let thy neighbour go, and thou wilt not catch him again; pursue him not, for he is gone far away, and hath escaped as a gazelle out of the snare. For a wound may be bound up, and after reviling there may be a reconcilement; but he that revealeth secrets hath lost hope.

Blame not before thou hast examined: understand first, and then rebuke. Answer not before thou hast heard; and interrupt not in the midst of speech.

My son, to thy good deeds add no blemish;
And no grief of words in any of thy giving.

Shall not the dew assuage the scorching heat?
So is a word better than a gift.
Lo, is not a word better than a gift?
And both are with a gracious man.

The Talmud, observes Dr. Edersheim, in his commentary on Sirach, 'contains many similar statements. Thus it is said, "Alms are rewarded only according to the graciousness which accompanies them." And it is pointed out that in the Psalms it says, Blessed is he that *considereth* (not merely *giveth to*) the poor. We read elsewhere that he that gave to the poor a perutah (the smallest coin) was blessed with six blessings, but he that comforted them with words was blessed with eleven blessings. Lastly, we are told that if one bestowed on another all the gifts in the world, but with an unpleasant countenance, it would be reckoned as if he had given nothing, while if a man received his neighbour with a pleasant face, even if he gave him nothing, it would be reckoned as if he had bestowed on him all the gifts of the world.' Need I add that these sayings require the grain of salt? 'One may smile, and smile, and be a villain.'

Flee from sin as from the face of a serpent; for if thou draw nigh it will bite thee: the teeth thereof are the teeth of a lion, slaying the souls of men. All iniquity is as a two-edged sword; its stroke hath no healing.

Do nothing without counsel;
And when thou hast once done, repent not.

Wisdom that is hid, and treasure that is out of sight,
What profit is in them both?
Better is a man that hideth his folly
Than a man that hideth his wisdom.

There is a prosperity that a man findeth in misfortunes; and there is a gain that turneth to loss. There is a gift that shall not profit thee; and there is a gift whose recompense is double. There is an abasement because of glory; and there is that hath lifted up his head from a low estate. There is that buyeth much for a little, and payeth for it again sevenfold.

As the sun when it ariseth in the highest places of the Lord,
So is the beauty of a good wife in the ordering of a man's house.

As the lamp that shineth upon the holy candlestick,
So is the beauty of the face in ripe age.

A merchant shall hardly keep himself from wrongdoing; and a huckster shall not be acquitted of sin. Many have sinned for a thing indifferent; and he that seeketh to multiply gain will turn his eye away. A nail will stick fast between the joining of stones; and sin will thrust itself in between buying and selling.

He that feareth the Lord will receive his discipline;
And they that seek him early shall find favour.

He that seeketh the law shall be filled therewith;
But the hypocrite shall stumble thereat.

Birds will resort unto their like;
And truth will return unto them that practise her.

Very noteworthy is the adage: 'There is a prosperity that a man findeth in misfortunes; and there is a gain that turneth to loss.' Experience has given it innumerable applications, and countless story-books have given it illustration. Ben Sira's view of the temptations of a merchant seems exaggerated. But at the same time we must recognize it as probable that those engaged in purely financial operations all the livelong day need the fibres of their moral nature to be especially stout. Stout, not merely to resist the temptation to meanness or cheating, but to maintain their capacity to appreciate the higher elements of life. Money is not an end, but a means, and a constant absorption over the means may make the soul sordid, and render it dull and dense to the more delicate aspects of spiritual truth, to the deeper feelings and joys of art or goodness or religion. Moralists of every race and age have declared that the love of money is the root of all evil; and there lies at least as much truth in the statement as is consistent with its sweep and brevity.

The last two maxims are both interesting. 'Truth,' as Dr. Edersheim says, 'will ultimately appear on the side of the righteous and vindicate them, however they may have suffered or been misrepresented.' He might have added that this vindication has often failed to make its appearance until after the death of truth's champion. The conviction that goodness and truth will triumph in the end has given solace and sustainment in a life of trouble or of danger and in a death of anguish or of loneliness. The penultimate adage harps again on what should now have become to us a familiar

string. To him who seeks the right, the right is visible; to him whose heart is sin-clouded, the law of God will be hidden.

§ 17. *Worldly wisdom.*—In this paragraph I propose to give some selections from that aspect of Ben Sira's 'wisdom' to which I called attention at the beginning of the chapter—his rules and advice on the subject of manners, behaviour and worldly prudence. I do not make these selections with the idea that there is much high morality or true religion to be gained from them. For Ben Sira is here at his lowest, and the greater portion of his counsels can hardly be called otherwise than utilitarian and egoistic. A wise critic and friend has suggested that the 'essay' which Mr. Moulton has headed 'On Adaptation of Behaviour to Various Sorts of Men' should rather be entitled 'On Care of Oneself and Mistrust of Others.' But as a picture of manners and society in Palestine at the close of the second century B. C., these somewhat selfish reflections have an interest of their own. We seem to listen to the Lord Chesterfield of his day, who, however, in other veins and moods, could rise above and pass beyond these narrow and self-regarding limits.

Contend not with a mighty man, lest haply thou fall into his hands. Strive not with a rich man, lest haply he overweigh thee: for gold hath destroyed many, and turned aside the hearts of kings. Contend not with a man that is full of tongue, and heap not wood upon his fire. Jest not with a rude man, lest thine ancestors be dishonoured. Reproach not a man when he turneth from sin: remember that we are all worthy of punishment. Dishonour not a man in his old age; for some of us also are waxing old. Rejoice not over one that is dead: remember that we die all. Neglect not the discourse of the wise, and be conversant with their proverbs; for of them thou shalt learn instruction, and how to minister to great men. Miss not the discourse of the aged (for they also learned of their fathers); because from them thou shalt learn understanding, and to give answer in time of need. Kindle not the coals of a sinner, lest thou be burned with the flame of his fire. Rise not up from the presence of an insolent man, lest he lie in wait as an ambush for thy mouth.

Lend not to a man that is mightier than thyself; and if thou lend, be as one that hath lost. Be not surety above thy power: and if thou be surety, take thought as one that

will have to pay. Go not to law with a judge; for according to his honour will they give judgement for him. Go not in the way with a rash man, lest he be aggrieved with thee; for he will do according to his own will, and thou shalt perish with his folly. Fight not with a wrathful man, and travel not with him through the desert; for blood is as nothing in his sight; and where there is no help, he will overthrow thee. Take not counsel with a fool; for he will not be able to conceal the matter. Do no secret thing before a stranger; for thou knowest not what he will bring forth. Open not thine heart to every man; and let him not return thee a favour.

Forsake not an old friend; for the new is not comparable to him: as new wine, so is a new friend; if it become old, thou shalt drink it with gladness. Envy not the glory of a sinner; for thou knowest not what shall be his overthrow. Delight not in the delights of the ungodly; remember they shall not go unpunished unto the grave. As well as thou canst, guess at thy neighbours; and take counsel with the wise. Let thy converse be with men of understanding; and let all thy discourse be in the law of the Most High. Let just men be the companions of thy board; and let thy glorying be in the fear of the Lord.

Here is Ben Sira's counsel as to right behaviour at a feast.

Sittest thou at a great table? be not greedy upon it, and say not, Many are the things upon it. Stretch not thine hand whithersoever it looketh, and thrust not thyself with it into the dish. Consider thy neighbour's liking by thine own; and be discreet in every point. Eat, as becometh a man, those things which are set before thee; and eat not greedily, lest thou be hated. Be first to leave off for manners' sake; and be not insatiable, lest thou offend. And if thou sittest among many, reach not out thy hand before them.

How sufficient to a well-mannered man is a very little, and he doth not breathe hard upon his bed. Healthy sleep cometh of moderate eating; he riseth early, and his wits are with him; the pain of wakefulness, and colic, and griping, are with an insatiable man.

Shew not thyself valiant in wine; for wine hath destroyed many. The furnace proveth the temper of steel by dipping;

so doth wine prove hearts in the quarrelling of the proud. Wine is as good as life to men, if thou drink it in its measure: what life is there to a man that is without wine? and it hath been created to make men glad. Wine drunk in season and to satisfy is joy of heart, and gladness of soul: wine drunk largely is bitterness of soul, with provocation and conflict. Drunkenness increaseth the rage of a fool unto his hurt; it diminisheth strength, and addeth wounds.

Rebuke not thy neighbour at a banquet of wine, neither set him at nought in his mirth: speak not unto him a word of reproach, and press not upon him by asking back a debt. Have they made thee ruler of a feast? be not lifted up, be thou among them as one of them; take thought for them, and so sit down. And when thou hast done all thy office, take thy place, that thou mayest be gladdened on their account, and receive a crown for thy well ordering. Speak, thou that art the elder, for it becometh thee, but with sound knowledge; and hinder not music. Pour not out talk where there is a performance of music, and display not thy wisdom out of season. As a signet of carbuncle in a setting of gold, so is a concert of music in a banquet of wine. As a signet of emerald in a work of gold, so is a strain of music with pleasant wine.

Here is a cautious essay 'On Counsel and Counsellors.' Should the author not have added that trust sometimes begets trust? 'The contagion of trust' is the title of a very fine sermon written by the present Dean of Ely.

Every counsellor extolleth counsel; but there is that counselleth for himself. Let thy soul beware of a counsellor, and know thou before what is his interest—for he will take counsel for himself—lest he cast the lot upon thee, and say unto thee, Thy way is good: and he will stand over against thee, to see what shall befall thee. Take not counsel with one that looketh askance at thee; and hide thy counsel from such as are jealous of thee. Take not counsel with a woman about her rival; neither with a coward about war; nor with a merchant about exchange; nor with a buyer about selling; nor with an envious man about thankfulness; nor with an unmerciful man about kindliness; nor with a sluggard about any kind of work; nor with a hireling in thy house about

finishing his work; nor with an idle servant about much business: give not heed to these in any matter of counsel.

But rather be continually with a godly man, whom thou shalt have known to be a keeper of the commandments, who in his soul is as thine own soul, and who will grieve with thee, if thou shalt miscarry. And make the counsel of thy heart to stand; for there is none more faithful unto thee than it. For a man's soul is sometime wont to bring him tidings, more than seven watchmen that sit on high on a watch-tower. And above all this intreat the Most High, that he may direct thy way in truth. Let reason be the beginning of every work, and let counsel go before every action.

Nothing is better than the wise advice of a true friend; and yet in certain seasons and crises a man's own heart—his inward and instant conviction of right and wrong—may be his best counsellor.

§ 18. *Prosperity and happiness.*—Ben Sira's outlook on life is generally cheerful. But he has his moments of sadness and depression. He had seen, perchance, a good deal of the lower side of human nature, and he gives vent occasionally to somewhat bitter reflections. For example, as to the relation of rich and poor.

He that toucheth pitch shall be defiled; and he that hath fellowship with a proud man shall become like unto him. Take not up a burden above thy strength; and have no fellowship with one that is mightier and richer than thyself. What fellowship shall the earthen pot have with the kettle? this shall smite, and that shall be dashed in pieces. The rich man doeth a wrong, and he threateneth withal: the poor is wronged, and he shall intreat withal.

Every living creature loveth his like, and every man loveth his neighbour. All flesh consorteth according to kind, and a man will cleave to his like. What fellowship shall the wolf have with the lamb? so is the sinner unto the godly. What peace is there between the hyena and the dog? and what peace between the rich man and the poor? Wild asses are the prey of lions in the wilderness; so poor men are pasture for the rich. Lowliness is an abomination to a proud man; so a poor man is an abomination to the rich. A rich man when he is shaken is held up of his friends; but one of low degree being down is thrust away also by his

friends. When a rich man is fallen, there are many helpers; he speaketh things not to be spoken, and men justify him: a man of low degree falleth, and men rebuke him withal; he uttereth wisdom, and no place is allowed him. A rich man speaketh, and all keep silence; and what he saith they extol to the clouds: a poor man speaketh, and they say, 'Who is this?' and if he stumble, they will help to overthrow him.

While clinging to his simple faith that prosperity and adversity are from the Lord, Ben Sira somewhat fails to see that riches and poverty cannot without all kinds of qualifications, be classified, the one as good, the other as evil. The end of the following essay reminds us of the famous sayings of Solon in his conversations with King Croesus. A delightful hour is ready for those who like to read them in Herodotus. Ben Sira is clearly wrong in his opinion that the 'last end of a man is the revelation of his deeds.' He is led to this exaggeration, first, because he has no belief that the effect of a man's deeds may even for himself extend beyond the grave, and secondly, because he cannot rise above the old, fallacious doctrine that God is not just if the 'sinner' lives and dies in seeming and outward 'prosperity.'

There is one that toileth, and laboureth, and maketh haste, and is so much the more behind. There is one that is sluggish, and hath need of help, lacking in strength, and that aboundeth in poverty; and the eyes of the Lord looked upon him for good, and he set him up from his low estate, and lifted up his head; and many marvelled at him. Good things and evil, life and death, poverty and riches, are from the Lord. The gift of the Lord remaineth with the godly, and his good pleasure shall prosper for ever. There is that waxeth rich by his wariness and pinching, and this is the portion of his reward: when he saith, 'I have found rest, and now will I eat of my goods'; yet he knoweth not what time shall pass, and he shall leave them to others, and die.

Be stedfast in thy covenant, and be conversant therein, and wax old in thy work. Marvel not at the works of a sinner, but trust the Lord, and abide in thy labour: for it is an easy thing in the sight of the Lord swiftly on the sudden to make a poor man rich. The blessing of the Lord is in the reward of the godly; and in an hour that cometh swiftly he maketh his blessing to flourish. Say not, 'What use is there of me? And what from henceforth shall my

good things be?' Say not, 'I have sufficient, and from henceforth what harm shall happen unto me?' In the day of good things there is a forgetfulness of evil things; and in the day of evil things a man will not remember things that are good. For it is an easy thing in the sight of the Lord to reward a man in the day of death according to his ways. The affliction of an hour causeth forgetfulness of delight; and in the last end of a man is the revelation of his deeds. Call no man blessed before his death; and a man shall be known in his children.

Ben Sira speaks strongly against the miser. Reasonable enjoyment seems to him right and desirable. Do thy duty to God and man; lead a full life and enjoy it. It is impossible to enter here into any criticism of our author's position. Gladness and not gloom is assuredly the right condition of man upon earth; sheer asceticism is no end in itself. Yet we feel that the true justification of happiness is not because life is short and death is sure. The joy that is based upon that thought can never be the highest of which man is capable. [Note at the end of the essay a striking parallel to a famous passage in the *Iliad*. You will find it in the sixth book, lines 146–149.]

Riches are not comely for a niggard; and what should an envious man do with money? He that gathereth by taking from his own soul gathereth for others; and others shall revel in his goods. He that is evil to himself, to whom will he be good? and he shall not rejoice in his possessions. There is none more evil than he that envieth himself; and this is a recompense of his wickedness. Even if he doeth good, he doeth it in forgetfulness; and at the last he sheweth forth his wickedness. Evil is he that envieth with his eye, turning away the face, and despising the souls of men. A covetous man's eye is not satisfied with his portion; and wicked injustice drieth up his soul. An evil eye is grudging of bread, and he is miserly at his table.

My son, according as thou hast, do well unto thyself, and bring offerings unto the Lord worthily. Remember that death will not tarry, and that the covenant of the grave is not shewed unto thee. Do well unto thy friend before thou die; and according to thy ability stretch out thy hand and give to him. Defraud not thyself of a good day; and let not the portion of a good desire pass thee by. Shalt thou not leave

thy labours unto another? and thy toils to be divided by lot? Give, and take, and beguile thy soul; for there is no seeking of luxury in the grave. All flesh waxeth old as a garment; for the covenant from the beginning is, Thou shalt die the death. As of the leaves flourishing on a thick tree, some it sheddeth, and some it maketh to grow; so also of the generations of flesh and blood, one cometh to an end, and another is born. Every work rotteth and falleth away, and the worker thereof shall depart with it.

Ben Sira preaches contentment 'with little or with much.' Above all, rather die than beg. Independence is manhood.

My son, lead not a beggar's life; better it is to die than to beg. A man that looketh unto the table of another, his life is not to be counted for a life; he will pollute his soul with another man's meats: but a man wise and well-instructed will beware thereof. In the mouth of the shameless begging will be sweet; and in his belly a fire shall be kindled.

The chief thing for life is water, and bread, and a garment, and a house to cover shame. Better is the life of a poor man under a shelter of logs, than sumptuous fare in another man's house. With little or with much, be well satisfied. It is a miserable life to go from house to house: and where thou art a sojourner, thou shalt not dare to open thy mouth, and besides this thou shalt hear bitter words. 'Go forth, thou sojourner, from the face of honour; my brother is come to be my guest; I have need of my house.'

Better is a poor man, being sound and strong of constitution, than a rich man that is plagued in his body. Health and a good constitution are better than all gold; and a strong body than wealth without measure. There is no riches better than health of body; and there is no gladness above the joy of the heart. Death is better than a bitter life, and eternal rest than a continual sickness.

Give not over thy soul to sorrow; and afflict not thyself in thine own counsel. Gladness of heart is the life of a man; and the joyfulness of a man is length of days. Love thine own soul, and comfort thy heart: and remove sorrow far from thee; for sorrow hath destroyed many, and there is no profit therein. Envy and wrath shorten a man's days; and

care bringeth old age before the time. A cheerful and good heart will have a care of his meat and diet.

On the whole, riches seem to the son of Sirach at least as much anxiety as profit, while the rich man who does not yield to the temptations which his wealth offers him seems deserving in our sage's eyes of special praise.

Wakefulness that cometh of riches consumeth the flesh, and the anxiety thereof putteth away sleep. Wakeful anxiety will crave slumber; and in a sore disease sleep will be broken. A rich man toileth in gathering money together; and when he resteth, he is filled with his good things. A poor man toileth in lack of substance, and when he resteth, he becometh needy. He that loveth gold shall not be justified; and he that followeth destruction shall himself have his fill of it. Many have been given over to ruin for the sake of gold; and their perdition meeteth them face to face. It is a stumblingblock unto them that sacrifice unto it; and every fool shall be taken therewith.

Blessed is the rich that is found without blemish, and that goeth not after gold. Who is he? and we will call him blessed: for wonderful things hath he done among his people. Who hath been tried thereby, and found perfect? Then let him glory. Who hath had the power to transgress, and hath not transgressed? and to do evil, and hath not done it? His goods shall be made sure, and the congregation shall declare his alms.

§ 19. *The sadness of life and the advent of death.*—The sadness which came over the sage from time to time as he contemplated the sorrows and ills of life, with its inevitable end-all Death, is illustrated and exemplified in the following 'essay,' entitled by Mr. Moulton, 'The Burden of Life.'

Great travail is created for every man, and a heavy yoke is upon the sons of Adam, until the day for their burial in the mother of all things. The expectation of things to come, and the day of death, trouble their thoughts, and cause fear of heart; from him that sitteth on a throne of glory, even unto him that is humbled in earth and ashes; from him that weareth purple and a crown, even unto him that is clothed with a hempen frock. There is wrath, and

jealousy, and trouble, and disquiet, and fear of death, and anger, and strife; and in the time of rest upon his bed his night sleep doth change his knowledge. A little or nothing is his resting, and afterward in his sleep, as in a day of keeping watch, he is troubled in the vision of his heart, as one that hath escaped from the front of battle. In the very time of his deliverance he awaketh, and marvelleth that the fear is nought. It is thus with all flesh, from man to beast, and upon sinners sevenfold more. Death, and bloodshed, and strife, and sword, calamities, famine, tribulation, and the scourge; all these things were created for the wicked, and because of them came the Flood.

As a sequel to the foregoing 'essay' may fitly be placed Ben Sira's 'sonnet' on Death. It strikes the sombre and yet manly note of one who has no expectation of any life beyond the grave, and has no fear to say so. The last stanza breathes a noble resignation and a fine, whole-hearted trust in the will of God. But we feel that whatever may befall us, there is more to say about death than this, and the simple utterance of a later sage appeals to us more cogently: 'The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God: they are in peace.'

O Death,
How bitter is the remembrance of thee
To a man that is at peace in his possessions,
Unto the man that hath nothing to distract him,
And hath prosperity in all things,
And that still hath strength to receive meat!

O Death,
Acceptable is thy sentence
Unto a man that is needy, and that faileth in strength,
That is in extreme old age,
And is distracted about all things,
And is perverse, and hath lost patience!

Fear not the sentence of Death;
Remember them that have been before thee,
And that come after:
This is the sentence from the Lord over all flesh:
And why dost thou refuse,
When it is the good pleasure of the Most High?

Whether it be ten, or a hundred,
Or a thousand years,
There is no inquisition of life in the grave.

§ 20. *The Works of God and his Praise.*—Ben Sira is full of reverential admiration towards God in his aspect of Creator, and some of his finest essays are devoted to the praise of the divine Ruler and Creator of nature and of man. These I will now put together. In the first of them he passes almost insensibly from Man in general to Israel in particular, and then back again from Israel and his Law to Mankind as a whole.

My son, hearken unto me, and learn knowledge, and give heed to my words with thy heart. I will shew forth instruction by weight, and declare knowledge exactly.

In the judgement of the Lord are his works from the beginning; and from the making of them he disposed the parts thereof. He garnished his works for ever, and the beginnings of them unto their generations: they neither hunger, nor are weary, and they cease not from their works. No one thrusteth aside his neighbour; and they shall never disobey his word. After this also the Lord looked upon the earth, and filled it with his blessings. All manner of living things covered the face thereof; and into it is their return.

The Lord created man of the earth, and turned him back unto it again. He gave them days by number, and a set time, and gave them authority over the things that are thereon. He endued them with strength proper to them; and made them according to his own image. He put the fear of man upon all flesh, and gave him to have dominion over beasts and fowls. Counsel, and tongue, and eyes, ears, and heart, gave he them to understand withal. He filled them with the knowledge of wisdom, and shewed them good and evil.

He set his eye upon their hearts, to shew them the majesty of his works. And they shall praise the name of his holiness, that they may declare the majesty of his works. He added unto them knowledge, and gave them a law of life for a heritage.

He made an everlasting covenant with them, and shewed them his judgements. Their eyes saw the majesty of his glory; and their ear heard the glory of his voice. And he

said unto them, Beware of all unrighteousness; and he gave them commandment, each man concerning his neighbour. Their ways are ever before him; they shall not be hid from his eyes.

For every nation he appointed a ruler; and Israel is the Lord's portion. All their works are as the sun before him; and his eyes are continually upon their ways. Their iniquities are not hid from him; and all their sins are before the Lord. With him the alms of a man is as a signet; and he will keep the bounty of a man as the apple of the eye. Afterwards he will rise up and recompense them, and render their recompense upon their head.

Howbeit unto them that repent he granteth a return; and he comforteth them that are losing patience. Return unto the Lord, and forsake sins: make thy prayer before his face, and lessen the offence. Turn again to the Most High, and turn away from iniquity; and greatly hate the abominable thing. Who shall give praise to the Most High in the grave, instead of them which live and return thanks? Thanksgiving perisheth from the dead, as from one that is not: he that is in life and health shall praise the Lord. How great is the mercy of the Lord, and his forgiveness unto them that turn unto him! For all things cannot be in men, because the son of man is not immortal. What is brighter than the sun? yet this faileth: and an evil man will think on flesh and blood. He looketh upon the power of the height of heaven: and all men are earth and ashes.

He that liveth for ever created all things in common. The Lord alone shall be justified. To none hath he given power to declare his works: and who shall trace out his mighty deeds? Who shall number the strength of his majesty? and who shall also tell out his mercies? As for the wondrous works of the Lord, it is not possible to take from them nor add to them, neither is it possible to track them out. When a man hath finished, then he is but at the beginning; and when he ceaseth, then shall he be in perplexity. What is man? and whereto serveth he? What is his good? and what is his evil? The number of man's days at the most are a hundred years. As a drop of water from the sea, and a pebble from the sand; so are a few years in the day of eternity.

For this cause the Lord was longsuffering over them, and

poured out his mercy upon them. He saw and perceived their end, that it is evil; therefore he multiplied his forgiveness. The mercy of a man is upon his neighbour; but the mercy of the Lord is upon all flesh; reproving, and chastening, and teaching, and bringing again, as a shepherd doth his flock. He hath mercy on them that accept chastening, and that diligently seek after his judgements.

There are several matters in this 'essay,' which I have given without any omission, that need a little explanation or comment.

'He garnished his works for ever.' More probably, 'he ordered or arranged, he made them into a cosmos, a universe of system and order.' The Greek word is *ekosmêsen*, the verb of which *kosmos* is the noun. The 'beginnings' should rather be 'the highest powers of them'; the word seems to refer to the stars that 'rule by night.' 'He set his eye upon their hearts' may either mean simply 'he took care so to dispose their hearts as to make them susceptible to the majesty of his works'; or, 'he set his own discerning capacity in their hearts.' 'The law of life' is the Mosaic law, and the author here rather incoherently passes away from Man in general to Israel in particular. To him the 'Mosaic' law was the crowning glory of God's relations with man. The true law of life was given through Israel to mankind. 'Their eyes saw,' &c., refers to the revelation of Sinai. 'For every nation he appointed a ruler,' &c. This alludes to a curious idea which the Jews of Ben Sira's time had invented with regard to the special relation of God to themselves. They believed that God had assigned a separate angel to every nation, but that he had reserved Israel for himself. For us this notion is not merely fantastic, but irreligious; for, in spite of all difficulties, we cling and cleave to the belief that God does not 'care' more, to use a very human word, for one race of men than for another. Observe, however, that a most notable feature of the special relation of Israel to God is that 'their iniquities are not hid from him.' We recall a famous and epoch-making utterance of Amos (Part I, p. 354). At the words, 'With him the alms of man is as a signet,' the special reference to Israel fades away again. Man's 'alms and bounty' is a comprehensive phrase for his good deeds: of all good deeds benevolence is the best. God does not forget men's sins, but he still more closely guards and remembers their virtues. But the words from 'With him the alms' down to 'apple of the eye' seem interpolated or in their wrong place, for the next sentence, 'Afterwards he will rise up,' follows on to the words, 'all their sins are before the Lord.' Once more we note the sad view of death and its issues. Man is weak and frail (such seems to be the meaning of the perhaps corrupt words, 'all

things cannot be in men') because he is mortal. If even the undecaying sun suffers 'eclipse,' is it wonderful that evil men follow the desires of the flesh? 'In common' in this place merely means 'universally,' or 'without exception.' This last part of the essay is very touching and fine: the conception of God in his mercy upon all flesh, 'reproving, and chastening, and teaching, and bringing again, as a shepherd doth his flock,' lingers long in our memory.

As to the deeper problems of existence, the author has no philosophical explanation. 'It is the will of God': this is his reply to every perplexity, and in the last resort there is hardly another or a better even for us to-day. Things seem to go in pairs, thought Ben Sira. Day is set over against night, life over against death, good over against evil. The notion of these pairs seems to give him some pleasure, as all categories and arrangements do to those who observe or invent them. But though he bids us 'thus to look upon all the works of God,' we are hardly brought any forwarder by such divisions. A wise friend has suggested to me that by his theory of 'pairs,' Ben Sira may imply a theory of compensation: what may seem evil to us may have its unseen counterpart of good. And another helpful counsellor suggests that the 'pairs' imply the doctrine that while there is such a thing as absolute goodness (i.e. God), evil is only 'relative.' The word 'relative' has a consoling sound to some, and so far as it implies the teaching that the final drift and purpose of the world are set towards goodness, I too am its disciple. But for us on earth evil is made no whit more shadowy by being dubbed as 'relative.' It is horribly and appallingly real. We can only venture to hope that it may be 'relative' in the eyes of God.

Why doth one day excel another, when all the light of every day in the year is of the sun? By the knowledge of the Lord they were distinguished; and he varied seasons and feasts: some of them he exalted and hallowed, and some of them hath he made ordinary days.

And all men are from the ground, and Adam was created of earth. In the abundance of his knowledge the Lord distinguished them, and made their ways various: some of them he blessed and exalted, and some of them he hallowed and brought nigh to himself: some of them he cursed and brought low, and overthrew them from their place. As the clay of the potter in his hand, all his ways are according to his good pleasure; so men are in the hand of him that made them, to render unto them according to his judgement.

Good is set over against evil, and life over against death: so is the sinner over against the godly. And thus look upon all the works of the Most High; two and two, one against another.

Part of another paean on God's works runs as follows. It is at the opening of this paean (at the word 'harps') that the first fragment of the Hebrew original discovered by Dr. Schechter begins. It by no means corresponds word for word with the Greek translation, but I cannot give the differences here. [One additional touch of the Hebrew may, however, be noted. Nothing is too hard for God, but nothing also is too small. 'There is nothing small or light with him, and there is nothing too wonderful or hard for him.'] Sometimes the grandson of Ben Sira translated loosely; sometimes he misunderstood the Hebrew; sometimes doubtless *his* Hebrew text was freer from corruptions than the discovered fragment, and sometimes *our* text of *his* translation may be itself corrupt.

Yet more will I utter, which I have thought upon; and I am filled as the moon at the full. Hearken unto me, ye holy children, and bud forth as a rose growing by a brook of water: and give ye a sweet savour as frankincense, and put forth flowers as a lily, spread abroad a sweet smell, and sing a song of praise; bless ye the Lord for all his works. Magnify his name, and give utterance to his praise with the songs of your lips, and with harps; and thus shall ye say when ye utter his praise:—

All the works of the Lord are exceeding good, and every command shall be accomplished in his season. None can say, What is this? wherefore is that? for in his season they shall all be sought out. At his word the waters stood as a heap, and the receptacles of waters at the word of his mouth. At his command is all his good pleasure done; and there is none that shall hinder his salvation. The works of all flesh are before him; and it is not possible to be hid from his eyes. He beholdeth from everlasting to everlasting; and there is nothing wonderful before him. None can say, What is this? wherefore is that? for all things are created for their uses.

Therefore from the beginning I was resolved, and I thought this, and left it in writing; all the works of the Lord are good: and he will supply every need in its season. And

none can say, This is worse than that: for they shall all be well approved in their season. And now with all your heart and mouth sing ye praises, and bless the name of the Lord.

Finally, there may be quoted a long praise of the divine works which Mr. Moulton calls a 'Rhetoric Encomium.' We catch imitations from the Psalms in this paean, especially from those which are printed in Part I, pp. 387–397. At the beginning, 'in the words of the Lord' should probably be changed to 'by the word of the Lord,' as where it says in the Psalms, 'By the word of the Lord the heavens were made, and all their host by the breath of his mouth.' [This is now confirmed by the newly discovered Hebrew original.] At the end of the Encomium, the words 'by reason of him his end hath success' are obscure. [The Hebrew text is also uncertain. The next sentence runs in the original: 'More like this we will not add; the conclusion of the matter is, He is all.' I may note too that the words 'who is from everlasting to everlasting' are in the Hebrew: 'he is One from everlasting.']

I will make mention now of the works of the Lord, and will declare the things that I have seen:

In the words of the Lord are his works. The sun that giveth light looketh upon all things; and the work of the Lord is full of his glory. The Lord hath not given power to the saints to declare all his marvellous works; which the Almighty Lord firmly settled, that whatsoever is might be established in his glory. He searcheth out the deep, and the heart, and he hath understanding of their cunning devices: for the Most High knoweth all knowledge, and he looketh into the signs of the world, declaring the things that are past, and the things that shall be, and revealing the traces of hidden things. No thought escapeth him; there is not a word hid from him. The mighty works of his wisdom he hath ordered, who is from everlasting to everlasting: nothing hath been added unto them, nor diminished from them; and he had no need of any counsellor. How desirable are all his works! One may behold this even unto a spark. All these things live and remain for ever in all manner of uses, and they are all obedient. All things are double one against another: and he hath made nothing imperfect. One thing establisheth the good things of another: and who shall be filled with beholding his glory?

The pride of the height is the firmament in its clearness, the appearance of heaven, in the spectacle of its glory. The sun when he appeareth, bringing tidings as he goeth forth, is a marvellous instrument, the work of the Most High: at his noon he drieth up the country, and who shall stand against his burning heat? A man blowing a furnace is in works of heat, but the sun three times more, burning up the mountains: breathing out fiery vapours, and sending forth bright beams, he dimmeth the eyes. Great is the Lord that made him; and at his word he hasteneth his course.

The moon also is in all things for her season, for a declaration of times, and a sign of the world. From the moon is the sign of the feast day; a light that waneth when she is come to the full. The month is called after her name, increasing wonderfully in her changing; an instrument of the hosts on high, shining forth in the firmament of heaven; the beauty of heaven, the glory of the stars, an ornament giving light in the highest places of the Lord. At the word of the Holy One they will stand in due order, and they will not faint in their watches.

Look upon the rainbow, and praise him that made it; exceeding beautiful in the brightness thereof. It compasseth the heaven round about with a circle of glory; the hands of the Most High have stretched it.

By his commandment he maketh the snow to fall apace, and sendeth swiftly the lightnings of his judgement. By reason thereof the treasure-houses are opened; and clouds fly forth as fowls. By his mighty power he maketh strong the clouds, and the hailstones are broken small: and at his appearing the mountains will be shaken, and at his will the south wind will blow. The voice of his thunder maketh the earth to travail; so doth the northern storm and the whirlwind. As birds flying down he sprinkleth the snow; and as the lighting of the locust is the falling down thereof: the eye will marvel at the beauty of its whiteness, and the heart will be astonished at the raining of it. The hoar frost also he poureth on the earth as salt; and when it is congealed, it is as points of thorns. The cold north wind shall blow, and the ice shall be congealed on the water: it shall lodge upon every gathering together of water, and the water shall put on as it were a breastplate. It shall devour the mountains, and burn up the wilderness, and consume the green herb as fire.

A mist coming speedily is the healing of all things; a dew coming after heat shall bring cheerfulness. By his counsel he hath stilled the deep, and planted islands therein. They that sail on the sea tell of the danger thereof; and when we hear it with our ears, we marvel. Therein be also those strange and wondrous works, variety of all that hath life, the race of sea-monsters.

By reason of him his end hath success, and by his word all things consist. We may say many things, yet shall we not attain; and the sum of our words is, He is all. How shall we have strength to glorify him? for he is himself the great one above all his works. The Lord is terrible and exceeding great; and marvellous is his power. When ye glorify the Lord, exalt him as much as ye can, for even yet will he exceed: and when ye exalt him, put forth your full strength: be not weary; for ye will never attain. Who hath seen him, that he may declare him? and who shall magnify him as he is? Many things are hidden greater than these; for we have seen but a few of his works. For the Lord made all things; and to the godly gave he wisdom.

§ 21. *Ben Sira's prayer.*—At the close of his book Ben Sira has placed a prayer of thanksgiving to God for the protection and the gift of wisdom which he had granted him. Mr. Moulton thinks that originally this prayer stood at the beginning of the book, and he prints it as the 'author's preface,' immediately after the 'preface by the translator.' In the course of his travels Ben Sira must have been at one time in great and imminent danger. He was a man of sufficient importance and station to have been the subject of slander at the court of a king. From this danger he must have been unexpectedly delivered. Further on in the passage our author seems to praise himself unduly. Yet we should hardly be justified in calling him self-righteous or conceited. He is rather naïve than boastful. He is conscious that after his human measure he has acquired some wisdom. He is also conscious that within human limits he has trodden the path of righteousness. We should be better pleased if he had not failed to add that he could have done and could have been yet better, for no one who is completely satisfied with his own goodness or his own wisdom can be either extremely good or extremely wise. The highest wisdom and the purest goodness are always conscious of a beyond, an ideal which they have failed to reach. Nevertheless,

Ben Sira is saved from conceit because he does not attribute his wisdom to himself. It is the gift of God. That he is wise is not his merit. It is God's grace. And as the source of his wisdom is God, so in God's service must be spent its fruit. All his toil seems to him but little labour, and his reward is his power of praise.

I will give thanks unto thee, O Lord, O King, and will praise thee, God my Saviour: I do give thanks unto thy name: for thou wast my protector and helper, and didst deliver my body out of destruction, and out of the snare of a slanderous tongue, from lips that forge lies, and wast my helper before them that stood by; and didst deliver me, according to the abundance of thy mercy, and greatness of thy name, from the gnashings of teeth ready to devour, out of the hand of such as sought my life, out of the manifold afflictions which I had; from the choking of a fire on every side, and out of the midst of fire which I kindled not; out of the depth of the belly of the grave, and from an unclean tongue, and from lying words, the slander of an unrighteous tongue unto the king. My soul drew near even unto death, and my life was near to the grave beneath. They compassed me on every side, and there was none to help me. I was looking for the succour of men, and it was not. And I remembered thy mercy, O Lord, and thy working which hath been from everlasting, how thou deliverest them that wait for thee, and savest them out of the hand of the enemies. And I lifted up my supplication from the earth, and prayed for deliverance from death. I called upon the Lord, that he would not forsake me in the days of affliction, in the time when there was no help against the proud. I will praise thy name continually, and will sing praise with thanksgiving; and my supplication was heard: for thou savedst me from destruction, and deliveredst me from the evil time: therefore will I give thanks and praise unto thee, and bless the name of the Lord.

When I was yet young, or ever I went abroad, I sought wisdom openly in my prayer. Before the temple I asked for her, and I will seek her out even to the end. From her flower as from the ripening grape my heart delighted in her: my foot trod in uprightness, from my youth I tracked her out. I bowed down mine ear a little, and received her, and

found for myself much instruction. I profited in her: unto him that giveth me wisdom I will give glory. For I purposed to practise her, and I was zealous for that which is good; and I shall never be put to shame. My soul hath wrestled in her, and in my doing I was exact: I spread forth my hands to the heaven above, and bewailed my ignorances of her. I set my soul aright unto her, and in pureness I found her. I gat me a heart joined with her from the beginning: therefore shall I not be forsaken. My inward part also was troubled to seek her: therefore have I gotten a good possession. The Lord gave me a tongue for my reward; and I will praise him therewith.

Draw near unto me, ye unlearned, and lodge in the house of instruction. Say, wherefore are ye lacking in these things, and your souls are very thirsty? I opened my mouth, and spake, Get her for yourselves without money. Put your neck under the yoke, and let your soul receive instruction: she is hard at hand to find. Behold with your eyes, how that I laboured but a little, and found for myself much rest. Get you instruction with a great sum of silver, and gain much gold by her. May your soul rejoice in his mercy, and may ye not be put to shame in praising him. Work your work before the time cometh, and in his time he will give you your reward.

In the Authorized Version the last and famous sentence ran, 'Work your work *betimes*,' but 'Before the time cometh' is more literal. It means before it is too late, before old age and death come upon you. 'Your work' means the search for wisdom, which to the author includes goodness. 'In his time he will give you your reward.' 'In his time': perchance on earth, perchance beyond it. 'Your reward': but our reward is also *his*. And God's guerdons are not as man's. Let that suffice us.

CHAPTER III

THE BOOK OF JOB

§ 1. *Characteristics of the Book.*—The most famous and the most important production of the Wisdom Literature is the Book of Job. It is also in many respects the most difficult. Its date is uncertain. It was assuredly written before Ben Sira, and it was probably written after Nehemiah. Thus we get a period of 200 years (400–200 B.C.), between which two limits the author of Job lived and wrote.

It might seem as if I ought to have put my chapter on Job before my chapter on the son of Sirach, seeing that Ben Sira is later in time. But Ben Sira, though his book is mainly the work of one man, is yet closely connected in form and thought and subject-matter with the Book of Proverbs. There is good cause therefore for Proverbs to be immediately succeeded by Ben Sira. Job, on the other hand, though nearer to the Proverbs in time, is very different both from it and from the son of Sirach in thought, subject and form. Proverbs is a collection of many adages of many authors dealing with a hundred different subjects. Ben Sira's book is probably for the greater part of it his own, but it is not a unity. Like the Proverbs, it also contains a number of detached reflections on a number of different subjects, though we saw how these reflections frequently outstripped the limits of the single proverb couplet and partook rather of the nature of the 'essay.' But Job (apart from certain later additions and interpolations) is a single whole. It deals with and discusses one central subject. It has a distinct beginning and end. It is a poem: a work of art; the creation of one mind occupying itself with a single theme.

I have said that Job is both difficult and famous. It is difficult both because of the Hebrew, which is often obscure and doubtless often corrupt, and because of the thought, which deals with one of

the most difficult of all subjects and sometimes overpowers the writer. And thirdly, it is difficult because there are now in it several interpolations (though how many is a moot point) which darken the connexion and break in upon the sequence of the thought. But for all its difficulty it is, and always will be, a very famous book, though possibly more often alluded to and quoted from than read, and more often read than studied.

The prose introduction to the poem is short, simple and dramatic. It is much the most familiar portion of the entire book. The story on which the poem is hung or depends has become one of the best-known stories in all the world. And even if the poem itself, which consists, as we shall see, of a number of speeches spoken by Job, by his friends, and finally by God himself, be long and obscure, yet its subject—the undeserved sufferings of the righteous and their relation to the justice of God—maintains for all time its painful interest. Moreover, though much be obscure and difficult, there is a very great deal of splendid poetry and sonorous language. In these respects the often very inaccurate translation of the Authorized Version is a true reflection of the original. The Book of Job is the home of many current sayings which are often employed without any conscious recollection of the source from which they come. 'The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord.' 'Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not also receive evil?' These quotations from the prologue are well known to be from Job, but the same could not perhaps be said of the following. 'There the wicked cease from troubling; and there the weary are at rest.' 'Man is born unto trouble, as the sparks fly upward.' 'Happy is the man whom God correcteth.' 'How forcible are right words!' 'Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him.' 'Man that is born of a woman is of few days, and full of trouble. He cometh forth like a flower, and is cut down: he fleeth also as a shadow, and continueth not.' 'The king of terrors.' 'I know that my Redeemer liveth.' 'The root of the matter.' 'He maketh peace in his high places.' 'The price of wisdom is above rubies.' 'I am escaped with the skin of my teeth.' 'The house appointed for all living.' 'Who is this that darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge?' One cannot help feeling it to be a great pity that several of these famous sayings are inaccurate renderings of the Hebrew, and must disappear from any correct translation.

§ 2. *The traditional story of Job.*—The Book of Job, then, is a poem composed of speeches, with a narrative introduction and

epilogue in prose. The story on which the speeches hang is probably old and traditional, and has been adopted and adapted, and not invented, by the author. (We may compare the practice of Shakespeare and of the Greek tragedians.) The story perhaps contained little more than this, that Job, a very good and very fortunate man, was suddenly overwhelmed with dire misfortunes, which he bore with exemplary patience, fortitude and piety, and that he was ultimately restored to prosperity.

It is right to mention here a theory which finds favour with many modern scholars, namely, that there was in existence not merely a story of Job as a tradition, but a written folk-tale or legend which our author practically took over in the prologue and the epilogue. This supposition would explain the variations in Job's character in the prologue and the speeches, the seemingly different purposes of the one and the other, the ignoring of Satan in the speeches, Job's restoration to prosperity in the epilogue, and many other differences between the framework and the substance of the book. It is, however, impossible for me to enter into this subject here. Even if our author took over the prologue and epilogue ready written, this very adoption shows that he himself could interpret them to be in fair harmony with his own aim and object.

That Job had been long regarded as a pattern of virtue (although not an Israelite) we know from the prophet Ezekiel, who couples his name with the names of Noah and Daniel as examples of pre-eminent righteousness. His story was used by our author as a framework for a poetical discussion upon the grave problem of the calamities and sufferings of the righteous viewed in relation to the rule of an all-powerful and all-righteous God. If God be all good and all wise, why do the righteous suffer? Now the mere raising of this vast problem involves a proposition, the effectual establishment of which may be justly regarded as an important and integral object of the entire book. That proposition is this: *There is such a thing as suffering which is in no sense whatever the consequence of the sufferer's sin.*

Besides the main problem, other subsidiary but connected questions are also incidentally raised. For example: (1) Why do the wicked prosper? and (2) Is piety merely mercantile? And if the author establishes the proposition that there is such a thing as suffering which is in no sense whatever the consequence of the sufferer's sin, he also lays down the supplementary and complementary thesis, that there is such a thing as wholly disinterested goodness. For if goodness does not always and necessarily pay, in the ordinary sense of the word, then only is its disinterestedness assured.

§ 3. *The problem of Job.*—We must remember that the Book of Job is a poem, and not a philosophical treatise. Moreover, the writer is a Hebrew and not a Greek, so that logical progression of thought, a clear statement of the problem and a definite enunciation of its solution, must not be expected from him. His genius had its natural forms of expression and the limits in which it worked. Again, the propositions which he sought to establish and the problems he raised were comparatively new. To the riddle of undeserved suffering few intelligent answers had yet been given. Indeed, the current answer denied the riddle by obstinately refusing to allow that any 'suffering' was 'undeserved.' Our author had therefore to fight his own way and to wrestle unaided with his own thoughts. One solution indeed had been suggested which he might have known, and knowing might have made good use of. It is the solution of the suffering Servant of God, of whom we read in Part I, p. 501. But the author of Job does not seem to have known it, or if he did know it, he did not realize its universal application. Although his poem is a work of art, elaborated with evident care, yet we seem to hear in it the tumultuous echoes of his own mind, which never rested in any clear and definite conclusions. We get glimpses, intuitions, *Ahnungen*, as our German kinsfolk would say, but little or no formulated doctrine. To the problem, 'Why do the righteous suffer?' his last answer appears to be, 'We cannot tell.' All that our limited faculties will enable us to do is to observe the wisdom of God in nature, and to argue that if God be wise as the Lord of Nature, he is wise as the Lord of Man. Therefore what we call undeserved suffering is caused by divine wisdom, and if by God's Wisdom, then by his Goodness. For to the author of Job, as to all the writers of the Wisdom Literature, goodness and wisdom are one. But this argument is no true explanation, so once more we come back to the three simple words: we cannot tell. Twenty-two hundred years of search and thought have hardly brought us much nearer to any more adequate reply. Even the smallest advance demands and justifies the search and thought of every succeeding age; but nevertheless the best answer for us to-day, as long ago to the author of Job, is to put our trust in the wisdom and the goodness of God.

§ 4. *The relation of goodness and wickedness to outward prosperity and adversity.*—It is natural to ask how the problem arose in men's minds and why it was felt so keenly. The Hebrews, like other nations of antiquity, believed that prosperity should follow goodness, and should be its inevitable reward. This appeared to

them to be the just law of God. In the code of the Retrospect and elsewhere we found the frequent phrase and thought: 'Do right, *and* it will be well with thee'; and even this: 'Do right *that* it may be well with thee.' The belief that 'happiness' will follow rectitude naturally led to the suggestion to make the result a *motive* for the deed. In other words, good fortune became the motive or stimulus of virtue—a perilous order of things for the purity of virtue. In the same way it was believed that adversity and suffering were the results of sin. Now in these beliefs there lay much truth. In the long run thrift and sobriety and integrity will bring about health, success and prosperity, while sloth, dishonesty and drunkenness will cause misery and ruin. It would be a worse and not a better world than it is if honesty, in the long run, were not the best policy both for individuals and states. Professor Driver says truly, 'Society being organized as it is, the habits which go to constitute righteousness are such as to win a man respect from his fellow-men, and to command success; on the other hand, wickedness paralyzes the moral energies, blinds an individual and a nation alike to the real conditions upon which prosperity depends, and often over-reaches itself.'

Thus to old Hebrew thought, if God be the ruler of the world, and the perpetual cause and upholder of its moral order, then it is he and he alone who is ultimately responsible for the due fulfilment of the moral sequence—prosperity to the righteous, adversity to the wicked. The one is reward, the other punishment. The more the thought of God filled his mind, the more the pious Hebrew tended to believe that all human fortunes, and more especially all sudden and startling exhibitions of misery or of success, were directly due to the will of God, acting on the one single and simple law of punishment and of reward. 'The doctrine,' to quote Professor Driver once more, 'was deeply impressed on the ancient Hebrew mind; and all exceptions were a source of great perplexity to it. The perplexity was the greater because the Hebrews had an imperfect conception of *general laws*, whether in nature or in society; they were keenly sensible of God's omniscience, and pictured him as interposing actively in the course of the world: hence virtue overtaken by calamity, or vice flourishing unrebuked, seemed to them to cast a direct slur upon the justice of God's government of the world.'

If goodness produced prosperity, and if sin produced adversity, it was also possible to invert the order. One might not only say, This man is prosperous, therefore he is good; but what was far more dangerous and cruel, This man is stricken by calamity, there-

fore he is a sinner. So the way was prepared for many errors and perplexities, for we know that sorrows and troubles come alike to good and bad, and are often wholly independent of the sufferer's actions and character. That sin ultimately brings calamity to some one is probably a universal truth. But there may be sorrows not caused by sin, while outward prosperity is often the 'reward' (Plato, as we shall hear, would say the 'punishment') of the wicked. For the theory of retribution or tit for tat fails to observe that outward prosperity is one thing, while inward or spiritual happiness is another. It also fails to realize that many outward prosperities are not always and necessarily good.

So like other half truths regarded as whole truths, the doctrine brought many difficulties and evils in its train. (1) If a sudden calamity befall me, I shall judge myself a 'sinner.' Yet I may not be conscious of any grave transgression. My conscience is needlessly alarmed. What secret sin have I committed? What is my unknown guilt? To say nothing of its gnawing pain, such imaginary anguish of conscience is almost as bad for the moral character as a baseless self-righteousness. (2) Conversely my prosperity may make me proud. It is not (I may proudly imagine) the free gift of God, but the due guerdon of my rectitude. (3) In a similar way I may misjudge my neighbour, and in the place of pity, condemn. (4) The value of 'outward prosperity' is heightened, and its place in human life misunderstood, if it be regarded as the reward of God. (5) Similarly adversity is often misinterpreted if it be only regarded as a divine punishment. (6) If the facts of life are in too glaring contradiction to the theory, then doubts arise concerning the righteousness of God.

Some modifications or developments were gradually introduced into the theory. One famous development we have already noticed. If the good suffer, it is because of their parents' sins. We saw how this development was rebuked and denied by Ezekiel. Or again, it was said that the prosperity of the bad is only temporary. Their end will be trouble. Sudden death awaits them. We have to remember that throughout the period when these views were held and these difficulties expressed (right down in fact to the era in which the Book of Job was written), the scene of reward and of punishment, of prosperity and of adversity, was the earthly life and that alone. The shadowy life of Sheol was neither good nor bad; it was the same for all. The whole conception of suffering and prosperity was utterly changed by the introduction of a belief in the immortality of the soul. This we shall clearly realize when we come to read the last production of that class of literature to which Job belongs, *The Wisdom of Solomon.*

§ 5. *The prologue and its plot.*—To understand the Book of Job the better, it is expedient to give here an outline of its plot. The author desires to make his argument broadly human. For though the doubts suggested by the calamities of the righteous were specially Jewish (since they could only be felt in all their keenness by men who believed in one, all-potent, and all-righteous God), yet the problem which they raise is quite general. Therefore our author takes for his hero no Israelite, but 'a man in the land of Uz,' a land situated (as we are probably to suppose) on the borders of Edom and Arabia. This man is both very good and very prosperous. His condition, therefore, presents no difficulty either to himself or to others. But suddenly overwhelming calamities befall him. Now in order that the reader might fully appreciate and sympathize with the doubts and arguments that were to follow, it was absolutely necessary for him to feel quite certain that Job's righteousness was really above suspicion. It must be pure righteousness and not mercenary. To effect this preliminary requisite our author makes the righteousness of Job acknowledged by God himself.

He first gives a short, vivid picture of Job's goodness and piety. Then the scene shifts to heaven. God is represented as a kind of monarch, holding his court with the angels, his ministers, around him. Among them is one called 'the Satan,' which means the opponent, the assailant, the adversary. God asks him whence he comes, and he replies, 'From the earth,' for this angel's duty apparently was to sift and oppose man's pretensions to virtue, and in this office he seems to take a certain malignant satisfaction. God asks him whether he has noticed Job, a man of blameless virtue and of spotless integrity. The adversary admits the goodness of Job, but says it is only skin deep. It is merely mercantile. Job does not 'fear God for nought.' His virtue is rooted in his prosperity. To prove that Job's piety is sincere and unalloyed, God permits the adversary to overwhelm him with affliction, first by robbing him of all his property and his children, and then by inflicting upon him a loathsome and painful disease—a disease, moreover, which was popularly regarded as a sure indication of God's wrath and a certain evidence of sin.

Here it may be remarked (1) that after the knot has thus been tied, the purpose for which the figure of the adversary has been introduced is accomplished. He does not therefore reappear. (2) The explanation of Job's suffering given in the prologue is not meant to be a contribution to the general problem. It is merely a dramatic way of making the reader convinced that Job was really good, that his piety was as great as his affliction. To prove this

incontrovertibly, to show that God was right and the Satan wrong, the insinuations of the latter are made to fail. Job maintains his piety in the midst of his misery. His wife suggests that he shall 'curse God and die,' that is, either commit suicide or, by cursing God, draw down upon his head the immediate and final exhibition of God's wrath. But far from falling in with this advice, Job utters the two famous apophthegms of pious resignation—

'The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord.'

'Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not also receive evil?'

Thus the extent and purity of Job's goodness are proved, (1) by his past life; (2) by the witness of God; (3) by his conduct under dire affliction. So now the poem proper, on the undeserved calamities of the righteous in relation to the justice of God, can begin. But the introduction, by proving that there is such a thing as undeserved suffering, has also shown that there is such a thing as disinterested goodness, and to assert and establish both these propositions was in itself a triumph for the cause and the development of morality and of religion. Thus the introduction, though only a prologue to the true drama, has yet a singular greatness and importance of its own.

§ 6. *The speeches of the drama and the character of Job.*—To supply the speakers for the orations which are now to follow, three friends of Job are represented as having heard of his calamities, and as determining 'to come to mourn with him, and to comfort him.' Naturally some time must be supposed to have elapsed between the beginning of Job's afflictions and the arrival of his friends. During this long interval we may assume that the wasting and painful disease had made much progress, so that Job's silent patience and uncomplaining resignation were gradually becoming worn out under the strain and stress of physical suffering. The three friends find Job, as was and is the wont of lepers and outcasts in Arabia, sitting outside his own house, on the rubbish heap of ashes and dung. For 'seven days and seven nights' none speaks a word. It is seen that his agony is too sore for speech. Then Job himself breaks the silence by a burst of impassioned complaint. After this each friend speaks in turn, and to each friend Job replies. There are three 'rounds' or cycles of these speeches and replies, though in the last 'round,' according to the present Hebrew text, the third friend does not venture to renew the argument. The speeches of the friends tend to become shorter, those of Job longer, and at last he ends, as he had begun, by a soliloquy.

The friends represent the old-fashioned views of suffering hitherto held. This we shall see more clearly when we come to read their speeches. To them calamity implies sin. At the best, if it is not a *punishment* for wrongdoing, it is a discipline and a warning. In each cycle the tendency of the friends is to become more violent and abusive. Job's persistent assertion of his innocence compels them to regard him as a hardened sinner, a man who must have actually committed many iniquitous deeds. But we are not to suppose that the friends are never meant to utter a single word that is true. It would show that the poet was a feeble artist if *all* the right were on the side of Job, and *all* the wrong on the side of his friends. That God *is* righteous, and that he can have no interest or satisfaction in human suffering, the author would have us believe as warmly as the friends assert it. The *passionlessness* and self-sufficiency of God, so finely emphasized by Eliphaz, are elements of the author's own teaching. ('God doth not need either man's work or his own gifts.') They are directed against certain old superstitions from which his contemporaries had not perhaps wholly shaken themselves free. The doctrine of retribution itself is not by any means rejected *en bloc*. Our author would only deny the propriety of its application to every case.

The Job of the dialogue is not the same person as the Job of the introduction. He is no longer a patient sufferer, who bows his head in unquestioning resignation before the inscrutable will of God. We have already noticed one possible reason for this change in the prolonged continuance of his agony. Patience needs strength, and his strength is becoming exhausted. Are we meant to suppose, as many Jewish Rabbis thought of old, and as Professor Budde thinks to-day, that Job's vehement complaints, which sometimes amount to a direct denial of all justice and moral distinctions in the divine rule, were intended by our author to show that Job's heart did of a truth contain within it the germs of spiritual pride, and that his suffering was a needful purification of an evil tendency which had hitherto been unsuspected either by himself or by others? Hardly. For in that case his sufferings would not in the last resort be undeserved, and the problem, Why do the righteous suffer, would once more be met by a denial. So far as they are righteous they do not suffer. Even if the sin be purely one of tendency and not of deed, a germinal sin which only special circumstances may ever cause to ripen into act, and which suffering may crush in the seed, still that very suffering will then come as a purification, and if as a purification, it will not come 'undeserved.' But one object of the Book of Job is surely to affirm that there is such a thing as

suffering which is in no sense whatever the consequence of the sufferer's sin : either of sin actual or of sin latent, of sin committed or of sin germinal, of sin recognized by the doer or of sinful tendencies whereof he is not conscious. Moreover, if the Rabbis and Professor Budde be right, then God must have been wrong or deceiving when he emphatically affirmed the spotless integrity of Job. 'How,' it may be urged in reply to my argument, 'could Job say impious words about God unless he had in his heart the seeds of sin? He must, unknown to himself, have been proud of his own virtue. Self-righteousness was the secret, germinating sin which the pangs of affliction brought to the light of day.' The rejoinder seems to be that we must not press the author's psychology or analysis of human character too hard or far. Job, the individual, stands for the awakening conscience of humanity. In his mouth had to be put all the doubts which hitherto had been half or dumbly felt. By him they had to be fully and fearlessly expressed. It is true that Job's words are sometimes impious, and they are meant to seem so; for the author desires to teach that all discontent with God's rule is wrong. But it is wrong not because there is one particular reason for suffering which the story of Job may teach us (namely, purification), but, on the contrary, because, though there is no perceivable reason *for us*, there *is* a reason for God. The divine rule is always reasonable and righteous, though man may frequently be unable to understand it. We may also observe that Job in the very midst of his complaints constantly falls back upon an overmastering belief in the righteousness of God. Behind the unjust God of his undeserved sufferings there is the just God who will ultimately assert his innocence. We must remember, too, that Job has never been taught any other cause for sore and sudden calamity than the grievous sin of the sufferer. Yet is he rightly convinced of his own freedom from any iniquity which could possibly be conceived as adequate cause for the immensity of his affliction. A mere sinful tendency would not, on the old theory, have sufficed. If then his suffering be the will of God (which was assumed on all hands), and if there be no *moral* reason for suffering other than sin, then God is powerful but not good. Such seems to be the inevitable deduction, and Job is scarcely to be regarded as a *sinner* for drawing it, even though his 'words are wild.'

§ 7. *The speech of God and the epilogue.*—At the close of Job's last long soliloquy there comes, in the Hebrew text as we now have it, a long speech by a fourth speaker who had not hitherto been mentioned. This speech is probably an interpolation. Omitting

any notice of it here. I pass to that which originally followed at the end of Job's soliloquy. God himself—the real good God to whom Job had so constantly appealed to brush away the mocking semblance of the unjust and careless God whom his woes implied—this real and good God suddenly appears and speaks.

But he does not clear up the mystery. He does not explain the reason of 'undeserved misery.' His main argument seems to be this: Does not 'nature' show that I am no careless or thoughtless God? Does not 'nature' show that I am infinite in wisdom as well as in power? And yet are not the processes of 'nature' full of mystery? If then I am wise as the Ruler of nature, am I not wise as the Ruler of man? If the phenomena of man and of human society are mysterious, no less so are the phenomena of nature; but if divine wisdom is immanent in the one, it is also immanent, in spite of appearances, in the other. If then God be ever thoughtful and ever wise, then is he also ever righteous, for divine wisdom and divine righteousness are one and the same.

Job admits the correctness of the divine reasoning, and consequently reverts to his attitude in the introduction—pious resignation to the will of God without adequate comprehension of its meaning.

Then follows the epilogue, which, like the prologue, is also in prose. God solemnly declares his disapprobation of the three friends. In other words, he proclaims the falsity of the old doctrine that suffering implies sin. This divine disapproval is one of the most important utterances of the book, but it is in harmony with the author's artistic spirit that, in relation to the drama as a whole, it is a mere incident, and might easily be overlooked. Then, in accordance with the old traditional story, the illness of Job is healed and his prosperity is restored. Some people object strongly to the epilogue. They think the author relapsed into the old point of view, and that Job's misery should only have ended by death. But it was not absolutely necessary that the author should have departed from the current story. He had shown that suffering is not always the sequel of sin, and therefore it was not unreasonable that the feelings of the reader should be quieted, and that the book should end in happiness and repose. The end which the critics to whom I have alluded suggest as the true and right one would hardly, to the readers of our author's day, have seemed an end at all.

§ 8. *Solutions of the problem.*—From the foregoing outline of the 'plot,' it will be seen that we are not to expect from our author any clear-cut solutions to the problem he has raised. No adequate

explanation of the sufferings of the righteous is offered to us, and the duty of man as he recognizes that 'the world is full of mysteries, strange, unapproachable, overpowering mysteries which he cannot read,' is to 'trust, trust in the power and in the wisdom and in the goodness of him, the Almighty One, who rules it.' Yet great truths have been elicited by the discussion, even although these truths are mainly cast in a negative form.

(1) First and foremost, suffering is not always the evidence or the consequence of the sufferer's sin.

(2) There is such a thing as pure and disinterested goodness.

(3) Suffering is a discipline and a purification, which tends to lead men away from sin or to crush the seeds of sin before they blossom.

(4) Suffering educates. It gives righteousness a special opportunity. It develops goodness and intensifies it.

Of this last truth Dean Bradley, in his admirable Lectures on Job, which I would most earnestly recommend to all my readers, if they know them not already, says most truly: 'The highest, the divinest life may be compatible with sorrow, may rest on pain and self-sacrifice. To how many sufferers has the lesson come like spring airs to a frozen soil—taught them that the truest use of pain, yea sometimes of spiritual pain, and racking doubts and disturbing questions, is not to paralyze but to strengthen the soul, to brace us to do good work for God and man.'

§ 9. *The character of the present translation.*—Although the Book of Job is long, I have thought it inadvisable to omit any part of it. In spite of its interpolations (two of which are in themselves of very high interest and value), it is a work of art and should be judged as a whole. It seemed to me that the worth of it and the worth of my own book would be impaired if I only presented it to my readers in selections. I must now specially call attention to the character of my translation. It is based upon the Authorized Version, but my changes are more numerous than in any other part of the Bible. The reasons for these changes are that the Hebrew is frequently very difficult and sometimes very corrupt. Changes have therefore to be made where the less accurate scholarship of the translators under King James can be corrected by the riper knowledge prevailing at the close of the nineteenth century. It is often necessary to correct the existing Hebrew text, either by following the rendering of one of the ancient versions (which sometimes had a better Hebrew text before them), or occasionally by some critical emendation. But when modern scholarship has done its best, many passages remain doubtful,

and many others, to my thinking at any rate, unintelligible. Some of the former passages I have indicated by queries (?) placed after the obscure sentence in question. The query (?) has also been placed after many emendations, which make good sense, but are of very doubtful certainty. The latter passages I have indicated by dots. For example, four lines of dots in succession mean that there are in the Hebrew four lines out of which, to my mind, without violence to Hebrew grammar, style, or thought, no intelligible meaning can be elicited. A few lines here and there, which are probably interpolations or glosses, have been silently omitted without dots. I would also urge the reader to remember the limitations of the English language as to pronouns. If the meaning be doubtful to him, let him always ask himself, Does this 'he' or 'his' refer to Job or to God or to some other subject? It will often be found that a 'he,' an 'it,' or a 'they' may refer to totally different subjects in two successive lines, or even in one and the same line. The reader should also remember that Hebrew has no subjunctive or potential mood, and no auxiliary verbs. The Hebrew poet often says, God does this and there happens that, and this mode of speech is maintained in the translation. But *we* should possibly say, If God *were* to do this, there *would* happen that. And there are many other examples of a similar kind.

§ 10. *The tying of the knot.*—We start then with the prose introduction or prologue.

There was a man in the land of Uz, whose name was Job; and that man was blameless and upright, and one that feared God, and eschewed evil. And there were born unto him seven sons and three daughters. His substance also was seven thousand sheep, and three thousand camels, and five hundred yoke of oxen, and five hundred she asses, and a very great household; so that this man was the greatest of all the men of the east. And his sons were wont to hold a feast, each one on his day; and they would send and bid their three sisters to eat and to drink with them. And it was so, when the days of their feasting were gone about, that Job sent and sanctified them, and he rose up early in the morning, and offered burnt offerings according to the number of them all: for Job said, 'It may be that my sons have sinned, and denied God in their hearts.' Thus did Job continually.

Now there was a day when the sons of God came to

present themselves before the Lord, and the Adversary came also among them. And the Lord said unto the Adversary, 'Whence comest thou?' Then the Adversary answered the Lord, and said, 'From going to and fro in the earth, and from walking up and down in it.' And the Lord said unto the Adversary, 'Hast thou considered my servant Job, that there is none like him in the earth, a blameless and an upright man, one that feareth God, and escheweth evil?' Then the Adversary answered the Lord, and said, 'Doth Job fear God for nought? Hast not thou made an hedge about him, and about his house, and about all that he hath on every side? thou hast blessed the work of his hands, and his substance is increased in the land. But put forth thine hand now, and touch all that he hath; surely he will curse thee to thy face.' And the Lord said unto the Adversary, 'Behold, all that he hath is in thy power; only upon himself put not forth thine hand.' So the Adversary went forth from the presence of the Lord.

And it came to pass on a day when his sons and his daughters were eating and drinking wine in their eldest brother's house: that there came a messenger unto Job, and said, 'The oxen were ploughing, and the asses feeding beside them: and the Sabeans fell upon them, and took them away; yea, they have slain the servants with the edge of the sword; and I only am escaped alone to tell thee.'

While he was yet speaking, there came also another, and said, 'Fire of God fell from heaven, and burned up the sheep, and the servants, and consumed them; and I only am escaped alone to tell thee.'

While he was yet speaking, there came also another, and said, 'The Chaldeans made out three bands, and fell upon the camels, and carried them away, yea, and slew the servants with the edge of the sword; and I only am escaped alone to tell thee.'

While he was yet speaking, there came also another, and said, 'Thy sons and thy daughters were eating and drinking wine in their eldest brother's house: and, behold, there came a great wind from the wilderness, and smote the four corners of the house, and it fell upon thy children, and they are dead; and I only am escaped alone to tell thee.'

Then Job arose, and rent his mantle, and shaved his head, and fell down upon the ground, and worshipped.

And he said,
'Bare of all was I born,
And bare of all shall I die;
The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away;
Blessed be the name of the Lord.'
In all this Job sinned not, nor attributed folly unto God.

And it came to pass on a day that the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord, and the Adversary came also among them to present himself before the Lord. And the Lord said unto the Adversary, 'From whence comest thou?' And the Adversary answered the Lord, and said, 'From going to and fro in the earth, and from walking up and down in it.' And the Lord said unto the Adversary, 'Hast thou considered my servant Job, that there is none like him in the earth, a blameless and an upright man, one that feareth God, and escheweth evil? and still he clingeth fast to his blamelessness, although thou didst instigate me to destroy him without cause.' And the Adversary answered the Lord, and said, 'Skin for skin, yea, all that a man hath will he give for his life. But put forth thine hand now, and touch his bone and his flesh; surely he will curse thee to thy face.' And the Lord said unto the Adversary, 'Behold, he is in thine hand; only his life do thou preserve.'

So the Adversary went forth from the presence of the Lord, and he smote Job with sore boils from the sole of his foot unto his crown. And Job took him a potsherd to scrape himself withal, as he sat among the ashes.

Then said his wife unto him, 'Dost thou still cling fast unto thy blamelessness? curse God, and die.' But he said unto her, 'As one of the foolish women speaketh, so speakest thou. Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?' In all this did not Job sin with his lips.

Now when Job's three friends heard of all this evil that was come upon him, they came every one from his own place; Eliphaz the Temanite, and Bildad the Shuhite, and Zophar the Naamathite: and they met together to come to mourn with him and to comfort him. And they lifted up their eyes from afar, but they knew him not, and they lifted up their voice, and wept; and they rent every one his mantle, and sprinkled dust upon their heads towards heaven. So they sat down with him upon the ground seven days and

seven nights, and none spake a word unto him: for they saw that his pain was very great.

After what I have already said it is unnecessary to add anything by way of explanation to the prologue. 'Sons of God' are the angels, and the Adversary is one of them. We now pass on to the speeches, and first to Job's opening soliloquy. Passages which appear to some scholars to be later accretions or interpolations are indicated by oblong brackets.

§ 11. *Job's opening soliloquy.*—There is not much difficulty to follow the argument in this speech. Job wishes he had never been born, or had died at his birth. The shadowy life of Sheol, the same for good and bad, rich and poor, is at any rate peaceful and painless. Moving forward from his own suffering to the sufferers among mankind in general, he asks why does he (i.e. God) 'give light' to those who are destined to a life of misery and bitterness; why are they born at all?

After this opened Job his mouth, and cursed his day. And Job spake, and said,

Let the day perish wherein I was born,
And the night which said, Behold a man child!
Let that day be darkness;
Let not God regard it from above,
Neither let the light shine upon it.
Let darkness and the shadow of death claim it;
Let a cloud dwell upon it;
Let blacknesses of the day terrify it.
As for that night, let darkness seize upon it;
Let it not be joined unto the days of the year,
Let it not come into the number of the months.
Lo, let that night be sterile,
Let no joyful voice come therein.
Let the cursers of days curse it,
Who are skilful to rouse up Leviathan.
Let the stars of the twilight thereof be dark;
Let it look for light, but have none;
Neither let it see the dawning of the day:
Because it shut not up the doors of my life,
Nor hid sorrow from mine eyes.

Why died I not from my birth?
Why did I not give up the ghost when I came into being?

For now should I have lain still and been quiet,
I should have slept; then had I been at rest:—
With kings and counsellors of the earth,
Who built for themselves palaces;
Or with princes that had gold,
Who filled their houses with silver:
Or as they who died at their birth;
As infants who never saw the light.
There the wicked cease from troubling;
And there the weary be at rest.
There the prisoners are at peace;
They hear not the voice of the taskmaster.
The small and great are there the same,
And the servant is free from his master.

Wherefore giveth he light to him that is in misery,
And life unto the bitter in soul,
Who long for death, but it cometh not;
And search for it more than for hid treasures;
Who rejoice exceedingly,
And are glad, when they can find the grave;
To a man whose way is hid,
And whom God hath hedged in?
For my sighing cometh instead of my food,
And my roarings are poured out like water.
For the fear which I dread—it cometh upon me,
And whatsoever I am afraid of overtaketh me.
I have no ease nor quiet,
Nor rest, but trouble cometh.

Individual lines or expressions of difficulty I have little space to explain either here or elsewhere. Note, however, that 'cursers of days' is an allusion to magicians or conjurors who professed to be able to cast a spell of misfortune on a given day. And the 'rousers of Leviathan' is an allusion to a bit of popular, though old-world, mythology, according to which darkness is caused by a great flying serpent throwing its folds round sun or moon or stars and covering them up. Those who rouse up Leviathan darken therefore the lights of day or night.

§ 12. *The first speech of Eliphaz.*—Eliphaz reminds Job that none perish in their calamity except grave sinners. Let him not therefore despair or complain. If he be pious in the main, he may be

confident that he will be delivered from his woes. No man is really sinless. Anger will only make matters worse. No affliction is causeless. Let him leave his case in God's hands, and receive humbly God's chastening. Then his future shall be prosperous. Such is the argument of the speech, which is not violent in tone towards Job.

Then Eliphaz the Temanite answered and said,
If one should assay to commune with thee, wilt thou be vexed?
But who can withhold himself from speaking?
Behold, thou hast instructed many,
And thou hast strengthened the weak hands.
Thy words have upholden him that was falling,
And thou hast strengthened the feeble knees.
But now it is come upon thee, and thou takest it ill;
It toucheth thee, and thou art troubled.
Is not thy piety thy confidence,
The uprightness of thy ways thy hope?
Remember, I pray thee, who ever perished, being innocent?
Or where were the righteous cut off?
So far as I have seen, they that plough iniquity,
And sow wickedness, reap the same.
By the blast of God they perish,
And by the breath of his nostrils are they consumed.
[The roaring of the lion, and the voice of the fierce lion,
And the teeth of the young lions, are broken.
The old lion perisheth for lack of prey,
And the whelps of the lioness are scattered abroad.]

Now a word stole to me secretly,
And mine ear received therefrom a whisper;
In thoughts from the visions of the night,
When deep sleep falleth on men,
Fear came upon me, and trembling,
Which made all my bones to shake.
Then a wind passed before my face;
The hair of my flesh stood up.
It stood—but I could not discern the appearance thereof—
A form was before mine eyes,
I heard a murmuring and a voice:
'Shall mortal man be just before God?
Shall a man be pure before his Maker?

Behold, he putteth no trust in his servants;
And his angels he chargeth with folly:
How much more them that dwell in houses of clay,
Whose foundation is in the dust,
Who are crushed like the moth?
They are destroyed from morning to evening:
They perish for ever without any regarding it.
Is not their tent cord torn up?
They die, and that without wisdom.'

[Call then, is there any that will answer thee;
And to which of the holy ones wilt thou turn?]
Anger killeth the foolish man,
And passion slayeth the silly one.
I have seen the foolish taking root:
But suddenly his homestead was cursed!
His children are far from safety,
And they are crushed in the gate, neither is there any to deliver them.
His harvest the hungry eateth up,
And the thirsty drinketh his wine.
[For affliction cometh not forth of the dust,
Neither doth trouble spring out of the ground;
But man is born unto trouble,
As the sparks fly upward.]

As for me, I would seek unto God,
And unto God would I commit my cause:
Who doeth great things and unsearchable;
Marvellous things without number:
Who giveth rain upon the earth,
And sendeth waters upon the fields:
Who setteth up on high those that be low;
And those who mourn are exalted in safety.
He disappointeth the devices of the crafty,
So that their hands bring nothing permanent to pass.
He taketh the wise in their own craftiness:
And the counsel of the froward is carried headlong.
They meet with darkness in the daytime,
And grope in the noonday as in the night.
But he saveth the poor from the sword,
And the needy from the hand of the mighty.

So the poor hath hope,
And iniquity stoppeth her mouth.

Behold, happy is the man whom God correcteth:
Therefore despise not thou the chastening of the Almighty:
For he maketh sore, and bindeth up:
He woundeth, and his hands make whole.
He shall deliver thee in six troubles:
Yea, in seven there shall no evil touch thee.
In famine he shall redeem thee from death:
And in war from the power of the sword.
Thou shalt be hid from the scourge of the tongue:
Neither shalt thou be afraid of desolation when it cometh.
At desolation and famine thou shalt laugh:
Neither shalt thou be afraid of the beasts of the earth.
For thou shalt be in league with the stones of the field:
And the beasts of the field shall be at peace with thee.
And thou shalt know that thy tent is in peace;
And thou shalt muster thy homestead, and shalt miss nothing.
Thou shalt know also that thy seed is great,
And thine offspring as the grass of the earth.
Thou shalt come to thy grave in a full age,
Like as a shock of corn is brought in in its season.
Lo this we have searched out; so it is;
Hear it, and know it for thy good.

'It is come upon thee': i.e. trouble or woe. The lion is a figure for the violent oppressor. 'Affliction cometh not forth,' &c., i.e. calamity does not come without cause, and the cause is sin. But the four lines seem in a wrong connexion here. They belong rather to a lament over the mournful nature of man with which trouble seems inseparably connected. They belong rather to Job than to Eliphaz. Hence the bracket.

§ 13. *Job's first reply.*—Job urges that his calamities compel his laments and explain them. He implores God to end his pains by death. His friends have abandoned him, or are timid and unsympathetic. They refuse to face the facts; their words are idle. *He* would know if he spoke falsely or wickedly as well as *they*. He bewails his own miseries, and bids God remember that the time for deliverance will soon be gone. He will have passed away from earth to Sheol and can come back no more. Why should *God*

'visit' (i.e. chastise) a *man* as if he were his equal? Even if he be a sinner, he can have done *God* no harm. Let God then forgive ere it be too late. He will soon be dead, when it will be even for God too late to restore him to favour.

But Job answered and said,
Oh that my vexation were thoroughly weighed,
And my calamity laid against it in the balance!
For then it would be heavier than the sand of the sea:
Therefore my words are wild.
For the arrows of the Almighty are within me,
The poison whereof my spirit drinketh in;
The terrors of God do perturb me.
Doth the wild ass bray when he hath grass?
Or loweth the ox over his fodder?
Can that which is insipid be eaten without salt?
Or is there any taste in the white of an egg?
My soul refuseth to touch it;
It is as loathsomeness in my food. (?)

Oh that I might have my request;
And that God would grant me the thing that I long for!
Even that it would please God to crush me;
That he would let loose his hand, and cut me off!
Then should I yet have comfort;
Yea, I would exult amid my relentless pain.
What is my strength, that I should hope?
And what is mine end, that I should have patience?
Is my strength the strength of stones?
Or is my flesh of brass?
Behold, there is no help in me;
And rescue is driven away from me.
God hath withdrawn his favour from me,
The care of the Almighty hath abandoned me. (?)

My brethren have dealt deceitfully as a brook,
And as a channel of brooks which pass away;
Which are blackish by reason of the ice,
And wherein the snow hideth itself:
What time they are burnt up, they vanish:
When it is hot, they are consumed out of their place.
The caravans turn aside on their way;
They go up into the waste, and perish.

The caravans of Tema looked,
  The companies of Sheba hoped for them.
They were confounded because they had trusted;
  They came thither, and were put to shame.
So are ye now become unto me,
  Ye see my ruin and are afraid.
Did I say, 'Bring unto me'?
  Or, 'Give me presents of your substance'?
  Or, 'Deliver me from the enemy's hand'?
  Or, 'Redeem me from the hand of the mighty'?

Teach me, and I will hold my tongue:
  And cause me to understand wherein I have erred.
How forcible are right words!
  But what doth your reproving reprove?
Do ye purpose to reprove words?
  Like the wind are the speeches of the desperate.
But ye would even assail the innocent,
  And ye would traffic with your friend. (?)
Now therefore, I pray you, look upon me;
  Surely I would not lie to your face!
Return, I pray you, let there not be injustice;
  Yea, return again, my cause is righteous still.
Is there injustice in my tongue?
  Cannot my taste discern iniquity?

Is there not a hard service for man upon earth?
  Are not his days like the days of an hireling?
As a servant who panteth for the shadow,
  And as an hireling who looketh for the reward of his work?
So am I allotted months of trouble,
  And nights of travail are appointed to me.
When I lie down, I say, 'When shall I arise?'
  And I am full of tossings to and fro unto the dawning of the day.
My flesh is clothed with worms and clods of dust;
  My skin closeth and breaketh out again.
My days are swifter than a weaver's shuttle,
  And are consumed without hope.

O remember that my life is wind:
  Mine eye shall no more see good.

The eye of him that looketh for me shall not see me:
If thine eyes seek me, I shall not be.
As the cloud is consumed and vanisheth away:
So he that goeth down to Sheol shall come up no more.
He shall return no more to his house,
Neither shall his place know him any more.

Therefore I will not refrain my mouth;
I will speak in the anguish of my spirit;
I will complain in the bitterness of my soul.
Am I a sea, or a sea-monster,
That thou settest a watch over me?
When I say, 'My bed shall comfort me,
My couch shall ease my complaint;'
Then thou scarest me with dreams,
And terrifiest me through visions:
So that my soul chooseth strangling,
Death rather than these my pains.
. . . I shall not live alway:
Let me be; for my days are vanity.

What is man, that thou shouldest magnify him,
And that thou shouldest set thine heart upon him?
And that thou shouldest visit him every morning,
And try him every moment?
How long wilt thou not look away from me,
Nor let me alone till I swallow down my spittle?
Grant that I have sinned; what do I unto thee, O thou watcher of men?
Why hast thou set me up as a butt,
So that I am become a burden to myself?
Why dost thou not pardon my transgression,
And take away mine iniquity?
For now shall I lie down in the dust;
And thou shalt seek me, but I shall not be.

Job's lamentations are no more causeless than the hungry ass's bray. His calamities are compared to foul and insipid food, which is distasteful to every man. 'The eye of him that looketh,' i.e. God. 'Let me alone': if God 'looks away,' his woes may cease, and he may have a short space of ease before the inevitable coming of death.

§ 14. *The first speech of Bildad.*—Bildad defends Gods justice. The death of Job's sons must have been due to their sins. Let Job seek God earnestly and he will yet restore him to prosperity. For the prosperity of the wicked is but short-lived, while the calamities of the righteous end in joy. All the speakers lay stress on 'the end.' We may again compare the story of Croesus and Solon in Herodotus. Neither side seems to reflect that there are many sorrows (e.g. the loss of children) which cannot be cancelled.

Then answered Bildad the Shuhite, and said,
How long wilt thou speak these things?
And how long shall the words of thy mouth be like a strong wind?
Doth God pervert judgement,
Or doth the Almighty pervert justice?
If thy children sinned against him,
He gave them over to their transgression.
If thou wilt seek earnestly unto God,
And make thy supplication to the Almighty;—
If thou art pure and upright;—
Surely he will awake for thee,
And restore the dwelling of thy righteousness.
Then thy beginning shall seem small,
And thy latter end shall greatly increase.

For inquire, I pray thee, of the former age,
And attend to that which the fathers have searched out,
(For we are but of yesterday, and know nothing,
Because our days upon earth are a shadow:)
Shall not they teach thee, and tell thee,
And utter words out of their heart?
'Can the rush grow up without mire?
Can the sedge grow without water?
Whilst it is yet in its full freshness, and not ripe for the cutting,
It withereth before any other herb.
So is the latter end of all that forget God;
And the expectation of the impious shall perish.
His hope is a thread,
His trust is a spider's web.
He shall lean upon his house, but it shall not stand:
He shall hold it fast, but it shall not endure.

He is green in the sunshine,
And his branch shooteth forth in his garden.
His roots are entwined about the fountain,
He gazeth at the abundance of his shoots. (?)
Yet if he destroy him from his place,
It will deny him, saying, I have not seen thee.
Behold, this is the ruin of his way,
And out of the dust another groweth up.' (?)

Behold, God will not cast away a blameless man,
Neither will he help the evil doers:
Yet will he fill thy mouth with laughing,
And thy lips with rejoicing.
They that hate thee shall be clothed with shame;
And the tent of the wicked shall come to nought.

§ 15. *The second reply of Job.*—In this speech Job pushes his doubts of God's justice to the utmost limit. He opens by a sarcastic admission that God is always 'right,' but to Job's mind this is only because through his infinite power he can always win the day and do what he likes. He is resistless but unseen, and none can call him to account. If God *did* hearken to Job's cry, it would only be to crush him altogether. In strength he is supreme, and none can summon him before the law. Even if it were possible to do so, God would prove or assume that Job was guilty, for he mocks at justice and destroys alike the innocent and the guilty. Job is to be considered guilty even if he be innocent, so all efforts to prove his innocency are idle. Would that there were an umpire over and above both God and himself. Or let God remove the weight and pressure of his intolerable affliction, and then Job will speak his mind and plead his cause. He again appeals to God. Surely he should not desire ruthlessly to crush his own handiwork; surely the all-seeing God must *know* that he is guiltless. Why did he make him and hitherto preserve him for *this*? Whether Job acted righteously or no, God's intention was the same. He meant to crush him to the earth, to plague him without ceasing. His miseries were not intended to have any relation to his character. And if he was righteous, and bore himself as such, God meant to ruin him all the more. Would then that he had died as soon as he was born.

Then Job answered and said,
Of a truth I know that it is so:
How should man be justified before God?

If he should wish to contend with him,
He could not answer him one of a thousand.
He is wise in heart and mighty in strength:
Who hath braved him, and hath come off unharmed?
Who removeth the mountains, and they know not:
Who overturneth them in his anger.
Who shaketh the earth out of her place,
And the pillars thereof tremble.
Who commandeth the sun, and it riseth not;
And sealeth up the stars.
[Who alone spreadeth out the heavens,
And treadeth upon the billows of the sea.
Who maketh the Pleiades, Orion, and Sirius,
And the chambers of the south.
Who doeth great things past finding out;
Yea, and wonders without number.]

Lo, he goeth by me, and I see him not:
He passeth on, but I perceive him not:
Behold, he snatcheth away, who can hinder him?
Who will say unto him, 'What doest thou?'
God will not withdraw his anger;
The helpers of Rahab stooped under him:
How much less can I answer him,
And choose out my words against him?
Though I be in the right, I could not answer,
I could but make supplication unto my judge. (?)
Yea, if I called, and he answered me,
Yet would I not believe that he would hearken unto my voice.
For he sweepeth me away with a tempest;
He multiplieth my wounds without cause.
He doth not suffer me to take my breath,
He filleth me with bitterness.
Is it a question of the strength of the mighty?
Behold Him!
Is it a question of law?
Who can summon Him?
If I am righteous, his mouth would condemn me:
Though I be innocent, he would prove me perverse.

I am innocent! I regard not myself;
I despise my life.

It is all one; therefore I say:
He destroyeth the innocent and the wicked.
When his scourge slayeth suddenly,
He mocketh at the wound of the guiltless.
The earth is given into the hand of the wicked:
He covereth the faces of the judges thereof;
If not he, who then is it?

My days are swifter than a post:
They flee away, they see no good.
They pass away as skiffs of reed,
As the eagle that swoopeth on its prey.
If I say, 'I will forget my complaint,
I will cease my mien of sadness, and be cheerful,'
Then I shudder at all my sorrows,
I know that thou wilt not hold me innocent.
I am to be guilty! why then labour I in vain?
If I washed myself as white as snow,
And cleansed my hands with lye;
Yet wouldest thou plunge me in the mire,
And mine own clothes would abhor me.

For he is not a man, as I am, that I should answer him,
That we should go together to the judgement.
O that there were a daysman betwixt us,
That might lay his hand upon us both.
Let him take his rod away from me,
And let not his fear terrify me:
Then would I speak, and not fear him;
For in myself it is not so. (?)

My soul is weary of my life;
I will give free course to my complaint;
I will speak in the bitterness of my soul.
I will say unto God, Do not condemn me;
Shew me wherefore thou contendest with me.
Is it beseeming unto thee that thou shouldest oppress,
That thou shouldest despise the work of thine hands?
Hast thou eyes of flesh,
Or seest thou as man seeth?
Are thy days as the days of man,
Are thy years as man's days,

That thou inquirest after mine iniquity,
And searchest after my sin?
Although thou knowest that I am not guilty;
And there is none that can deliver out of thine hand.

Thine hands have fashioned and made me;
And now hast thou turned to destroy me?
Remember, I beseech thee, that thou hast made me of clay;
And wilt thou bring me into dust again?
Didst thou not pour me out as milk,
And curdle me like cheese?
Thou didst clothe me with skin and flesh,
And didst knit me with bones and sinews.
Thou didst grant me life and favour,
And thy watchful care preserved my spirit.
And yet these things didst thou hide in thine heart:
I know that *this* was with thee.
If I sinned, thou didst mean to mark me,
And not to acquit me from mine iniquity.
If I were wicked, woe unto me;
And if I were righteous, I was not to lift up my head,
For should I lift it up, thou wouldest hunt me as a lion,
And shew thyself ever awful towards me. (?)
Thou wouldest renew thy plagues upon me,
And increase thy rancour against me.

Wherefore then hast thou brought me into life?
Oh that I had given up the ghost, and no eye had seen me!
I should be as though I had not been;
I should have been carried at my birth to the grave.
Are not the days of my life few?
Look away from me, that I may take comfort a little,
Before I go whence I shall not return,
To the land of darkness and the shadow of death.

'A daysman betwixt us.' Daysman is an archaic word for umpire or arbitrator. I had originally put 'arbitrator' into the translation, but one of my keen-eyed critics condemned the word as horribly 'prosaic.' Dr. Murray's dictionary shows that 'daysman was used as late as 1844 by Macaulay, so I have restored it. I wonder how my critic would like Coverdale's rendering: 'Neither is there any daysman to reprove both the parties or to lay his hand betwixt us'?

Be careful to note which 'he' and 'him' refer to God and which to Job! Rahab is a mythological dragon of the ocean deep. 'Behold him,' i.e. God, who is supreme in power and above all compulsion of the law.

§ 16. *The first speech of Zophar.*—Zophar says nothing new. God's counsel and purpose are unfathomable; but always just. Repent, pray; and all may yet be well with you.

Then answered Zophar the Naamathite, and said,
Should not the multitude of words be answered?
And should a babbler be justified?
Should men hold their peace at thy verbiage?
And when thou mockest, shall no man make thee ashamed?
For thou hast said, 'My doctrine is pure,
And I am clean in his eyes.'
But oh that God would speak,
And open his lips against thee;
And that he would shew thee the secrets of wisdom,
(For they are wonderful in subtlety,)
Then must thou acknowledge that God bringeth into forgetfulness for thee some of thy guilt. (?)

Canst thou find out the depth of God?
Canst thou reach to the end of the Almighty?
It is higher than heaven; what canst thou do?
Deeper than Sheol; what canst thou know?
The measure thereof is longer than the earth,
And broader than the sea.
If he pass by and arrest and call to judgement,
Who can hinder him?
For he knoweth men of deceit;
He recognizeth men of wickedness, though they heed it not. (?)

Yet even an empty man may be taught,
And a wild ass's colt may be caught. (?)
If thou prepare thine heart,
And stretch out thine hands toward him;—
If iniquity be in thine hand, put it far away,
And let not wickedness dwell in thy tent—
Then shalt thou lift up thy face without reproach;
Yea, thou shalt be steadfast, and shalt not fear:

Then shalt thou forget thy misery,
  And remember it as waters that have passed away:
And thy life shall be clearer than the noonday;
  The darkness shall be as the morning.
And thou shalt be secure, because there is hope;
  Thou shalt look around and take thy rest in safety.
Thou shalt lie down, and none shall make thee afraid;
  Yea, many shall make suit unto thee.
But the eyes of the wicked shall fail,
  And they shall not escape,
  And their only hope shall be the giving up of the ghost.

'Then must thou acknowledge': a doubtful verse and line, seeming to mean that so far from God punishing Job more than he deserves, he has punished him less. But the Hebrew is very harsh, the text probably corrupt, and the thought elicited seems too exaggerated and violent.

§ 17. *Job's third reply.*—Hitherto whatever Job has said has been consistent and in keeping with his part. Here for the first time there is a difficulty. The beginning of his speech is unfortunately very obscure, but he seems to say that while everybody knows the generalities preached by the friends, the facts of life belie them. For evil-doers are not punished; they are in peace. Then follows a passage in brackets which sets forth in the manner of the friends the extensive and unfathomable power and wisdom of God. It can be regarded as authentic on the supposition that Job wishes to show that he can easily outdo the friends at their own generalities, but as its connexion with 'they that provoke God are secure' is obscure and harsh, it is more probably a substitution by some orthodox editor or copier of certain words put by the original author in Job's mouth which seemed too impious or heretical. [There is another defence of the passage (or of most of it) put forward by Duhm, who points out that almost all the divine actions alluded to are instances of arbitrary power, tending to the injury of those persons upon whom that power is exercised. Job would then argue: I know my case is not peculiar. I know that there are countless instances of God's power exercised arbitrarily and injuriously.] Job proceeds to urge that the arguments of the friends are but partial pleading. God (whom Job cannot help sometimes regarding as essentially just in spite of appearances) will not desire the partialities of an advocate even in his own defence. Whatever befall him, Job will defend his innocence, and if God will admit him to plead, this very permission will be a sign of his innocency.

Only let the pressure and horror of his disease be first removed. What are his sins? Is it the errors of an unripe youth that are being so relentlessly brought home to him? Then once more he breaks forth into a general lament over the miseries of human lot; surely such a frail creature as man does not merit and cannot sustain the persistent wrath of God. For he soon passes away and returns no more. Would that it were not so! Would that God would bring him back from Sheol to a renewed and happy life! But this cannot be. Whatever seems most permanent passes away: much more is man's hope destroyed for ever; and for what goes on upon earth after him, even though it affect his dearest, he has no concern.

And Job answered and said,
No doubt but ye are clever people,
And wisdom shall die with you.
But I have understanding as well as you;
Yea, who knoweth not such things as these?
I am . . .
. . . . . .
The careless man despiseth the Almighty's times of doom;
At the appointed season his foot remaineth firm. (?)
The tents of robbers are at peace,
And they that provoke God are secure.

[But ask now the cattle, and they shall teach thee;
And the birds of the air, and they shall tell thee,
Or the beasts of the earth, and they shall teach thee,
And the fishes of the sea shall declare it unto thee.
Behold, in his hand is the soul of every living thing,
And the breath of all mankind.
With him is wisdom and strength,
He hath counsel and understanding.
Behold, he breaketh down, and it cannot be built again:
He shutteth up a man, and there can be no opening.
Behold, he withholdeth the waters, and they dry up:
Also he sendeth them out, and they overturn the earth.
With him is strength and wisdom:
The deceived and the deceiver are his.
He leadeth counsellors away stripped,
And maketh the judges fools.
He looseth the bonds of kings,
And girdeth their loins with a waistcloth.

He leadeth priests away stripped,
And overthroweth the firmly rooted.
He withdraweth the speech of the trusty,
And taketh away the understanding of the aged.
He poureth contempt upon princes,
And looseth the girdle of the mighty.
He increaseth the peoples, and destroyeth them:
He spreadeth out the nations, and banisheth them.
He taketh away the mind of the chiefs of the earth,
And causeth them to wander in a wilderness where there is no way.
They grope in the dark without light,
And he maketh them to stagger like a drunken man.
Lo, mine eye hath seen all this,
Mine ear hath heard and understood it.
What ye know, the same do I know also:
I am not inferior unto you.]

Notwithstanding I would speak to the Almighty,
And I desire to reason with God.
But ye are plasterers of lies,
Ye are all patchers of nothingness.
O that ye would altogether hold your peace,
And it should be your wisdom!
Hear now my rebuke,
And hearken to the reproofs of my lips.
Would ye speak wickedly for God?
And talk deceitfully for him?
Would ye take his side?
Would ye play the advocate for God?
Were it well for you that he should search you out?
As one man mocketh another, will ye so mock him?
He will surely reprove you,
If ye do secretly accept his person.
Shall not his excellency make you afraid?
And his dread fall upon you?
Your maxims are proverbs of ashes,
Your bulwarks are bulwarks of clay.

Hold your peace that I may speak,
Let come on me what will.
I will take my flesh in my teeth,
And put my life in mine hand.

Behold, though he slay me, and delay not,
Yet will I defend my ways to his face!
This also shall be my salvation,
For the impious may not come before him.
Behold now, I have ordered my cause;
I know that I shall be justified.
[Who is he that will plead with me?
For then would I hold my tongue and give up the ghost.]
Two things only do unto me:
Then will I not hide myself from thee.
Withdraw thine hand far from me:
And let not thy dread make me afraid.
Then call thou, and I will answer:
Or let me speak, and answer thou me.

How many are mine iniquities and sins?
Make me to know my transgression and my sin.
Wherefore hidest thou thy face,
And holdest me for thine enemy?
Wilt thou harass a driven leaf,
And wilt thou pursue the dry stubble?
That thou decreest bitter things against me,
And makest me to inherit the iniquities of my youth.
Thou puttest my feet in the stocks,
And lookest narrowly unto all my paths;
Thou drawest thee a line around the soles of my feet.

Man that is born of a woman
Is of few days and full of trouble.
He cometh forth like a flower, and withereth:
He fleeth as a shadow, and continueth not.
As a rotten thing he wasteth away,
As a garment that is moth-eaten.
And dost thou keep thine eyes open against such an one,
And bringest him into judgement with thee,
Seeing that his days are determined,
That the number of his months is with thee,
That thou hast fixed his set time which he cannot overpass?
Look away from him, let him alone,
That he may enjoy, as an hireling, his day.

For a tree hath hope; if it be cut down, it will sprout again,
And the sapling thereof will not cease.
Though the roof thereof wax old in the earth,
And the stock thereof die in the ground;
Yet through the scent of water it will bud,
And bring forth boughs like a plant.
But man dieth, and passeth away,
Yea, he giveth up the ghost, and where is he?
As the waters fail from the lake,
And the river decayeth and drieth up:
So man lieth down, and riseth not:
Till the heavens are worn away, he shall not awake,
Nor be raised out of his sleep.

O that thou wouldest hide me in Sheol,
That thou wouldest keep me secret, until thy wrath be past,
That thou wouldest appoint me a set time, and remember me!
If a man die, can he live again?
All the days of my appointed service would I wait, till my relief should come.
Thou wouldest call, and I would answer thee:
Thou wouldest yearn towards the work of thine hands.
For now thou numberest my steps;
Thou passest not over my sin.
My transgression is sealed up in a bag,
And thou plasterest up mine iniquity.

But surely even the mountain will fall,
And the rock is removed out of its place.
The waters wear the stones:
The sweeping rain washeth away the dust of the earth:
So destroyest thou the hope of man.
Thou overwhelmest him for ever, and he passeth away,
Thou changest his countenance, and dismissest him.
His sons come to honour, and he knoweth it not;
And they are brought low, but he regardeth it not;
Only in his own flesh hath he pain,
And his soul mourneth but for himself. (?)

'Only in his own flesh': a very doubtful verse, which can only mean that man's shadowy body and soul in Sheol have a limited

consciousness of pain for themselves alone. But this seems to contradict what is elsewhere said of the monotonous but peaceful quietude of Sheol.

§ 18. *The second speech of Eliphaz.*—With the reply of Eliphaz a second cycle of speeches begins. Eliphaz says nothing new. He merely complains again of Job's impiety, and urges afresh that no man can be just before God. The wicked enjoy but a temporary prosperity, and even this prosperity is only apparent, for their conscience pricks them sorely, and they are ever expecting in anxious terror the just and inevitable reward of their misdeeds.

Then answered Eliphaz the Temanite, and said,
Should a wise man utter windy knowledge,
And fill his breast with the east wind?
Should he reason with bootless talk?
Or with speeches that profit him nothing?
Yea, thou makest void the fear of God,
And . . . before him.
For thine iniquity teacheth thy mouth,
And thou choosest the tongue of the crafty.
Thine own mouth condemneth thee, and not I:
Yea, thine own lips testify against thee.

Art thou the first man that was born?
Or wast thou made before the hills?
Didst thou listen in the council of God?
And didst thou draw wisdom unto thee?
What knowest thou, that we know not?
What understandest thou, which is not in us?
With us is one both grayheaded and very aged,
One older in days than thy father.

Are the consolations of God too little for thee?
And a word which dealt gently with thee?
Why doth thine heart carry thee away,
And wherefore do thine eyes wink?
That thou turnest thy anger against God,
And lettest such words go out of thy mouth.
What is man, that he should be clean,
And he that is born of a woman, that he should be righteous?
Behold, he putteth no trust in his saints;
Yea, the heavens are not clean in his sight.

How much less the abominable and corrupt,
Man, who drinketh iniquity like water?

I will shew thee, hear me;
And that which I have seen I will declare;
Which wise men have told
From their fathers, and have not hid it:
Unto whom alone the land was given,
And no stranger yet passed through it.
The wicked man travaileth with pain all his days,
And few in number are the years laid up for the oppressor.
A dreadful sound is in his ears:
In prosperity the destroyer shall come upon him.
He believeth not that he shall return out of darkness, (?)
And he is waited for of the sword.
He . . .
He knoweth that the day of darkness is ready at his hand.
Trouble and anguish make him afraid;
They prevail against him, as an angel appointed to destroy. (?)
[For he stretched out his hand against God,
And strengthened himself against the Almighty.
He ran against him with defiant neck,
With the thick bosses of his shield.
He covered his face with his fat,
And made collops of grease on his loins,
And he settled in desolate cities,
And in houses which no man should inhabit,
Which were destined to be ruins.]
He shall not be rich, neither shall his substance continue,
Neither shall . . .
The flame shall dry up his branches,
And his fruit is scattered by the wind.
His palm branch fadeth before its time,
And his tuft shall not be green.
He shall shake off his unripe grape as the vine,
And shall cast off his blossom as the olive.
For the bands of the impious shall perish,
And fire shall consume the tents of bribery.
They conceive mischief, and bring forth disaster,
And their belly produceth deceit.

'The consolations of God' refer to Eliphaz's first speech, when he told Job of that nightly vision which had appeared to him.

§ 19. *Job's fourth reply.*—Job's reply is difficult; in many places the text is very corrupt. He could easily imitate the vain words of the friends were he in their place. As it is, whether he speak or be silent, God's wrath (i.e. the agony of his disease and the weight of his afflictions and loneliness) is equally felt. He sends up a pitiful appeal to the silent earth to let his innocent death cry out for vengeance continually. Yet hardly has he uttered this appeal before he becomes conscious that the Author of his woes is also the living Testifier of his innocence. He seizes hold of the striking thought that the true, just God should arbitrate, not only in the suit between him and his friends, but also in the suit between him and God. In God then is his hope or pledge: his friends are blinded to the truth. He regards himself (or rather the author somewhat undramatically regards him) as a type of suffering innocence, known far and wide. Upright men are horrified at the sight; the impious rejoice. And yet in spite of all, or even because of it, the righteous and innocent sufferer holds all the more straitly on his way. He clings to goodness all the more firmly, and waxes stronger in the certainty of righteousness. After thus rising to this noble faith in the power and persistence of goodness, Job's spirit seems to sink back exhausted. The speech ends in a lament over the inevitable issue of his woes in death and Sheol. If he hope at all, it can only be for the grave. Such a hope is no hope. It is mere misery.

Then Job answered and said,
I have heard many such things:
  Troublous comforters are ye all.
Shall vain words have no end?
  Or what provoketh thee that thou answerest?

I also could speak as ye do:
  If your soul were in my soul's stead,
I could join words together against you,
  And I could shake mine head at you.
I could strengthen you with my mouth,
  And I would not spare the condolence of my lips.

But now, though I speak, my pain is not assuaged:
  And though I forbear, what am I eased?

It is thou who hast made me weary:
Thou hast made desolate . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
His wrath teareth and persecuteth me:
He gnasheth upon me with his teeth;
He sharpeneth his eyes against me.
[They gape upon me with their mouth;
They smite me upon the cheek reproachfully;
They gather themselves together against me.
God hath delivered me over to the impious,
And cast me into the hands of the wicked.]
I was at ease, but he broke me asunder:
He hath taken me by my neck, and dashed me to pieces;
He hath set me up for his mark.
His arrows compass me round about,
He cleaveth my reins asunder, and doth not spare;
He poureth out my gall upon the ground.
He breaketh into me with breach upon breach,
He runneth upon me like a giant.
I have sewed sackcloth upon my skin,
And thrust my horn into the dust.
My face is red with weeping,
And on my eyelids is the shadow of death;
Although there is no violence in mine hands:
And my prayer is pure.

O earth, cover not thou my blood,
And let my cry have no resting-place.
Yet even now, behold, my Witness is still in heaven,
And my Testifier is on high.
My friends are they that mock me,
But mine eye poureth out tears unto God,
That he may arbitrate between man and God,
And between a man and his neighbour!
For a few years shall pass,
And I shall go the way whence I shall not return.
My spirit is spent, my days are extinct,
The grave is ready for me.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Do thou now become surety for me,

Who else will be my pledge?
For thou hast hid their heart from understanding:
Therefore thou wilt not exalt them. (?)
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Thou hast made me a byword of the peoples,
And I am become a portent before them.
Mine eye is become dim by reason of anguish,
And all my members are as a shadow.
Upright men are appalled at this,
And the impious triumpheth over the innocent.
But the righteous holdeth on his way,
And he that hath clean hands waxeth stronger and stronger.

But as for you all, attack me again;
I shall not find one wise man among you.
My days pass away without hope;
The wishes of my heart are destroyed. (?)
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
If I hope,—Sheol is mine house,
I spread out my bed in the darkness;
I say to the pit, Thou art my mother,
To the worm, Thou art my sister:
Where then is my hope?
And as for my happiness, who shall see it?
Will they descend with me into Sheol,
Shall we go down together into the dust? (?)

'The righteous holdeth on his way.' A justly famous verse. It seems to mean that in spite of suffering the righteous clings all the more to his righteousness. His sufferings test his goodness and strengthen it. 'Appalled' though the upright spectator may therefore be at these sufferings, the sufferer himself persists in the path of righteousness. It is only fair to add that the passage is much disputed over by commentators, and that the thought, however fine in itself, seems almost too sudden and unexpected in the mouth of Job in its present connexion. The passage may be misplaced.

§ 20. *The second speech of Bildad.*—Bildad's reply is trivial in every sense of the word, both etymological and customary. Once

more the awful fate of the wicked is portrayed in familiar language. The 'king of terrors' is death personified.

Then answered Bildad the Shuhite, and said,
How long wilt thou set snares for words?
Understand, and then we will speak.
Wherefore are we counted as beasts,
And reputed unclean in thy sight?
Shall the earth be unpeopled for thee?
And shall the rock be removed out of its place?
Yea, the light of the wicked shall be put out,
And the flame of his fire shall not shine.
The light shall be dark in his tent,
And his lamp shall be extinguished over him.
The steps of his strength shall be straitened,
And his own counsel shall cast him down.
For his foot is driven into a net,
And he walketh upon meshes.
The gin shall take him by the heel,
And the trap layeth hold of him.
His snare is hidden for him in the ground,
His trap upon the way. (?)
Terrors shall make him afraid on every side,
And press hard upon his feet.
His strength shall be hunger-bitten,
And destruction is ready for his fall.
His skin is consumed by disease,
The firstborn of death devoureth his limbs.
He shall be plucked out of the tent wherein he trusted,
And he shall be brought to the king of terrors. (?)
. . . . . .
Brimstone shall be scattered upon his homestead.
His roots shall be dried up beneath,
And above shall his branch be cut off.
His remembrance shall perish from the earth,
And he shall have no name in the street.
He shall be driven from light into darkness,
And chased out of the world.
He shall neither have offshoot nor offspring among his people,
Nor any remaining in his dwelling.
They of the west shall be astonied at his day,
And they of the east shall be seized with horror.

Surely such are the dwellings of the wicked,
And such the place of him that knoweth not God.

§ 21. *Job's fifth reply.*—Bildad's violence irritates Job. In impassioned words he insists that God is guilty of violence while he himself is innocent. He then enters upon a fresh portrayal of his afflictions, and beseeches his friends to show him pity. Then there follows a famous passage, which unfortunately is very obscure: the text also is corrupt. Job wishes that his words were written down as a permanent witness of his innocence. And then the faith behind his doubts comes to his rescue. God is his true Vindicator, and God even before his death will appear as his friend and not as his enemy, and respond to the intensity of his desire ('My reins are consumed within me'). God will vindicate his innocence. The author makes Job anticipate in a paroxysm of faith the *dénouement* which is to ensue. Finally, Job turns on his friends and threatens them with the very retribution which they have so often declared to be the fate of the wicked.

Then Job answered and said,
How long will ye persecute my soul,
And crush me with words?
These ten times have ye reproached me:
Ye are not ashamed to rail against me.
If indeed ye will magnify yourselves against me,
And prove against me my reproach:
Know then that God hath perverted my right,
And hath compassed me with his net.

Behold, I cry out Violence, but I am not heard:
I cry aloud, but there is no judgement.
He hath fenced up my way that I cannot pass,
And he hath set darkness in my path.
He hath stripped me of my glory,
And taken the crown from my head.
He breaketh me down on every side, and I am gone:
And he uprooteth mine hope like a tree.
He hath kindled his wrath against me,
And he counteth me unto him as one of his enemies.
His troops come together, and raise up their way against me,
And encamp round about my tent.

My brethren are removed far from me,
And mine acquaintance are verily estranged from me.
My kinsfolk have failed,
And my familiar friends have forgotten me.
They that dwell in mine house, and my maids,
Count me for a stranger:
I am an alien in their sight.
I call my servant, and he giveth me no answer;
I must entreat him with my mouth.
My breath is offensive to my wife,
I am loathsome to my own brothers.
Yea, young children despise me;
When I arise, they speak against me.
All my inward friends abhor me:
And they whom I loved are turned against me.
My bone cleaveth to my skin,
And I am escaped with the skin of my teeth. (?)
Have pity upon me, have pity upon me, O ye my friends,
For the hand of God hath touched me.
Why do ye persecute me as God,
And are not satisfied with my flesh?

Oh that my words were written!
Oh that they were inscribed in a book!
That with a pen of iron and of lead
They were graven in the rock for ever!
But I know that my Vindicator liveth;
And at the last (?) he shall appear upon the ground: (?)
And . . .
And from out my flesh (?) I shall see God.
Whom I shall see to my own good,
And mine eyes shall see him and not as one estranged; (??)
My reins are consumed within me.
If ye say, How we will pursue him,
And find in him the root of the matter: (??)
Be ye afraid of the sword,
For . . .
. . . . . .

'And find the root of the matter in him' seems to mean, 'If you intend to prove and make me confess that my sins are the cause of my afflictions, then,' &c.

It has been supposed from ancient times that Job in this passage has worked his way up to a belief in a future life in our sense of the words (i.e. a life different from and opposed to the shadowy and joyless life in Sheol). But neither the wording nor the connexion, nor the previous or subsequent speeches of Job, seem to warrant this interpretation. My translation follows that of Professor Budde, though I am not nearly as confident of its correctness as he is, and two lines at least seem to me hopeless. In view of the importance and fame of the passage I give here the rendering of the Revised Version, with the marginal readings in brackets.

But I know that my redeemer [vindicator] liveth,
And that he shall stand up at the last upon the earth:
And after my skin hath been thus destroyed, [And after my skin hath been destroyed, this shall be, even from &c., *or*, And though after my skin this body be destroyed, yet from &c.]
Yet from [without] my flesh shall I see God:
Whom I shall see for myself [on my side],
And mine eyes shall behold, and not another [as a stranger].
My reins are consumed within me.

Next to this rendering of the Revised Version I will place the attempt of Professor Cheyne to give by emendation the original text. He thinks that not only are many words corrupt, but that 'the passage has plainly been edited and re-edited to gratify the very natural longing of a later age for references to the resurrection of the body.'

But I know that my Avenger lives,
And that at last he will appear above (my) grave;
My witness will bring to pass my desire,
And a curse will take hold of my foes.
My inner man is consumed with longing,
For ye say, How (keenly) we will persecute him!
Have terror because of the sword,
For (God's) anger falls on the unjust.

§ 22. *Zophar's second speech.*—Zophar's speech contains no shred of novelty. It is merely a violent and somewhat coarse picture of the doom of the wicked. The Hebrew is very obscure, and probably very corrupt.

Then answered Zophar the Naamathite, and said,
Therefore do my thoughts reply unto me,
And because of this there is haste within me:
A reproof which shameth me I have to hear,
And . . .
Knowest thou not this of old,
Since man was placed upon earth,
That the triumphing of the wicked is short,
And the joy of the hypocrite but for a moment?
Though his excellency mount up to the heavens,
And his head reach unto the clouds;
Yet he shall perish for ever like his own dung:
They which have seen him shall say, 'Where is he?'
He shall fly away as a dream, and shall not be found:
Yea, he shall be chased away as a vision of the night.
The eye which saw him shall see him no more;
Neither shall his place any more behold him.
His children shall seek the favour of the poor,
And his hands shall give back his wealth.
Albeit his bones were full of youth,
It shall lie down with him in the dust.
Though wickedness be sweet in his mouth,
Though he hide it under his tongue;
Though he cherish it, and forsake it not;
But keep it still within his mouth:
Yet his meat in his bowels is turned,
The gall of asps is within him.
He hath swallowed down riches,
And he shall vomit them up again:
God shall cast them out of his belly.
He shall suck the poison of asps:
The viper's tongue shall slay him.
He shall not see the brooks,
The streams of honey and butter.

. . . . . .
. . . . . .

Because he oppressed and forsook the poor;
He robbed an house which he shall not inhabit.
Because he knew no rest in his greed,
His desirable things shall not save him. (?)
Nothing escaped his voracity;
Therefore shall his prosperity not endure.

In the fulness of his sufficiency he shall be in straits:
Every hand of the wretched shall come upon him. (?)
God shall cast the fury of his wrath upon him
And shall rain it upon him as his food. (?)
He shall not escape from the weapon of iron,
The bow of brass shall strike him through. (?)
The shaft protrudeth from his back,
It flasheth out from his gall:
Terrors are upon him. (?)
Darkness is laid up for his treasures;
A fire not blown by man shall consume him;
It shall devour all that is left in his tent. (?)
The heaven shall reveal his iniquity;
And the earth shall rise up against him.
The increase of his house shall depart,
It shall be washed away in the day of his wrath. (?)
This is the portion of a wicked man from God,
And the heritage appointed unto him by God.

§ 23. *The sixth reply of Job.*—Job is driven by the exaggerations of his friends to exaggerate in his turn. He now urges that so far from the life of the wicked being full of trouble and his death of horror, the one is prosperous, the other peaceful. (An orthodox correction, here marked off by brackets, follows this outburst of indignation.) He then proceeds to tear in pieces another dogma still current in his day. 'If the sinner does not feel God's wrath, his children will feel it.' But that, replies Job, is no just retribution; when the sinner is in Sheol, the good or evil fortunes of his family are no concern to him. In a short paragraph full of pathos and dignity he describes the equal lot of the good and the bad. He urges that the experience of travelled men runs quite contrary to the empty assertions of the friends. 'In the day of destruction' the wicked are *spared*. In their lives they are feared, and they are honoured after their death. Job's speech concludes the second 'round.'

But Job answered and said,
Hear diligently my speech,
And let this be your consolation!
Suffer me that I may speak;
And after that I have spoken, mock on.
Is my complaint against a man?
And why should not my spirit be impatient?

Mark me, and be astonished,
And lay your hand upon your mouth.
Even when I think thereon I am afraid,
And trembling taketh hold of my flesh.

Wherefore do the wicked live,
Become old, yea, are mighty in power?
Their seed is established with them,
And their offspring before their eyes.
Their houses are safe from fear,
Neither is the rod of God upon them.
They send forth their little ones like a flock,
And their children dance.
They sing to the timbrel and lute,
And rejoice at the sound of the pipe.
They spend their days in prosperity,
And go down in peace unto Sheol.
Yet they say unto God, 'Depart from us;
For we desire not the knowledge of thy ways.
What is the Almighty, that we should serve him?
And what profit should we have, if we pray unto him?'

[Lo, their welfare is not in their hand:—
The counsel of the wicked be far from me!
How oft is the candle of the wicked put out!
And how oft cometh their destruction upon them!
The pangs of his wrath seize them.
They are as stubble before the wind,
And as chaff that the storm carrieth away.]

'God layeth up his iniquity for his children.'
Let him requite it to himself, that he may feel it!
Let his own eyes see his destruction,
And let him drink of the wrath of the Almighty!
For what concern hath he in his house after him,
When the number of his months is fulfilled?

One dieth in his full strength,
Being wholly at ease and quiet.
His pails are full of milk,
And the marrow of his bones is moistened.
And another dieth in the bitterness of his soul,
And hath never tasted happiness.

They lie down alike in the dust,
And the worms cover them.

Behold, I know your thoughts,
And the devices which ye wrongfully imagine against me.
For ye say, 'Where is the house of the tyrant?
And where are the dwelling-places of the wicked?'
Have ye not asked them that travel by the way,
And do ye not regard their tokens?—
That the wicked is spared in the day of destruction,
And in the day of wrath he is delivered.
And who declareth his way to his face?
And who shall repay him what he hath done?
He is even carried to the grave,
And they keep watch over his tomb. (?)
The clods of the valley are sweet unto him,
And every man draweth after him,
As there were innumerable before him. (?)
How then would ye comfort me in vain,
Seeing that in your answers there remaineth only falsehood?

§ 24. *The third speech of Eliphaz.*—Eliphaz in his reply insists that Job's sufferings are deserved. He invents a series of crimes of which he asserts Job to have been guilty. He urges him to repent and to humble himself before God, who will then hear him and deliver him.

In the opening of his speech he points out in striking language that God is self-sufficient to himself; no man can benefit God by his piety, nor, on the other hand, can man's wickedness do God harm. God does not therefore require man to be good for God's sake, but for man's sake. Nor does he chastise man because he is pious. God is neither jealous of human goodness nor can man do him a service. Here it is Eliphaz who is made to deny certain lingering superstitions about God. It is another question whether man in his fight against evil and in the service of good may not be said, in some more than metaphorical sense, to be helping forward God's purpose and cause.

A wise friend and critic, who has looked deep into the spiritual realities of the religious life, has suggested to me that there is another sense too in which the doctrine of God's 'self-sufficiency' is not wholly adequate. God must not be regarded as an outsider. Complete in himself though he be, yet all human beings participate in him. There are those who feel this doctrine, which is supported

by many passages in the Hebrew Bible very keenly. To them the conviction that God, in a certain real and spiritual sense, is near us and even in us, as well as outside us, destroys fear and makes doubt impossible. If God, they say, were not *in* man, man would be unconscious of God outside him. If there were no germinating love inside the child, he would not become conscious of the love which surrounds him. Yet children, whose inner power of love and whose knowledge of good and evil are still small and feeble, can only be impressed or influenced by a purely outside God and Master. But the Master within gradually develops, and rules in desired harmony with the Master without. The more the internal spirit can feel itself in loving accord with the external Spirit, the greater will be the harmony between them, the fuller and more inviolable the trust of the finite and the human in the Infinite and the Divine. As external and external only, God tends to become regarded as a mere outside Ruler or Judge, and suffering discourages, when, on the crude, tit-for-tat theory, it seems 'undeserved.' But if we, in some sense or other, are created in his image, have 'his holy spirit within us,' and may participate at whatever distance in his own life (by goodness and wisdom and religious communion), then is God nearer and closer than a father. We are spirit of his spirit; and the problem of suffering tends to lose itself in the very closeness of our union with the divine. If we have God within us, if we participate in the infinite divine life around us, then fear and mistrust and doubt are absurd, and hopelessness is impossible. For of our own life, which on this belief is also, in a real sense, God's life and conditioned by him, it is impossible to doubt. We are, we are his, and he is ours.

'Speak to Him then, for He hears, and Spirit with Spirit can meet—
Closer is He than breathing, and nearer than hands and feet.'

Then Eliphaz the Temanite answered and said,
Can a man be profitable unto God?
Nay, the wise man is only profitable unto himself.
Is it any advantage to the Almighty, if thou art righteous?
Or is it gain to him, if thou makest thy ways perfect?
Will he reprove thee because of thy piety?
Will he enter with thee into judgement?

Is not thy wickedness great,
And are not thine iniquities infinite?
For thou hast taken a pledge from thy brother for nought,
And stripped the naked of their clothing.

'Thou hast not given water to the weary to drink,
And thou hast withholden bread from the hungry.
Thou hast sent widows away empty,
And thou hast crushed the arms of the fatherless,
Therefore snares are round about thee,
And sudden fear troubleth thee;
Thy light is become dark, that thou canst not see;
And abundance of waters cover thee.

Is not God in the height of heaven?
And behold the height of the stars, how high they are!
But thou sayest, 'How doth God know?
Will he judge through the dark cloud?
Thick clouds are a covering to him, that he seeth not;
And he walketh upon the vault of heaven.'

Wilt thou keep the old way
Which is trodden by wicked men?
Who are cut down out of time,
Whose foundation is overflown with a flood:
Who say unto God, 'Depart from us':
And 'What can the Almighty do unto us?'
The righteous see it, and are glad:
And the innocent laugh them to scorn,
Saying, 'Surely our adversaries are destroyed,
And that which they have left the fire hath consumed.'

But do thou become familiar with him, and be at peace:
Thereby good shall come unto thee.
Receive, I pray thee, instruction from his mouth,
And lay up his words in thine heart.
If thou return to the Almighty, humbling thyself,
If thou put away iniquity far from thy tent,
[If thou cast away thy gold unto the dust,
And thy fine gold among the stones of the brooks:
Then the Almighty shall be thy gold,
And silver his teaching unto thee!]
Then shalt thou have thy delight in the Almighty,
And shalt lift up thy face unto God.
Thou shalt make thy prayer unto him, and he shall hear thee,
And thou shalt pay thy vows.
Thou shalt devise a thing, and it shall be established unto thee:

And the light shall shine upon thy ways.
For he bringeth low the haughty and the proud,
But the humble-eyed shall he save.

. . . . . .

And he shall be delivered through the purity of his hands. (?)

§ 25. *Job's seventh reply.*—Job admits that his complaints are virulent, but declares the fault to be God's, not his. Once more he bewails the impossibility of finding God, of pleading his cause before God and of hearing what God has to say against him. At whatever risk he would accept the ordeal, for he is sure that he would come out of it triumphant. As things are now, when he thinks of the terrible issue of his piety and the relentless power of God, he is terrified because of him. Then once more he complains of God's neglect of human wickedness and human misery. Why has he not regular days of assize, when he would hold his court of judgement? He draws three pictures, first of evil-doers, then of sufferers, outcast and oppressed, and then again of evil-doers, who murder and rob with unchecked impunity. Who will show me up as a liar, he concludes, by proving that these things are not so? An obscure and desperately corrupt passage towards the close in brackets seems to be another 'orthodox' interpolation from some later editor or copyist, whose timid opinions were an echo of the friends'.

Then Job answered and said,
Yea, bitter is my complaint;
His hand lieth heavy upon my groaning. (?)
Oh that I knew where I might find him!
That I might come even to his judgement-seat!
I would order my cause before him,
And fill my mouth with arguments.
Oh that I knew the words which he would answer me,
And might understand what he would say unto me.
Let him plead against me in the greatness of his power,
If he would but give heed unto me. (?)
Then would there be a righteous man disputing with him;
And I should win my cause for ever. (?)
[But behold, I go forward, but he is not there;
And backward, but I cannot perceive him:
If I seek him on the left hand, I behold him not;
If I turn aside on the right hand, I cannot discern him.]

For he knoweth the way in which I go:
If he tried me, I should come forth as gold.

My foot hath held his steps,
His way have I kept, and not declined.
I have not gone back from the commandment of his lips;
I have hidden the words of his mouth in my bosom.
But he chooseth, and who can turn him?
And what his soul desireth, even that he doeth.
So he will accomplish that which is appointed for me:
And many such things are with him. (?)
Therefore am I troubled because of him:
When I consider, I am afraid of him.
Yea, God maketh my heart faint,
And the Almighty troubleth me:
For I am confounded because of the darkness,
And my face is covered with gloom.

Why are times not laid up by the Almighty,
And why do they that know him not see his days?
There are who remove the landmarks,
Who rob the flock, and its shepherd.
They drive away the ass of the fatherless,
They take the widow's ox for a pledge.
They pluck the fatherless from the breast,
And take the suckling of the poor in pledge.
They turn the needy out of the way:
The poor of the earth hide themselves together.

Others go forth as wild asses in the desert,
They search for sustenance on the prairie:
There is no food for the children.
They reap by night in the field:
And they glean the vintage of the wealthy.
They pass the night naked without clothing,
And have no covering in the cold.
They are wet with the showers of the mountains,
And embrace the rock for want of a shelter.
They go naked without clothing,
And hungry as they are, they bear sheaves.
They press oil between the terraces (?),
And tread the winepresses, and suffer thirst.

There are those that rebel against the light;
They know not the ways thereof,
Nor abide in the paths thereof.
The murderer rises before the light,
He killeth the poor and needy. (?)
Dying men groan from out of the city,
And the soul of the wounded crieth out:
Yet God heareth not their prayer. (?)
The eye also of the adulterer waiteth for the twilight,
Saying, 'No eye shall see me':
And disguiseth his face.
The thief slinketh in the night;
In the dark he breaketh through houses,
By day he shutteth himself up.
They all know not the light;
For darkness is morning to them,
They are familiar with its terrors. (?)

[. . . . . .
His land is cursed in the earth:
. . . . . .
Drought and heat destroy it;
The snow waters sweep it away. (?)
. . . . . .
His greatness shall be no more remembered;
And wickedness is broken as a tree. (?)
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
And his eyes are upon their ways.
They are exalted, and in a moment they are no more,
. . . . . .
They are cut off as the tops of the ears of corn.]

If it be not so, who will prove me a liar,
And make my speech nothing worth?

§ 26. *Bildad's third speech.*—At this point many difficulties begin, and continue for some time. In the original Hebrew the speech of Bildad ends at the words, 'And the son of man who is a worm.' The passage, 'The shades writhe beneath' down to 'But the thunder of his power who can understand?' are part of Job's

next speech. But they do not seem to be in their right place or to suit very well in the mouth of Job. I have followed Professor Siegfried and others in assigning them to Bildad, from whose mouth and in whose speech they are not inappropriate. Bildad does not attempt to answer Job. He cannot. He merely utters a fresh description of the absolute and incomparable purity and power of God. Professor Davidson, whose translations I have constantly adopted, says of the last few lines: 'The nervous brevity and sublimity of these words are unsurpassable.'

Then answered Bildad the Shuhite, and said,
Dominion and fear are with him,
He maketh peace in his high places.
Is there any number to his armies,
And upon whom doth not his light arise?
How then can man be justified with God,
Or how can he be clean that is born of a woman?
Behold even the moon shineth not;
Yea, the stars are not pure in his sight.
How much less man, that is a maggot,
And the son of man, who is a worm!

The shades writhe beneath,
From under the waters, and the inhabitants thereof.
Sheol is naked before him,
And Abaddon hath no covering.
He stretcheth out the north over emptiness,
And hangeth the earth upon nothing.
He bindeth up the waters in his thick clouds;
And the cloud is not rent under them.
He shutteth off the face of the full-moon,
And spreadeth his cloud upon it.
He hath marked off a circle upon the face of the waters,
At the confines of light and darkness.
The pillars of heaven tremble,
And are appalled at his reproof.
He stilleth the sea with his power,
And by his understanding he smote through Rahab.
He shutteth the bars of heaven;
His hand pierceth the fleeing serpent.
Lo, these are the outskirts of his ways:
And how small a whisper is that which we hear of him!
But the thunder of his power who can understand?

§ 27. *Job's eighth reply.*—Job's reply to Bildad is very long and contains many strange and heterogeneous passages. It passes over into a long soliloquy addressed to God and without reference to the friends. Zophar does not appear or speak at all in this last cycle of speeches. This acknowledgement of defeat or confusion on Zophar's part may be intended by the author, but what is much more difficult to understand is that much of what Job says seems inconsistent in his mouth, while the connexion of passage with passage is very obscure, and the transitions are very abrupt. It would seem as if an 'orthodox' editor had tampered with the original text.

The two short paragraphs which follow here are apposite enough. Job sarcastically thanks Bildad for his helpful speech. No doubt Bildad thinks that he has given much true wisdom and counsel to a foolish weakling. But Job asks, (1) Has Bildad really addressed his words to *him*? (i.e. Can he suppose in truth that they are any help to *him*?) (2) Who inspired Bildad's words? (i.e., apparently, Do you wish me to suppose that your words are charged with divine inspiration?) Then he passes to a fresh asseveration of his righteousness; if he denied that, then indeed he would speak falsely. So far all is pretty clear. But immediately after, as we shall see, difficulties begin.

But Job answered and said,
How hast thou helped him that is without power!
How hast thou succoured the arm that hath no strength!
How hast thou counselled him that is without wisdom,
And declared knowledge in abundance!
To whom hast thou uttered thy words,
And whose spirit came from thee?

As God liveth who hath taken away my right,
And the Almighty who hath made bitter my soul,
So long as my life is yet in me,
And the breath of God is in my nostrils,
My lips shall not speak unjustly,
Nor shall my tongue utter deceit.
God forbid that I should justify you:
Till I die I will not abandon mine integrity.
My righteousness I hold fast, and I will not let it go;
My heart reproacheth not one of my days.

§ 28. *An editorial interpolation, or Zophar's third speech.*—In Job's speech there is now suddenly introduced a passage

about the miserable lot of the wicked and of their children, which seems not only disconnected with what has preceded but very inappropriate. If Zophar were the speaker, most of it would seem apposite enough and in keeping with Zophar's views; some have thought that this passage *is* really Zophar's third speech, which in the Hebrew text is now wanting. It may, however, be the insertion of an orthodox editor, and the original text may have been altered or curtailed to make room and way for it. Arguments which seek to claim it as a true part and parcel of a genuine speech of Job are ingenious but unconvincing.

[Let the lot of the wicked befall mine enemy,
And that of the evildoer mine adversary!
For what is the hope of the impious when he dieth,
When God demandeth his soul?
Will God hear his cry
When trouble cometh upon him?
Will he delight himself in the Almighty,
Will he always call upon God?

I will teach you concerning the hand of God:
The dealings of the Almighty will I not conceal.
Behold, all ye yourselves have seen it;
Why then do ye talk thus emptily? (?)
This is the portion of a wicked man from God,
And the heritage of the oppressor, which he receiveth of the Almighty.
If his children be multiplied, it is for the sword:
And his offspring shall not be satisfied with bread.
Those that remain of him shall not be buried at their death:
And their widows shall not weep.
Though he heap up silver as the dust,
And prepare raiment as the clay;
He may prepare it, but the just shall put it on,
And the innocent shall divide the silver.
He buildeth his house as a spider,
And as a booth that the keeper maketh.
He lieth down rich, but he shall not do so again;
He openeth his eyes, and he is not.
Terrors take hold on him by day,
A tempest stealeth him away in the night.
The east wind carrieth him away, and he departeth,
It hurleth him, as a storm, out of his place.

For God casteth upon him, and doth not spare:
Fain would he flee out of his hand!
Men clap their hands at him,
And hiss him out of his place.]

§ 29. *The difference between human and divine wisdom.*—Once again the thought suddenly changes, and we have a passage without any obvious connexion with what precedes or follows. It seems to be an interpolation from the pen of some one who wanted to show that wisdom, in the sense of providing a full explanation of the world's rule, belongs to God alone. The only kind of wisdom which man can achieve is 'do justice and love mercy, and to walk humbly before God.' The thought is worked out by a negative analogy. Man can see and work his way into the bowels of the earth, but he can never find the source and home of wisdom. Wisdom, the possession and knowledge of which would give the key to every problem in nature and man, is only known to and possessed by God. (Two passages in brackets seem later insertions; the second especially interferes with the connexion. The point is that wisdom can nowhere be found, not that it is very valuable or unpurchasable by gold and silver.) However dignified and fine this section is in itself, it does not seem appropriate for Job. There is no indignation or sarcasm visible in the final statement. Man's limitations are recognized with humility, not with anger or impatience. He is recommended to realize and observe them. It is uncertain whether the section was written by the interpolating editor, or taken by him from some existing source. The latter is more probable.

For there is a source for the silver,
And a place for gold which they refine.
Iron is taken out of the earth,
And stone is molten into copper.
Men set an end to the darkness,
And search out to the very end.
They sink a shaft into the ground,
. . . . . .
Far away from men they hang and swing. (?)
[Out of the earth cometh bread:
But beneath it there is an upturning as if by fire.
The stones of it are the place of the sapphire:
And there is the dust of gold.]

That path no eagle knoweth,
And the vulture's eye hath not seen it.
The sons of pride have not trodden it,
Nor the lion passed by it.
Man putteth forth his hand upon the rock;
He overturneth the mountains by the roots.
He cutteth out channels among the rocks;
And his eye seeth every precious thing.
He searcheth for the sources of the streams,
And the thing that is hid bringeth he forth to light.
For he looketh to the ends of the earth,
And gazeth about under the whole heaven.

But where can wisdom be found?
And where is the place of understanding?
Man knoweth not the way to it;
Neither is it found in the land of the living.
The depth saith, 'It is not in me':
And the sea saith, 'I have it not.'
[It cannot be gotten for fine gold,
Neither shall silver be weighed as its price.
It cannot be weighed for gold of Ophir,
For the precious onyx, or the sapphire.
Gold and glass cannot equal it:
And the exchange of it shall not be for jewels of fine gold.
No mention shall be made of coral, or of crystal:
For the possession of wisdom is above pearls.
The topaz of Ethiopia cannot equal it,
Neither may it be valued with pure gold.
Whence then cometh wisdom?
And where is the place of understanding?]
It is hidden from the eyes of all living,
And kept secret from the birds of the air.
Destruction and Death say,
'We have but heard the rumour thereof with our ears.'
God understandeth the way to it,
And he knoweth its place.
When he appointed a weight for the winds,
And meted out the waters by measure;
When he made a decree for the rain,
And a way for the lightning of the thunder:
Then did he see it, and declare it;

He established it, yea, and searched it out:
And unto man he said,
'Behold, the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom;
And to depart from evil is understanding.'

§ 30. *Job's final soliloquy.*—We now pass to a certainly genuine portion of Job's last, long speech. It is not a reply to the friends, but a prolonged meditation or soliloquy, ending up with a passionate appeal to God. He begins by drawing an elaborate contrast between the past days of his prosperity and the present days of his affliction. Of old he was honoured and beloved (and deservedly, for his conduct justified the admiration in which he was regarded). Now the most despicable wretches despise and taunt him. God persecutes him relentlessly. His life is one long misery and pain. He then suddenly turns from the contrast between Then and Now to a prolonged asseveration, cast in the form of 'an oath of clearing,' as Mr. Moulton calls it, that this Now is wholly undeserved. He goes through a catalogue of sins, and declares that *if* he were guilty of any of these, *then* indeed would he deserve the chastisement of God and man. The final 'if' is answered by no 'then.' In its place Job abruptly implores God to hear him. He has now, as it were, handed in his plea and signed it. Let God reply. He does not fear God's charge. Let the indictment be produced. He wants to know it. He would even welcome it. In the pride and certainty of his innocence he would bind God's indictment upon his brow, and, crowned and garlanded like a prince, he would draw near to God in the full confidence of victory. He would seek to conceal no incident of his past, not a single one of all his steps in the path of life. Thus Job's last words sound a note of triumph. They are not only a final assertion of his own integrity; they are more. The confidence with which he seeks to approach God implies a faith that, in spite of all, God is and must be righteous. If God were unjust, then would Job tremble before God's presence in direct proportion to his goodness. But now he clears himself at once of his own doubts and of the outworn dogmas of his friends. From the God who heaped upon him his unmerited calamities, the sufferer appeals to the true God behind the mask who must surely proclaim his innocence.

And Job continued his parable, and said,
Oh that I were as in months past,
As in the days when God preserved me;
When his lamp shined upon my head,
And when by his light I walked through darkness;

As I was in the days of his favour,
When God wove a fence about my tent;
When the Almighty was yet with me,
When my children were about me;
When I washed my steps with cream,
And the rock poured me out rivers of oil;
My root was open to the waters,
And the dew lay all night upon my branch.
My glory remained fresh with me,
And my bow was renewed in my hand.

When I went up to the city,
When I set my seat in the public place,
The young men saw me, and hid themselves,
And the aged arose, and stood up.
The princes refrained from talking,
And laid their hand on their mouth.
The nobles held their peace,
And their tongue cleaved to the roof of their mouth.

Unto me they gave ear and waited,
They kept silence for my counsel.
After my words they spake not again;
And my speech dropped upon them.
They waited for me as for the rain;
And they opened their mouth wide as for the latter rain.
When I smiled on them, they won confidence;
And the light of my countenance comforted the mourners. (?)
When I chose out their way, I sat as their chief;
I sat enthroned as a king in his army.

The ear that heard of me called me happy,
And the eye that saw me bore me witness:
Because I delivered the poor that cried,
And the fatherless, and him that had none to help him.
The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me:
And I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy.
I put on righteousness, and it clothed me:
My judgement was as a robe and a diadem.
I was eyes to the blind,
And feet was I to the lame.
I was father to the poor:
And the cause of him whom I knew not I searched out.

And I brake the jaws of the wicked,
And plucked the spoil out of his teeth.
So I thought I should grow old with my nest,
And I should multiply my days as the phoenix. (?)

But now despicable folk have me in derision,
[Whose fathers I would have disdained
To have set with the dogs of my flock. (?)
To what purpose could I have used the strength of their hands,
For it was dried up by want and famine? (?)
They gnaw the wilderness—
Places desolate and waste. (?)
They pluck mallows beside the bushes,
And roots of broom to warm themselves therewith.
They are driven forth from among men,
(Who cry after them as after a thief),
To dwell in dreary ravines,
In holes of the earth and of the rocks.
Among the bushes they bray;
Under the nettles they are gathered together.
Children of fools, yea, children of base men:
They are hunted out of the land.]

And now am I become their song,
Yea, I am their byword.
They abhor me, they keep far from me,
And spare not to spit in my face.
For he hath loosened my bow-string and humbled me;
He hath cast down my banner before my face. (??)

. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

Terrors assail me:
My honour is chased away as the wind:
And my welfare passeth as a cloud.

And now my soul is poured out within me;
Days of affliction hold me fast.

The night pierceth my bones:
And my gnawing pains take no rest.
By the greatness of his power my flesh is disfigured; (?)
. . . . . .
He hath cast me into the mire,
And I am become like dust and ashes.
I cry unto thee, and thou dost not hear me:
I stand up, and thou regardest me not.
Thou art become a tyrant unto me:
With thy strong hand thou persecutest me.
Thou liftest me up to the wind;
Thou causest me to ride upon it,
And dissolvest me in the roar of the tempest.
For I know that thou wilt bring me back to death,
And to the house of meeting for all living.

Yet doth not a drowning man stretch out his hand,
Doth he not cry for help in his calamity?
Doth not he weep whose day is hard,
Is not the soul of him that perisheth sorrowful? (?)
I looked for good, but evil came unto me;
I waited for light, but there came darkness.
My bowels boil, and rest not:
Days of affliction have befallen me.
I go mourning without comfort;
I stand up in the congregation and cry. (?)
I am become a brother to jackals,
And a companion to ostriches.
My skin is black upon me,
And my bones are burned with heat.
My harp hath turned to mourning,
And my pipe into the voice of them that weep.

[I made a covenant with mine eyes;
How then should I gaze upon a maid?
For what were my portion from God above,
And what my heritage from the Almighty on high?
Is it not destruction to the wicked,
And calamity to the workers of iniquity?
Doth not he see my ways,
And count all my steps?]

If I have walked with falsity,
  Or if my foot hath hasted to deceit—
Let him weigh me in an even balance,
  And let God know mine integrity—
If my step hath turned out of the way,
  And mine heart walked after mine eyes,
  And if any blot hath cleaved to mine hands;
Then let me sow, and let another eat;
  Yea, let my produce be rooted out.

If mine heart have been enticed by a woman,
  Or if I have laid wait at my neighbour's door;
Then let my wife grind unto another,
  And let others enslave her.
For this is an heinous crime;
  Yea, it is an iniquity to be punished by the judges.
For it is a fire that consumeth unto Sheol,
  It would destroy all mine increase unto the root.

If I did despise the cause of my manservant
  Or of my maidservant, when they did plead with me;
What then should I do when God riseth up?
  And when he visiteth, what should I answer him?
Did not he that made me make him,
  And did not one God fashion us both?

If I have withheld the poor from their desire,
  Or have caused the eyes of the widow to fail;
Or have eaten my morsel myself alone,
  And the fatherless hath not eaten thereof;
(For from my youth I brought him up as a father,
  And I have guided her from of old:)
If I have seen any perish for want of clothing,
  Or any poor without covering;
If his loins have not blessed me,
  And if he were not warmed with the fleece of my sheep;
If I wept not for him whose day was hard,
  If my soul were not grieved for the needy;
If I have lifted up my hand against the fatherless,
  When I saw my help in the gate:
Then let my shoulder fall from my neck,
  And mine arm be broken from the bone.

For destruction from God was a terror to me,
And before his majesty I was powerless.

If my land cry out against me,
And the furrows thereof weep together;
If I have eaten the fruits thereof without money,
And have caused the soul of its owners to expire:
Let thistles grow instead of wheat,
And cockle instead of barley.

If I have made gold my hope,
Or have said to the fine gold, Thou art my confidence;
If I rejoiced because my wealth was great,
And because mine hand had gotten much;
If I beheld the sun when it shined,
Or the moon moving in brightness;
And my heart hath been secretly enticed,
And my mouth hath kissed my hand;
This also were an iniquity to be punished by the judges:
For I should have denied God that is above.

If I rejoiced at the destruction of him that hated me,
Or exulted when evil found him,
(Yea, I suffered not my mouth to sin
To ask, with a curse, his life);
If the men of my tent did not say,
'Who is not satisfied by his flesh?'
If the stranger lodged in the street,
And I opened not my doors to the traveller;
If I covered my transgressions as with earth,
Hiding mine iniquity in my bosom,
Because I feared a great multitude,
And the contempt of the families terrified me,
So that I kept silence, and went not out of the door:—

Oh that I had One who would hear me!—
Behold, my signature! Let the Almighty answer me!—
And that I had the charge which mine adversary hath written!
Surely I would carry it upon my shoulder,
And bind it upon me as a crown;
I would declare unto him the number of my steps;
As a prince would I draw near unto him!

The 'despicable folk' in the fourth paragraph seem to refer to some pariah inhabitants of the steppe, familiar to the author. The passage seems to be an interpolation or misplaced. It is possibly akin to the description of the mournful outcasts in a former chapter. Certainly Job, who knows that slave and free have one Maker, would not have spoken thus contemptuously of any wretched flotsam and jetsam of humanity; yet in this present connexion the words must be given a contemptuous connotation. There is surely something wrong with the text: the bracket is justified. The obscure fifth paragraph, beginning 'And now am I become their song,' would seem to indicate in strained and exaggerated language that these outcasts insulted Job in his affliction and added to his miseries. 'If I beheld the sun when it shined'; the reference is to secret idolatry. 'If I covered my transgressions as with earth'; Job means that he had no transgressions to cover, and had therefore no one to fear and nothing to conceal. The last line of the paragraph, 'So that I kept silence and went not out of the door,' should probably be omitted as a gloss. For if he hid his iniquity for fear of the people and the 'families' (i.e. the nobles), he would not also have been afraid to go out of doors.

§ 31. *The first speech of Elihu.*—We now come to a very unexpected incident. A fifth speaker over and above Job and his three friends is suddenly introduced to us. His name is Elihu. Most scholars now believe that his speech is an interpolation; in other words, that it was not written by the original author of our book. The reasons which they give are many and weighty; I can only allude briefly to some of them. (1) Elihu is not referred to before nor is he referred to afterwards. (2) The appearance of God is unnecessarily delayed by Elihu. He breaks the connexion. His speech can only be justified if it contain the author's intended solution of the entire problem. Professor Budde thinks it does. But if so, God's speech is robbed of its purport. For then (3) God neither gives the solution himself nor declares it insoluble. He merely comes to censure Job for his presumptuous language, though in the epilogue he also praises him for his 'rightness' of speech. God never alludes to Elihu, nor to the all-important fact that he has given the true solution of the problem. Why would it be beneath his dignity to do so? (4) Elihu's solution is that suffering is purifying, and that in Job's case (as Professor Budde thinks) it purified a man who, while he had not sinned, was yet in danger of sinning, a man whose character was becoming slowly tainted and undermined by

unconscious growths of pride and self-righteousness. If this solution be that of the original author, it does not seem consistent with the prologue or with the story as a whole. (5) It is commonly urged that though Elihu does not occupy *precisely* the same position or hold *precisely* the same views as Eliphaz and his two associates, still his views and position do not *materially* differ from theirs. Elihu also holds the theory that suffering is retributive, and that God 'causes every man to find according to his ways.' Professor Budde, who, distinguished scholar as he is, is also a passionate defender of the authenticity and excellence of Elihu's speeches, thinks a more careful study of them shows that this last argument is quite false. Elihu does not believe that Job had already sinned in deed. His suffering is not chastisement for past sin, not even a chastisement, such as Eliphaz had suggested, of which the object is improvement, but it was sent to purify his nature, which had in it, still unconsciously to Job himself, the ripening germs of sin. Job's insistence on his own integrity shows us what these germs were—conceit and self-righteousness. Professor Budde has given immense pains to Elihu, and has doubtlessly brushed away many a difficulty in his speeches, and put many a passage in a clearer light. But it may well be doubted whether even he has fully succeeded. We shall have opportunities of judging as we listen to Elihu's own words.

Elihu's discourses can be divided into three distinct though connected speeches. In the first he begins by explaining his previous silence and his anxiety to speak. As Job has not spoken against him, Elihu will not answer him like the three friends, and he need not therefore be silent because the friends now think that only God can make Job change his views. Elihu will speak without flattery or deceit; Job need not be afraid of *him*. Job is, to begin with, wrong in making complaints against God's cruelty. 'God,' says Elihu, 'is greater than man,' meaning apparently that Job must not argue that his afflictions have been caused by motives such as they might have been caused by if God acted as a man might act. They must, on the contrary, proceed from a just cause, for God is just. Moreover, Job has wrongly complained of God's silence, for God does speak to man in more than one way, but Job has not heeded. First he speaks by *dreams*, of what the object is—(*a*) to turn away or keep back a man from evildoing, and (*b*) to root out his pride. (Here it may be noticed, as against the theory of Budde, (*a*) that the warned man has already committed or is about to commit evil, (*b*) that in the Bible pride is the distinctive characteristic of ungodliness.) Secondly, God speaks by *pain*, as in Job's own case.

By pain and sickness he is brought near to death, but if he repent, instead of being delivered up to the destroyers (=the angels of death), an interceding angel claims or petitions for his release, because the 'ransom' has been received. The 'ransom' is repentance. (Here, again, it is quite definitely stated that the man has actually sinned.) The last paragraph indicates the transition to the second speech, and links the two together.

So these three men ceased to answer Job, because he was righteous in his own eyes. [Then was kindled the wrath of Elihu the son of Barachel the Buzite, of the kindred of Ram: against Job was his wrath kindled, because he justified himself before God. Also against his three friends was his wrath kindled, because they had found no answer, and yet had condemned Job. (?) Now Elihu had waited while they spoke unto Job, because they were elder than he. But when he saw that there was no answer in the mouth of these three men, then his wrath was kindled.] And Elihu the son of Barachel the Buzite answered and said,

I am young, and ye are very old;
Wherefore I kept back, and was afraid to shew you mine opinion.
I thought, Days should speak,
And multitude of years should teach wisdom.
But it is the spirit of God in man,
And the inspiration of the Almighty which giveth them understanding.
Gray beards are not wise:
Neither do the aged understand judgement.
[Behold, I waited for your words;
I gave ear to your reasons,
Whilst ye searched out what to say;
Yea, I attended unto you.
And, behold, there was none of you that refuted Job,
Or that answered his words.]
Nor must ye say, 'We have found wisdom;
God, not man, can put him to flight.'
He hath not directed his words against me,
Neither will I answer him with your speeches.
Therefore I say, Hearken to me;
I also will shew my knowledge.
For I am full of matter,
The spirit within me constraineth me.

Behold, my mind is as wine which hath no vent;
It is ready to burst like new bottles.
I will speak, that I may find breath;
I will open my lips and answer.
I will not accept any man's person,
Neither will I flatter any one.
For I know not how to flatter;
Else would my Maker soon take me away.

But now, Job, I pray thee, hear my speeches,
And hearken to all my words.
My speech shall be as the uprightness of my heart:
And the knowledge of my lips—purely they speak it.
If thou canst, answer me,
Set thy words in order before me, stand up.
Behold, I stand like thee in respect of God:
I also am formed out of clay.
Behold, *my* terror will not make thee afraid,
Neither will my hand be heavy upon thee.

Surely thou hast spoken in mine hearing,
And I heard the voice of thy words, saying,
'I am clean without transgression;
I am pure, neither is there iniquity in me.
Behold, he findeth occasions against me,
He counteth me for his enemy.
He putteth my feet in the stocks,
He marketh all my paths.'
Behold, in this thou art not in the right:
For God is greater than man.

Why dost thou plead against him,
That he answereth not any of thy words?
For God speaketh this way,
Yea and that way, yet thou perceivest it not.
In a dream, in a vision of the night,
In slumberings upon the bed;
Then he openeth the ears of men,
And frighteneth them by his warning,
To restrain man from iniquity,
And to root out from him his pride,
So that he may keep back his soul from the pit,

And his life from the weapon of death. (?)
He is chastened also with pain upon his bed,
And the agony of his bones is sore;
So that his life abhorreth bread,
And his soul the food of his desire.
His flesh is consumed away,
And his bones are decayed: (?)
Yea, his soul draweth near unto the grave,
And his life to the destroyers.

If there be by him an angel,
An intercessor, one among a thousand,
To shew unto man his duty,
And he have compassion upon him, and say, 'Release him,
I have received the ransom of his soul':
Then his flesh becometh fresher than a child's,
He returneth to the days of his youth:
He prayeth unto God, and he will be favourable unto him:
And he letteth him see his face with joy:
And he restoreth unto him his righteousness. (?)
He singeth unto men, and saith,
'I sinned, and perverted that which was right,
But God hath not requited me.
He hath preserved my soul from going into the pit,
And my life shall see the light.'
Lo, all these things worketh God
Twice and thrice with man,
To bring back his soul from the pit,
To be enlightened with the light of the living.

Mark well, O Job, hearken unto me:
Hold thy peace, and I will speak.
If thou hast any thing to say, answer me:
Speak, if thou desire to justify thyself;
If not, hearken unto me:
Hold thy peace, and I shall teach thee wisdom.

§ 32. *The second speech of Elihu.*—Elihu's second speech, the text of which is often most sadly corrupt, seems less original than the first. Its burden is, implicit trust in God's justice. Elihu attacks Job for saying he has been unjustly afflicted. God is always just and gives to every man according to his ways. God cannot do wickedly, Elihu argues, for the world is his.

He created it and he preserves it: the Creator and Preserver cannot act unjustly with his own. Injustice is inconsistent with the very idea of God. Only he who is just can be a ruler. God is impartial. He respects the person neither of rich nor poor, neither of small nor great. His power and justice are absolute and may not be questioned. At the third paragraph the text becomes still more uncertain than ever. Hence the queries and dots in the translation. Elihu may perhaps mean, Even if God seem to be indifferent and to hide his face, so that, for instance, an impious man is suffered by him to be a king, yet must a man be resigned and say, I will endure, I will not sin by complaint, and if unwittingly I have done wrong, I will do so no more. But it is all dreadfully uncertain, and the 'king' seems out of place. Elihu next proceeds to ask whether Job wants God to conduct his rule and retributions according to Job's own limited knowledge? Every wise man will say that Job's words are impious and rebellious. (Elihu says, 'Job adds rebellion unto his sin,' which most commentators take to mean that his impious words are an added rebellion to his previous sinful deeds, but which Professor Budde explains to be merely a Hebrew idiom for 'very sinful and rebellious.') In a fresh section Elihu takes Job to task for having implied that he could not be worse off even if he had sinned, and that his piety had profited him nothing. Elihu replies, like Eliphaz, that neither human sin nor human goodness can affect God. Hence he also implies that Job's sufferings cannot have been sent for any advantage to accrue to God. Men are quick to complain of their troubles, but these complaints are 'a vain cry'; they should be patient and resigned and trustful. Job's speeches are due to God's long-suffering. God would have every reason, Elihu means, if he did appear in answer to Job's blasphemous appeals, to punish him even more for his reckless insolence. The text is again extremely uncertain.

Then Elihu continued and said,
Hear my words, O ye wise men;
And give ear unto me, ye that have knowledge.
For the ear trieth words,
As the mouth tasteth food.
Let us find out the right;
Let us know among ourselves what is good.
For Job hath said, 'I am righteous:
And God hath taken away my right.
In spite of my right I seem a liar,
Sore is my wound, and yet I have not transgressed.' (?)

What man is like Job,
Who drinketh up scoffing like water,
Who joineth company with the workers of iniquity,
And walketh with wicked men?
For he hath said, 'It profiteth a man nothing
That he should delight himself with God.'
Therefore hearken unto me, ye men of understanding:
Far be it from God, that he should do wickedness;
And from the Almighty, that he should commit unrighteousness.
For the work of a man shall he render unto him,
And cause every man to find according to his ways.
Yea, surely God doth not do wickedly,
Neither doth the Almighty pervert judgement.
Who hath given him a charge over the earth?
Or who guardeth the whole world?
If he took back his spirit,
If he gathered unto himself his breath;
All flesh would perish together,
And man would turn again unto dust.

If now thou hast understanding, hear this:
Hearken to the voice of my words.
Can he that hateth right govern,
And wilt thou condemn him that is most just?
Who saith to a king, 'Thou art a villain,'
And to rulers, 'Ye are wicked':
Who accepteth not the persons of princes,
Nor regardeth the rich more than the poor.
For they all are the work of his hands.
In a moment they die, even at midnight,
And nobles are shaken, and pass away:
And the mighty are taken away without a hand. (?)
For his eyes are upon the ways of man,
And he seeth all his goings.
There is no darkness, nor shadow of death,
Where the workers of iniquity may hide themselves.
For he appointeth no time to a man,
To enter with him into judgement. (?)
He breaketh in pieces mighty men without inquiry,
And setteth others in their stead.
[Therefore he knoweth their works,

And he overturneth them in the night, so that they are crushed. (?)
His wrath destroyeth the wicked,
He chastiseth them where all may see. (?)
Because they turned back from him,
And would not consider any of his ways:
So that they caused the cry of the poor to come unto him,
And he heard the cry of the afflicted.]
Yet if he keep still, who can condemn him?
And when he hideth his face, who then can behold him? (?)
If he cause an impious man to reign,

. . . . . .

One should rather say unto God,
'I will endure; I will not sin;
That which I see not, teach thou me:
If I have acted unrighteously, I will do so no more.' (?)

Shall he recompense a man according to thy mind?

. . . . . .

And speak what thou knowest.
Men of understanding will say unto me,
And every wise man who heareth me:
'Job hath spoken without knowledge,
And his words were without wisdom.'
Oh that Job were tried unto the uttermost,
Because of his answers in the manner of wicked men.
For he addeth rebellion unto his sin,
He clappeth his hands among us,
And multiplieth his words against God.

Elihu spake moreover, and said,
Thinkest thou this to be right,
And callest thou it, 'My just cause against God,'
Thou that sayest, 'What advantage have I?'
And, 'What am I profited more than if I had sinned?'
Look unto the heavens, and see;
And behold the clouds which are higher than thou.
If thou sinnest, what doest thou against him?
Or if thy transgressions be multiplied, what doest thou unto him?

If thou be righteous, what givest thou him?
Or what receiveth he of thine hand?
Thy wickedness may concern a man as thou art,
And thy righteousness the son of man.

Men cry out because of the multitude of oppressions:
They cry out by reason of the arm of the mighty.
But they say not, 'Where is God our maker,
Who giveth songs in the night;
Who teacheth us more than the beasts of the earth,
And maketh us wiser than the birds of heaven?'
Then they cry because of the pride of evil men,
But God heareth them not.
Surely God will not hear a vain cry,
Neither will the Almighty regard it.
Much less when thou sayest, 'Thou seest him not':
Be silent before him, and wait patiently. (?)
But now, because his anger visiteth not,
And he doth not straitly regard insolence,
Therefore Job openeth his mouth in vanity;
He multiplieth words without knowledge. (?)

§ 33. *The third speech of Elihu.*—In the first part of Elihu's third speech Professor Budde finds the essence of all his discourses, for in it he shows 'the true purpose of God in the sufferings of the righteous.' The professor gives the substance in these words: 'God reveals himself to the righteous through suffering in order to bring him to a knowledge of the sin dormant within him, and especially of the sin of pride. When this sin has been purged away, God places him anew in the enjoyment of happiness.' It is most unfortunate that the text is again terribly uncertain, and critical emendations take one a very little way. Elihu begins by saying that though God is very mighty, he is also very tender. He despises none. Affliction is sent to make men realize that they have transgressed and 'dealt proudly.' (More than *dormant* sin is apparently referred to.) God gives them the power to understand the meaning of these afflictions that they may return from iniquity. Then, if they so 'return,' they will yet end their days in gladness. Thus God delivers the afflicted through their afflictions. Elihu proceeds to urge Job to look upon his own afflictions in the same light and as sent for the same end, and not to regard the extent and degree of them as too heavy for the object to be attained by them. That

object is his own purification. Let him not misuse this heaven-sent remedy, and because of it turn instead to deliberate sin.

Elihu also proceeded, and said,
Suffer me a little, and I will shew thee,
For I have somewhat still to say on God's behalf.
I will fetch my knowledge from afar,
And will ascribe righteousness to my Maker.
For truly my words are not false:
One that is perfect in knowledge is with thee.

Behold, God rejecteth the stubborn of heart;
He preserveth not the life of the wicked: (?)
But he giveth right to the poor,
He withdraweth not his eyes from the righteous:
But with kings upon the throne
He setteth them for ever, and they are exalted. (?)
But if they be bound in fetters,
And fastened in cords of affliction,
He sheweth them thereby their work,
And their transgressions that they have dealt proudly.
He openeth also their ear to the warning,
And telleth them to return from iniquity.
If they obey and serve him,
They end their days in prosperity,
And their years in pleasures.
But if they obey not,
They perish by the bolt of death,
And they die without knowledge.

He delivereth the afflicted through his affliction,
And openeth his ear through suffering.
Yea, thee too he allureth out of the mouth of distress,
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
And let not the greatness of the ransom lead thee astray.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

Take heed, turn not unto iniquity:
For thou choosest guilt because of thy affliction. (?)

'But if they be bound in fetters.' Who are 'they'? Apparently the righteous of the preceding distichs, thus showing that Elihu is not thinking of vile and coarse sins, but of pride and conceit, of which a man might be guilty and yet be termed 'righteous.' This goes to support Professor Budde's theories. The fetters and cords are metaphors for sorrows and afflictions. 'Greatness of the ransom.' The ransom which Job has to pay is his affliction. The affliction is both the means for his own purification and the price of his ultimate deliverance. The two lines, 'He delivereth the afflicted through his affliction, And openeth his ear through suffering,' sum up Elihu's doctrine concisely. It is a notable thought, as Professor Budde rightly says. Sorrow as an education and a purification—this thought goes a certain way to explain *some* phases of suffering at any rate, whether Elihu's speeches are 'genuine' or not. These two lines are among the greatest in the Bible.

The second section of Elihu's third speech consists of a description of the greatness and glory of God as revealed in the storm and in some other processes of nature. It would seem as if the writer had intended the words of Elihu to have been chosen, and his thoughts guided, by the storm out of which the Almighty is about to address Job. As the storm approaches, Elihu's excitement increases; he describes what he is actually supposed to see. He begins with the rain, but passes on quickly to the lightning and the thunder. With his description of the storm there are also mixed up, very inartistically as it seems to me, allusions to snow and ice. Some of the verses may be interpolated. It seems difficult to suppose, with Professor Budde, that the 'molten mirror' aspect of the sky was suggested by dark, lowering tempest clouds. Three of the following verses are very obscure: it would take too long to indicate the explanations that have been suggested. 'Golden brightness' would seem to refer to the nearing approach of the divine apparition.

Behold, God doeth loftily in his power:
Who teacheth like him?
Who hath enjoined him his way?
Or who can say, 'Thou hast wrought iniquity'?
Remember that thou magnify his work,
Whereof men do sing.
[Every man may see it;
Man may behold it afar off.

Behold, God is great, and we know him not,
  Neither can the number of his years be searched out.]
For he draweth up the drops of water:
  They distil the rain of his vapour;
Which the clouds pour down,
  And drop upon man abundantly.
Who can understand the spreadings of the clouds,
  Or the crashings of his covert?
Behold, he spreadeth his light around him,
  And covereth the tops of the mountains. (?)
He veileth his hands with his light;
  And sendeth it forth against its mark. (?)
His roaring telleth tidings of him;
  He maketh his anger to glow against iniquity. (?)

Yea, at this my heart trembleth,
  And leapeth up out of its place.
Hear, oh hear, the noise of his voice,
  And the muttering that goeth out of his mouth.
He sendeth it forth through the whole heaven,
  And his lightnings unto the ends of the earth.
God thundereth marvellously with his voice;
  Great things doeth he, which we cannot comprehend.
For he sayeth to the snow, 'Moisten the earth';
  And he causeth the rain to fall.
He sealeth up the hand of every man;
  That all men may know his work. (?)
Then the beasts go into dens,
  And remain in their lairs.
Out of his chamber cometh the whirlwind:
  And cold out of his garners.
By the breath of God ice is given:
  And the breath of the waters is straitened.
He ladeth the thick cloud with moisture,
  The clouds scatter his lightning;
It moveth round about,
  And turneth around by his guidance;
That they may accomplish whatsoever he commandeth them,
  Upon the face of his earth. (?)

Hearken unto this, O Job:
  Stand still, and consider the wondrous works of God.

[Dost thou know how God layeth his command upon them,
And causeth the light of his cloud to shine? (?)
Dost thou know the spreadings of the clouds,
The wondrous works of him who is perfect in knowledge?]
Thou whose garments are warm,
When the earth is still because of the south wind, (?)
Canst thou with him spread out the skies,
Firm as a molten mirror?
Teach us what we shall say unto him;
For we cannot order our speech by reason of darkness.
Shall it be told him that I would speak?
Or shall a man say that he would be swallowed up? (?)
And now we see not the light, because it is hidden in the clouds,—
But a wind hath passed over and cleared them. (?)
Golden brightness cometh out of the north:
With God is terrible majesty.
The Almighty! we cannot find him out: great is he in power,
And abundant in judgement and justice. (?)
Men must therefore fear him:
He respecteth not any that deem themselves wise of heart.

§ 34. *The Theophany: God's speech.*—We now come to the speech of the Almighty, the last act of the drama. I have already indicated the tenor and purpose of the divine speech, how it gives no definite solution of the problem, but only suggests that as God is the intelligent guide of nature, so is he also the intelligent guide of man. As his spirit is immanent in nature, so is it also immanent in man and human society. As he is concerned with and interested in nature, so is he also interested in and concerned with man. Yet even as his rule in nature is full of mystery, so is his rule of man. But even as we believe in his wisdom as the Lord of nature, so may we believe in it as the Lord of man. And if he be 'wise' in rule, then is he also good. To the Hebrew, as to the Greek, true wisdom implied goodness. A full understanding is possible for us neither in the one sphere nor in the other.

In the survey of creation's marvels, earth and sea and sky come first, then, in no very connected or clearly observed order, light and darkness, snow and hail, rain and lightning, frost and ice, clouds and stars. Then, as Professor Davidson puts it, 'the manifoldness of the divine mind' is set forth 'as displayed in the world of animal life.'

The last paragraph of God's speech sums up the argument. Job had questioned God's 'right.' He had urged that his afflictions were unjust, and that therefore he was more 'in the right' than God. If that be so, God argues, he must be more competent to rule the world than God. (Even as Elihu had said, that only the just can govern.) Let Job then exercise God's moral functions in the humiliation of the wicked. (The instance is apparently chosen as an illustration of God's *combined* power and justice.) It is assumed that the *general* rule of the world is on moral lines, determined by moral distinctions; therefore it is so in all things, including the sufferings of Job. In his brief reply Job admits that in his cavillings and criticisms he had entered on a subject beyond the limits of human understanding. He retracts his daring complaints and submits in chastened resignation to the will of God. Note that God has held out no hope to him of recovery or restoration even if he does submit. It will be also observed that God does not for a moment hint that Job's sufferings were 'deserved,' nor does Job pass beyond the attitude of resignation. We end, as we began, with a problem, each aspect of which is equally important and equally true. Job's sufferings were undeserved: God is always just.

Then the Lord answered Job out of the tempest, and said,
Who is this that darkeneth purpose
  By words without knowledge?
Gird up now thy loins like a man;
  I will demand of thee, answer thou me.
Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth?
  Declare, if thou hast understanding.
Who hath fixed the measures thereof, that thou shouldest know?
  Or who hath stretched the line upon it?
Whereupon were the foundations thereof sunk;
  Or who laid its corner stone;
When the morning stars sang together,
  And the sons of God shouted for joy?

Who shut up the sea with doors,
  When it broke forth, and issued out of the depths?
When I made the cloud the garment thereof,
  And thick darkness its swaddling-band,
And appointed for it a limit,
  And set unto it bars and doors,

And said, 'Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further:
And here shall thy proud waves be stayed'?

Hast thou commanded the morning since thy days;
And caused the dayspring to know its place,
That it might take hold of the end of the earth,
And change it as clay for the seal?
Didst thou enter into the springs of the sea,
Or walk upon the bottom of the depth?
Have the gates of death been revealed unto thee,
Or hast thou seen the doors of darkness?
Hast thou looked over the breadth of the earth?
Declare if thou knowest it all.

What is the way to the abode of light?
And where is the place of darkness,
That thou canst take it to its territory,
And canst bring it on the path to its house?
Thou knowest it, for thou wast then born,
And the number of thy days is great!
Hast thou entered into the treasuries of the snow?
Or hast thou seen the treasuries of the hail,
Which I have reserved against the time of trouble,
Against the day of battle and war?
By what way is the wind parted,
And the east wind spread over the earth?
Who hath cleft a channel for the rainstorm,
Or a way for the lightning of thunder;
To cause it to rain on the earth, where no man is,
On the wilderness, wherein there is no man;
To satisfy the desolate and waste ground,
And from the parched land to cause the tender herb to sprout?
Hath the rain a father,
Or who hath begotten the drops of dew?
Out of whose lap came the ice,
And the hoar frost of heaven, who hath gendered it?
The waters close together like a stone,
And the face of the deep hideth itself.

Dost thou bind the fetters of the Pleiades,
Or loose the bands of Orion?

Dost thou bring forth Mazzaroth in their season?
  Or dost thou guide the Bear with his sons?
Knowest thou the ordinances of heaven?
  Dost thou determine the rule thereof upon the earth?
Dost thou lift up thy voice to the clouds,
  That abundance of waters may cover thee?
Dost thou send forth lightnings, that they go,
  And say unto thee, 'Here we are'?
Who counteth the clouds in wisdom,
  Or who emptieth the bottles of heaven,
When the dust runneth into a molten mass,
  And the clods cleave fast together?

Dost thou hunt the booty for the lion,
  Or fill the appetite of the young lions,
When they couch in their dens,
  And abide in the covert to lie in wait?
Who provideth for the raven his prey,
  When his young ones cry unto God,
  And he wandereth about for lack of food?

Who hath given to the wild ass his freedom,
  Or who hath loosed his bands?
Whose house I have made the wilderness,
  And the barren land his dwelling.
He scorneth the tumult of the city,
  Neither hearkeneth he to the crying of the driver.
He spieth out the mountains as his pasture,
  And he searcheth after every green thing.

Will the wild ox be willing to serve thee,
  Or to sleep by thy crib?
Wilt thou bind him with harness ropes to the furrow,
  Or will he harrow the valleys after thee?
Wilt thou trust him, because his strength is great,
  Or wilt thou leave thy labour to him?
Wilt thou have faith in him, that he will bring home thy seed,
  And gather thy grain into the barn?

[The wing of the ostrich beateth joyously,
  Is it a kindly pinion and feather?

Nay, she leaveth her eggs in the earth,
And warmeth them on the dust,
And forgetteth that the foot may crush them,
Or that the wild beast may break them.
She treateth her young ones hardly, as though they were not hers:
Her labour is in vain . . .
For God hath deprived her of wisdom,
Neither hath he imparted to her understanding.
Yet when the archers come, she flieth away,
She scorneth the horse and his rider.]

Dost thou give strength unto the horse?
Dost thou clothe his neck with the mane? (?)
Dost thou make him leap like a locust?
The glory of his snorting is terrible.
He paweth in the valley, and rejoiceth in his strength:
He goeth forth to meet the armed men.
He mocketh at fear, and is not affrighted;
Neither turneth he back from the sword.
The quiver rattleth upon him,
The spear and the javelin glitter.
He swalloweth the ground with tumult and rage,
He will not be kept back at the sound of the trumpet.
As often as the trumpets sound, he saith Ha, ha;
And he smelleth the battle afar off,
The thunder of the captains, and the shouting.

Doth the hawk fly by thy wisdom,
And stretch her wings toward the south?
Doth the eagle mount up at thy command,
And make his nest on high?
He dwelleth and abideth on the crag,
Upon the point of the crag, and the strong place.
From thence he seeketh his prey,
And his eyes behold afar off.
Even his young ones suck up blood:
And where the slain are, there is he.

Will the caviller contend with the Almighty?
He that reproveth God, let him reply!
Wilt thou even disannul my right?

Wilt thou condemn me, that thou mayest be righteous?
Hast thou an arm like God?
Or canst thou thunder with thy voice like him?
Deck thyself now with excellency and loftiness;
And array thyself with honour and majesty.
Send forth the floods of thy wrath:
And behold every one that is proud, and abase him.
Look on every one that is proud, and bring him low;
And tread down the wicked underneath thee.
Hide them in the dust together;
And bind up their faces in the secret place.
Then will I also praise thee
That thine own right hand can save thee!

Then Job answered the Lord, and said,
Behold, I am too mean; what shall I answer thee?
I lay mine hand upon my mouth.
Once have I spoken; but I will not again;
Yea, twice; but I will do so no more.
I know that thou canst do everything.
And that no purpose is debarred from thee.
Therefore have I uttered that I understood not;
Things too wonderful for me, which I knew not;
I had heard of thee by the hearing of the ear:
But now mine eye hath beheld thee.
Wherefore I retract,
I repent in dust and ashes.

The description of the horse is famous. In the Authorized Version the second line runs thus: 'Hast thou clothed his neck with thunder?' The Hebrew word is of doubtful signification: it may refer to the quivering of the horse's neck and the shaking of his mane, but the best scholars seem now to think that it means the mane itself. The original Hebrew after the words 'where the slain are, there is he,' continues thus:—

And the Lord answered Job, and said,
Will the caviller contend with the Almighty?
He that reproveth God, let him reply!

Then Job answered the Lord, and said,
Behold, I am too mean; what shall I answer thee?
I lay my hand upon my mouth.

Once have I spoken; but I will not do so again;
Yea, twice; but I will do so no more.

Then the Lord answered Job out of the tempest, and said,
Gird up now thy loins like a man;
I will demand of thee, answer thou me.
Wilt thou even disannul my right? &c.

Then after the words 'That thine own right hand can save thee,' there comes a long description of the crocodile and the hippopotamus, and then only follows the remainder of Job's reply, 'I know that thou canst do everything,' &c. It is, however, probable that the passages about the crocodile and hippopotamus are interpolations. They differ in style and character from the rest of God's speech. If they are interpolations, it is also very probable that when they were inserted, the reply of Job was split up into two parts in order that the description of these two great beasts should form a second separate speech from God. With Professor Bickell I think that in the original book God made but one speech and Job made only one reply, and I have therefore rearranged the text. The description of the crocodile and the hippopotamus follows here in a separate section.

§ 35. *Hippopotamus and crocodile.*—[Behold now the hippopotamus whom I have made as well as thee;
He eateth grass as an ox.
Lo now, his strength is in his loins,
And his force is in the muscles of his belly.
He stiffeneth his tail like a cedar:
The sinews of his loins are knit together.
His bones are pipes of brass;
His limbs are like bars of iron.
He is the chief of the ways of God:
. . . . . .
Surely the mountains bring him forth food,
Where all the beasts of the field do play. (?)
He lieth under the lotus trees,
In the covert of the reed and fens.
The lotus trees cover him with their shadow;
The willows of the brook compass him about.
Behold, the stream sinketh, he trembleth not;
He hath no care, though it rush against his mouth.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

Canst thou draw out the crocodile with an hook?
Wilt thou press down his tongue with a line?
Canst thou put a rush-rope into his nose?
Or bore his jaw through with a spike?
Will he make many supplications unto thee?
Will he speak soft words unto thee?
Will he make a covenant with thee,
That thou mayest take him for a servant for ever?
Wilt thou play with him as with a bird?
Or wilt thou bind him for thy maidens?
Do the fisher folk traffic with him;
Do they part him among the merchants?
Canst thou fill his skin with barbs,
Or his head with fish-spears?
Lay thine hand upon him,
Think of the battle; thou wilt do so no more!
Behold, thy hope is vain;
Even at the sight of him thou art cast down!
None is so fierce that dare stir him up:
Who then is able to stand before me?
Who hath assailed me, and remained unharmed?
Whatsoever is under the whole heaven is mine!

I will not be silent of his limbs,
Nor of his power and his comely proportion. (?)
Who hath uncovered the face of his garment?
Who will enter into his double jaw?
Who hath opened the doors of his face?
Around his teeth is terror.
His flanks are as rows of shields,
Shut up as with a seal of flint.
One is so near to another,
That no air can come between them.
They are joined one to another,
They stick together that they cannot be sundered.
His sneezing maketh light to shine,
And his eyes are like the eyelids of the morning.
Out of his mouth go torches,
And sparks of fire leap out.
Out of his nostrils goeth smoke,
As from a pot upon the fire.
His breath is lambent like glowing coals,

And a flame goeth out of his mouth.
In his neck dwelleth strength,
And terror leapeth up before him.
The layers of his flesh cleave fast together:
It is firm upon him, it is not moved.
His heart is as hard as a stone;
Yea, hard as the nether millstone.
When he raiseth himself up, the mighty are afraid:
In their terror they are beside themselves. (?)
The sword of him that layeth at him cannot hold:
The spear, the dart, nor the javelin.
He esteemeth iron as straw,
And brass as rotten wood.
The arrow cannot make him flee:
Slingstones are turned with him into stubble.
Clubs are counted as stubble:
He laugheth at the whistling of the spear.
Beneath him are sharpest potsherds;
He printeth a threshing-sledge upon the mire.
He maketh the deep to boil like a pot:
He maketh the sea like a vessel of ointment.
After him his path shineth;
One would think the deep to be hoary.
Upon earth there is not his like,
Who is made without fear.
All that is high feareth him;
He is king over all the children of pride.]

§ 36. *The last words.*—The prose epilogue which we are now to hear must be joined on immediately to the end of Job's confession ('I repent in dust and ashes'). God had blamed Job for temerity and cavilling, but his more serious displeasure is reserved for the friends. In spite of Job's indictment of Providence, it is yet he and not the friends who have 'spoken of God the thing that is right.' Professor Budde may be correct in translating: 'Ye have not spoken uprightly towards me.' In either case the meaning is much the same. Job's vindication of his integrity was sincere and accurate. As a *punishment* his afflictions would indeed have been unjust. By his censure of the friends God has made the supremely important pronouncement that whatever other object and intention Job's sufferings may have had, they were no punishment for committed sin. The friends in their attempted defence of God had put forward theories which were false and wrong. They

had argued that Job must be a sinner and his afflictions must be punishments. Whereas in truth the afflictions were not punishments, nor was he who suffered them a sinner. The friends had attempted to justify God by shutting their eyes to the facts of life and then denying their existence. Such a procedure does not add to God's glory; it takes away from it. Only Truth glorifies God. The lesson read to the friends is a lesson for hasty defenders of religions and religion in all ages and among all creeds.

In spite of all that they had said against him, Job prays for his friends as God had ordered. Only *after* he has thus shown his humble obedience and forgiveness does God proceed to 'restore his prosperity.' Is this reading too much into the simple narrative? I am not sure. Professor Hoffmann and other great scholars are quite confident that the order of the sentences and events shows conclusively that the author intended to express thereby this final triumphant exhibition of Job's virtue, or, as Professor Budde says, this successful proof of his purification. I hope they are right.

And it was so, that after the Lord had spoken these words unto Job, the Lord said to Eliphaz the Temanite, 'My wrath is kindled against thee, and against thy two friends: for ye have not spoken of me the thing that is right, as my servant Job hath. Therefore take unto you now seven bullocks and seven rams, and go to my servant Job, and offer up for yourselves a burnt offering; and my servant Job shall pray for you: for him only will I accept: lest I inflict disgrace upon you, in that ye have not spoken of me the thing which is right, like my servant Job.' So Eliphaz the Temanite and Bildad the Shuhite and Zophar the Naamathite went, and did according as the Lord commanded them: and the Lord accepted Job.

And the Lord restored the prosperity of Job, when he prayed for his friends: and the Lord gave Job twice as much as he had before. Then came there unto him all his brethren, and all his sisters, and all they that had been of his acquaintance before, and did eat bread with him in his house: and they bemoaned him, and comforted him over all the evil that the Lord had brought upon him: every man also gave him a piece of money, and every one an earring of gold.

So the Lord blessed the latter end of Job more than his beginning: for he had fourteen thousand sheep, and six

thousand camels, and a thousand yoke of oxen, and a thousand she asses. He had also seven sons and three daughters. And he called the name of the first, Jemima (i. e. Dove); and the name of the second, Kezia (i. e. Cassia); and the name of the third, Keren-happuch (i. e. Horn of eye-paint). And in all the land were no women found so fair as the daughters of Job: and their father gave them inheritance among their brethren.

After this lived Job an hundred and forty years, and saw his sons, and his sons' sons, even four generations. Then Job died, being old and full of days.

§ 37. *Human solidarity.*—It is not necessary to add many words to those which have already been said by way of introduction and comment. The great Book of Job may be left to speak for itself and to win its own way to the reader's heart.

One difficulty in the story must not be pressed too far. We must all feel that whatever the just motive for Job's afflictions may have been, it was not just that these afflictions should have included the death of his servants and his sons. Why should they die and leave sorrowing wives and children in order forsooth that Job may be 'purified'? This difficulty did not probably occur to the author. Job's afflictions must be regarded for the purpose of the poem as affecting himself alone. But the very raising of the difficulty clearly shows that no individual can be either 'punished' or 'rewarded,' just as no individual can act either well or ill, without others being affected as well as he. They will profit through his prosperity or welldoing, they will suffer through his adversity or sin. Hence the law of tit for tat is for individuals absolutely unworkable. If the supposed 'punishment' is just for *A*, it is probably unjust for *B*, and yet by falling upon *A*, it will often quite inevitably fall upon *B* also. Nevertheless this solidarity and interconnexion of individuals with one another is a wholesome and elevating law. It certainly gives to life an added responsibility and interest. When we remember that many others, and especially others near and dear to us, will share for good or for evil in our welldoing and our sins, we are thereby given a lofty motive for struggling onward in the straight path of purity and rectitude.

§ 38. *The great problem and its palliatives.*—I pointed out in my introductory remarks that the problem of evil and even of suffering as a whole is as insoluble now as it was insoluble two

thousand two hundred years ago. Some forms of suffering can be shot through with explanatory and ennobling light that makes them bearable and even good; but other forms remain pretty nearly as dark to us as they were to the author of Job. The sufferings of sentient animals, and more especially the sufferings inflicted upon them by thoughtless or cruel men, remain a hopeless puzzle. Then again, among mankind there are phenomena such as idiocy, madness and moral degradation which are beyond explanation. There are problems respecting the relation of civilized to uncivilized races; there are problems respecting the endless individuals who have lived and died without any approach to that mental and moral stature of which mankind is capable. There is not merely the strange difference which oppressed the mind of Job between the happiness of this man and that; but we ask, and ask in vain, what can be the meaning of that suffering and squalor which do not ennoble or purify, but lead in many cases almost inevitably to sin and depravity? To these and many similar problems no answer can be given; we, no less than Job, must simply trust in the infinite wisdom and righteousness of God.

On the other hand, for certain aspects of suffering there are, as I have said, ennobling alleviations. Some of these have been indicated to us in the Book of Job. We have there heard it suggested that suffering may be and often is a warning and a discipline. Elihu has argued that it is often a purification. The story of Job himself shows how it may be a stimulus for calling out some of the noblest qualities of man. This use of suffering may be expanded almost indefinitely. We all of us have seen how in times of trial and trouble people are frequently at their best. Unexpected reserves of goodness and self-sacrifice are then displayed. The brave endurance of misery at home, the ardent struggle to relieve it abroad, and the good fight against degradation and sin have provided and still provide the noblest opportunities for the exhibition of human patience, human pity and human love. A world in which there was no wrong to redress, no evil to conquer, no misery to heal, would destroy some of the best possibilities for human greatness at a blow. Where would be the opportunity for compassion, for sacrifice, for love?

Besides these 'alleviations' which are suggested, whether directly or indirectly, by the Book of Job, there are a few others which were not indicated by the author of that book but yet deserve our notice. With some remarks about them I will bring this long chapter to a close.

§ 39. *The 'alleviations' of the Platonic philosophy.*—The first of these other 'alleviations' may be summed up in the statement

that moral and mental excellence are entirely incommensurate with all outward prosperity or adversity. The one true good is righteousness; the one true evil is sin. Hence the prosperity of the wicked is no more a 'problem.' For if they be wicked, then they possess in their wickedness the greatest evil. Hence too a rigorous Stoic would say that the afflictions of the righteous constitute no problem. For if he be righteous, he possesses in himself the greatest good. If punishment is calculated to cure a man of his wickedness, the most severe misfortune that can befall a wicked man is that he should not be punished. For then, *ex hypothesi*, he will still continue to possess in himself the greatest evil. And if righteousness be the greatest good—unique and *sui generis*—then it does not materially add to the good fortune of a righteous man whether he meet with so-called 'prosperity' or so-called 'adversity,' for in either case he already possesses in himself the greatest good.

Put thus boldly these assertions are paradoxical, yet every one must see that there is contained in them some element of ennobling truth. And in fact these paradoxes have had a great influence for hope and comfort in the history of the world.

By no other author are these 'alleviations' of our problem more admirably expressed than by the great Greek philosopher Plato. I will here quote a few characteristic passages from a large number in many of his dialogues.

(1) 'Are not the principles of education and music which prevail among you as follows: you compel your poets to say that the good man, if he be temperate and just, is fortunate and happy; and this whether he be rich or poor; and, on the other hand, if he have a wealth passing that of Cinyras or Midas, and be unjust, he is wretched and lives in misery? . . . For the goods of which the many speak are not really good: first in the catalogue is placed health, beauty next, wealth third; and then innumerable others, as, for example, to have a keen eye or a quick ear, and in general to have all the senses perfect; or, again, to be a tyrant and do as you like; and the final consummation of happiness is to have acquired all these things, and when you have acquired them to become at once immortal. But you and I say, that while to the just and holy all these things are the best of possessions, to the unjust they are all, including even health, the greatest of evil. For in truth to have sight, and hearing, and the use of the senses, or to live at all without justice and virtue, even though a man be rich in all the so-called goods of fortune, is the greatest of evils, if life be immortal; but not so great, if the bad man lives only a very short time.' (*Laws*, 661.)

(2) 'Come, now, and let us gently reason with the unjust, who is not intentionally in error. "Sweet Sir," we will say to him, "what think you of things esteemed noble and ignoble? Is not the noble that which subjects the beast to the man, or rather to the god in man; and the ignoble that which subjects the man to the beast." He can hardly avoid saying Yes—can he now?'

'Not if he has any regard for my opinion.'

'But, if he agree so far, we may ask him to answer another question: "Then how would a man profit if he received gold and silver on the condition that he was to enslave the noblest part of him to the worst? Who can imagine that a man who sold his son or daughter into slavery for money, especially if he sold them into the hands of fierce and evil men, would be the gainer, however large might be the sum which he received? And will any one say that he is not a miserable caitiff who remorselessly sells his own divine being to that which is most godless and detestable? Eriphyle took the necklace as the price of her husband's life, but he is taking a bribe in order to compass a worse ruin."'

'Yes,' said Glaucon, 'far worse—I will answer for him. . .'

'From what point of view, then, and on what ground can we say that a man is profited by injustice or intemperance or other baseness, which will make him a worse man, even though he acquire money or power by his wickedness?'

'From no point of view at all.'

'What shall he profit, if his injustice be undetected and unpunished? He who is undetected only gets worse, whereas he who is detected and punished has the brutal part of his nature silenced and humanized; the gentler element in him is liberated, and his whole soul is perfected and ennobled by the acquirement of justice and temperance and wisdom, more than the body ever is by receiving gifts of beauty, strength and health, in proportion as the soul is more honourable than the body.' (*Republic*, 589, 591.)

(3) 'No one, as I may say, ever considers that which is declared to be the greatest penalty of evildoing—namely, to grow into the likeness of bad men.' (*Laws*, 728.)

(4) 'In my opinion, Polus, the unjust or doer of unjust actions is miserable in any case—more miserable, however, if he be not punished and does not meet with retribution, and less miserable if he be punished and meet with retribution at the hands of gods and men.' (*Gorgias*, 472.)

(5) 'Then this must be our notion of the just man, that even when he is in poverty or sickness, or any other seeming misfortune, all things will in the end work together for good to him in life and death: for the gods have a care of any one whose desire

is to become just and to be like God, as far as man can attain the divine likeness, by the pursuit of virtue.' (*Republic*, 613.)

(6) 'Evils, Theodorus, can never pass away; for there must always remain something which is antagonistic to good. Having no place among the gods in heaven, of necessity they hover around the mortal nature, and this earthly sphere. Wherefore we ought to fly away from earth to heaven as quickly as we can; and to fly away is to become like God, as far as this is possible; and to become like him, is to become holy, just and wise. But, O my friend, you cannot easily convince mankind that they should pursue virtue or avoid vice, not merely in order that a man may seem to be good, which is the reason given by the world, and in my judgement is only a repetition of an old wives' fable. Whereas, the truth is that God is never in any way unrighteous—he is perfect righteousness; and he of us who is the most righteous is most like him. Herein is seen the true cleverness of a man, and also his nothingness and want of manhood. For to know this is true wisdom and virtue, and ignorance of this is manifest folly and vice. All other kinds of wisdom or cleverness, which seem only, such as the wisdom of politicians, or the wisdom of the arts, are coarse and vulgar. The unrighteous man, or the sayer and doer of unholy things, had far better not be encouraged in the illusion that his roguery is clever; for men glory in their shame—they fancy that they hear others saying of them, "These are not mere good-for-nothing persons, mere burdens of the earth, but such as men should be who mean to dwell safely in a state." Let us tell them that they are all the more truly what they do not think they are because they do not know it; for they do not know the penalty of injustice, which above all things they ought to know—not stripes and death, as they suppose, which evildoers often escape, but a penalty which cannot be escaped.'

'What is that?'

'There are two patterns eternally set before them; the one blessed and divine, the other godless and wretched: but they do not see them, or perceive that in their utter folly and infatuation they are growing like the one and unlike the other, by reason of their evil deeds; and the penalty is, that they lead a life answering to the pattern which they are growing like.' (*Theaetetus*, 176.)

One of the keynotes in these six noble passages is quaintly expressed in the adage of Rabbi ben Azzai, who said, 'Run to do even a slight precept, and flee from transgression; for precept draws precept in its train, and transgression, transgression; for the recompense of a precept is a precept, and the recompense of a transgression, a transgression.' In other homely words: virtue

is its own reward; sin is its own punishment. The true reward of a virtuous act is that the doer becomes inevitably more virtuous; the true punishment of a wicked act is that the doer becomes inevitably more sinful. Yet we are not to suppose that this true or divine punishment excludes the possibility and the hope that the sinner may still triumph over temptation and break away from the bondage of sin. And the triumph even more than the punishment may fitly be called divine.

§ 40. *Voluntary suffering and sacrifice.*—The second alleviation I have alluded to before. It is the fact that there is much suffering which is voluntarily undergone by one person for the sake of, or in the stead of, another. Suffering for the sake of others seems to give it a high and holy place in the scheme of God's world. If it be true, as George Eliot says, that men 'still own that life to be the highest which is a conscious voluntary sacrifice,' we must also admit that this highest would be unattainable if there were no such things as sorrow and pain. Without suffering no sacrifice, and this thought gives to a great quantity of suffering a peculiar glory and a distinctive worth. It says in the Talmud, 'Of those who suffer humiliation but do not inflict it, who are reviled but revile not, who do all from the love of God, and rejoice at their sufferings, the Scripture says, "They that love him are as the sun when he goeth forth in his might."'

Looked at from this point of view suffering, which in one sense was man's direst problem, becomes in another sense man's chiefest prerogative. Suffering and pain can be regarded as the condition of progress, both of the individual and the race. This is a thought which finds frequent expression in modern poetry, and very notably in Robert Browning. For instance, in Rabbi ben Ezra—

'Poor vaunt of life indeed,
Were man but formed to feed
On joy, to solely seek and find and feast:
Such feasting ended, then
As sure an end to men;
Irks care the crop-full bird? Frets doubt the maw-crammed beast?

'Rejoice we are allied
To That which doth provide
And not partake, effect and not receive!
A spark disturbs our clod;
Nearer we hold of God
Who gives, than of His tribes that take, I must believe.

'Then, welcome each rebuff
That turns earth's smoothness rough,
Each sting that bids nor sit nor stand but go!
Be our joys three-parts pain!
Strive, and hold cheap the strain;
Learn, nor account the pang; dare, never grudge the throe!'

§ 41. *The progress of the race and of the individual.*—We rise on stepping-stones of suffering and pain to 'higher things.' And not only we individually, but also the race: humanity as a whole. This, again, is a thought which has been much dwelt upon in modern times, for it seems to go hand in hand with, and to transfigure, the modern doctrine of evolution. From the lowest, crudest beginnings man has slowly risen and is slowly rising still. All that he, by the will and by the grace of God, has achieved in his long history has been achieved at the cost, and through the means, of struggle and of suffering. This view of suffering and even of evil as a great educational instrument in the progressive movement of the human race from the lower to the higher (whether the progress be in the sphere of truth, of beauty, or of goodness) can also be illustrated from the poets. But strengthening and stimulating as this thought may be, it does not really give a satisfactory solution to the problem of misery and evil unless, together with this gradual evolution and education of the human race in the mass, there is also a gradual evolution and education of each individual human soul. Thus, for the last and most potent 'alleviation' of all, we come to the great hope of hopes—that the self-conscious life of man is not terminated by death.

'What hope of comfort or redress?
Behind the veil, behind the veil.'

'And death once dead, there's no more dying then' (Shakespeare, sonnet cxlvi). If this hope of England's greatest poet be justified, then indeed the problem of evil may also ultimately be solved. Then the idiot or the savage may also have his chance, and gain his insight into truth and goodness and God. Then the flotsam and jetsam of humanity, its sinners and its deformities, need not be merely regarded as the price of ascending civilization, but each of them, with his own place and value, will justify his Creator. Only if man be immortal can we justly say with Browning:

'And what is our failure here but a triumph's evidence
For the fulness of the days? Have we withered or agonized?
Why else was the pause prolonged but that singing might issue thence?
Why rushed the discords in but that harmony should be prized?'

Now this belief in the immortality of the soul is dependent upon our faith in God, and therefore the answer suggested by the speeches of the Almighty to Job is our answer still. Rightly and solemnly has the late Master of Balliol said: 'Thus the belief in the immortality of the soul rests at last on the belief in God. If there is a good and wise God, then there is a progress of mankind towards perfection; and if there is no progress of men towards perfection, then there is no good and wise God.' And let us note his words, 'a progress of mankind towards perfection.' That is what we want the future life for. We do not want it for 'punishment,' still less do we want it for 'reward'; we do not even so very greatly want it for the redress of this life's inequalities in outward prosperity; we do want it for the progress of men towards perfection. We want it, if I may say so, for the sinner even more than for the saint. And yet shall the soul of the righteous be, as it were, limited to earth, and then perish utterly? We would fain believe that

'transplanted human worth
Will bloom to profit otherwhere.'

And therefore we echo the Hebrew sage's trust: 'The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God; their hope is full of immortality.'

With this last and greatest 'alleviation' in our minds and hearts we may still, wistfully and falteringly but yet trustingly, repeat the familiar words of Milton:

'All is best, though we oft doubt
What the unsearchable dispose
Of highest wisdom brings about,
And ever best found in the close.'

CHAPTER IV

KOHELETH OR ECCLESIASTES

§ 1. *Characteristics of Koheleth.*—The Book of Ecclesiastes, the fourth product of the Hebrew wisdom literature, which we have now to consider and read, is very different from any of the three that have here preceded it. It is a short book and a very strange one: full also of problems and difficulties concerning which the learned debate unceasingly. Its precise date is unknown and uncertain, but it was probably written about the same time as Ben Sira, that is about 200 B.C.

It consists mainly of a series of reflections and observations upon life and human affairs, together with some prudential warnings and counsels couched in the same key as these reflections and based upon them. In this sense, apart from certain possible interpolations, the number of which is very disputed, the book possesses a unity of its own. I said 'apart from certain possible interpolations.' But this interpolation question assumes for Ecclesiastes a peculiar importance. For if it was written from beginning to end by one man, its tendency and final upshot are not identical with the upshot and tendency that will remain if certain important sentences are removed from the book as later additions and corrections. The interpolations of Ecclesiastes are, therefore, quite as interesting and as significant, supposing they exist at all, as the interpolations of Job.

I said just now that Ecclesiastes is unlike Job or Proverbs. Yet, as a product of the wisdom literature and as written by a man who, whatever his peculiarities, was yet a Jewish sage possessing at least some of the qualities and characteristics of his class in language and in thought, it has its points of connexion with both. In those important respects wherein it differs from Proverbs and Job, it also differs from every other book of the Bible. And it is not only in these respects unlike every book of the Bible, but it is also unlike every distinctively Jewish book written since the Bible was finished.

Is it unlike because it is inferior? To this question it is not easy to give a simple answer. But if either Yes or No would be inaccurate, Yes would be less inaccurate than No. Ecclesiastes is religiously inferior to the other books of the Bible, and the religious tone of it is inferior to the religious tone of all later Jewish literature.

The main and fundamental thought of Ecclesiastes is expressed in its opening words: 'Vanity of vanities, saith the Preacher; all is vanity.' The author's reflections and his counsels either lead up to or are deduced from that one saddening assertion. Now the first characteristic note of the other books of the Bible and of all later Jewish literature is a trustful and hopeful faith in God. The grounds of that faith may vary from age to age, but its essential qualities of trustfulness and hopefulness remain unchanged. Adversity and trial, persecution and sore distress, serve only to temper and to strengthen them. And a second note of the Jewish religion in the books of the Bible and in later Jewish literature is this: the service of God is a joy. 'A day in thy courts is better than a thousand elsewhere.' The joy of the commandments—that is the peculiar spiritual bliss felt in fulfilling them—is a familiar Rabbinic idea lasting right down to the present day. Judaism may not be quite the same thing to you and me as to a Rabbi of the Middle Ages or to a Rabbi of Russia to-day, but so far as real spiritual joy is concerned, I am by no means sure that their Judaism was not or is not superior to ours. These two distinguishing notes of Judaism, a trustful and hopeful faith in God and the joy of religious service, were both wanting to the author of Ecclesiastes. Otherwise he could not have said, 'All is vanity.' His, therefore, is the saddest book in the Bible and in all distinctively Jewish literature.

And yet it is a very human book, and we should be sorry to miss it from the Bible. The catholicity or many-sidedness of the Bible is part of its power and its charm. The more fundamental human moods reflected in it the better. Man's life has many shadows. There is much sorrow and vanity observed and deplored in every rich human experience. Of these then also let the Bible tell. For this wonderful collection contains, as Professor Driver says, 'not only the record of a history; it exhibits also, as in a mirror, the most varied phases of human emotion, suffused and penetrated in different degrees by the Spirit of God. And so there is a mood of melancholy and sadness, to which, in one form or another, the human soul is liable; and this has found its most complete expression in Ecclesiastes.' And Professor Driver then himself quotes from Dr. Bradley, the Dean of Westminster (from whose pen we have as

good a course of lectures on Ecclesiastes as on Job), who says that 'in the great record of the spiritual history of the chosen and typical race, a place has here been kept for the sigh of defeated hopes, for the gloom of the soul vanquished by the sense of the anomalies and mysteries of human life.' This too may also be added, that if the Book of Ecclesiastes is sad, it is sincere; and if it lacks enthusiasm, it lacks also those dark shadows which enthusiasm so often casts, intolerance, cruelty or pride.

The writer of Job had sounded the depths of human misery, and his indictment of Providence goes further than anything in Ecclesiastes. Yet Ecclesiastes is a far sadder book than Job. Where one sees sorrow, the other sees emptiness; where one deplores unrighteous inequality, the other complains of vapid monotony. The author of Job was far too passionately absorbed in his attempt to understand the world to cry out with our later sage, 'Vanity of vanities; all is vanity.'

Job asks, 'Why do the righteous suffer?' Ecclesiastes asks, 'What is the good of righteousness, whether you suffer or whether you do not? What is the good of anything? All passes; nothing satisfies.' To these questions he can find no answer. The point to notice is not that he can find no answer, but that he asks the question. For no one, if he ask that fatal question, can answer it. He only and he alone possesses the answer who has never asked the question. To ask for what purpose do I seek to increase the store of wisdom, goodness and beauty in the world is implicitly to affirm that goodness, beauty and wisdom are not ends but means. And if they are means, their glory leaves them, while the end beyond them is found none the more. To ask what is the good of fulfilling the commandments of God is to imply that religious service is not in itself good, but is only helpful to an end beyond itself. But the joy of religious service cannot be gained or regained by finding out that it is a means to something else. It can only be acquired by feeling it.

§ 2. *Vanitas vanitatum, omnia vanitas.*—The sadness of life! The world's literature is full of it, and some of the finest poetry, appealing strongly to every human heart, has this sadness for its fascinating theme. What form did it take to the author of Ecclesiastes? The two features of life which oppressed him most were seemingly these: first, its transitoriness; secondly, its monotony. Two apparently contradictory and yet often combined complaints: nothing abides, everything is always the same. Perpetual flux, perpetual recurrence. 'All is vanity,' not merely because all is transitory, but because there is nothing

which affords any real and abiding satisfaction. Pleasure, in any sense of the word, is as transient as the things or the events which cause it. It is a strange irony. Man's life hastens on in its inevitable course and passage from birth to death: no moment stays: and yet the same old round, the same old story is being repeated and repeated over and over again. The same struggles, the same failures, the same disappointments; the same gainings followed by the same losings; the same achievements succeeded by the same decays; even the same wrongdoings, the same oppressions, the same follies.

Our author wrote in a depressed and depressing age. 'He lived in a period of political servitude, destitute of patriotism or enthusiasm. When he alludes to kings, he views them from below as one of the people suffering from their misdeeds. His pages reflect the depression produced by the corruption of an oriental despotism, with its injustice, its capriciousness, its revolutions, its system of spies, its hopelessness of reform. He must have lived when the Jews had lost their national independence, and formed but a province of the Persian empire—perhaps even later, when they had passed under the rule of the Greeks' (Driver). And as things then were, so he fancied they had ever been, and would ever be. He lost heart and lost interest; goodness for itself, wisdom for itself, seemed of no real and abiding value. To labour for his own people and his own religion, to do the will of God and to love him with all his might—these things did not suggest themselves to our author as the true resolutions of his doubts or as the true 'ends in themselves' which he so constantly sought only as constantly to deny. Shall we condemn him? True it is that one can only learn the glory or the worth of goodness by doing and being good. One can only learn to love by loving. Perhaps he left it all till it was too late.

> 'For who in age shall roam the earth and find
> Reasons for loving that will strike out love
> With sudden rod from the hard year-pressed mind?
> Were reasons sown as thick as stars above,
> 'Tis love must see them, as the eye sees light:
> Day is but Number to the darkened sight.'

The virile and vigorous complaints of Job against the moral disorder in the world around him please us better than Ecclesiastes' seeming want of strenuousness and interest. It is one thing to be saddened or perplexed by life; it is another thing to be bored by it. Did our author suffer from *ennui*? Had he perhaps not enough to do? Had he no one to care for, to

work for, or to love? Was he a man who looked on at the travail and trouble of life from a safe distance, and made a luxury of his own discontent? The true workers do not speak his language, just as some of the greatest lovers of God have not only been great sufferers themselves, but have seen and fought with much pain and sore evil in the world around them.

Yet must we not be too rash in our condemnation of Ecclesiastes. Directly the first chills of doubt and despair had seized him, as soon as he had begun to think seriously of life and its purposes and meanings, his cool and calm judgement exposed him to danger. He had lost his faith in the aspirations of the prophets, and the conception of a future life was yet to come. The prophets had taught that the meaning and justification of present trials lay in future glory. A time would come when strife and evildoing should cease and all mankind would love their Maker and each other. But Ecclesiastes did not share their expectations. Like the Greek philosophers, by whom he was probably influenced, he believed that if every to-morrow was not going to be much the same as to-day, there would, at any rate, be periodic successions or repeating cycles of monotonous uniformity. The idea of gradual progress had not yet been born; the hope of sudden changes by the pitying interposition of God was his no more. And even for us, a belief in the gradual improvement of the human race is not enough. We are fain to believe in the gradual improvement of the individual as well as in the improvement of the race. And partly because that belief is so necessary to our belief in God we cling to the sublime dogma of the immortality of the soul. But this belief was also wanting to the author of Ecclesiastes. He had perhaps heard it mooted, but he had not adopted it as his own. The only 'future life' that he, like his ancestors, believed in was the shadowy and worthless life of Sheol. If neither the race as a whole nor the individual man move forward gradually but steadily to 'higher things,' are we justified in too hastily condemning the saddened observer for his conclusion: 'Vanitas vanitatum, omnia vanitas'? (Let the reader note how to the author of 'In Memoriam' the bidding to work and to endure is dependent for its validity upon the double belief in progress for the race on earth, and in progress for the individual 'elsewhere.' Compare especially Cantos xxxiv and cxviii.)

On the other hand, we may profitably ponder the words of Mr. Estlin Carpenter on p. 42 of his beautiful little book called *The Place of Immortality in Religious Belief*: 'If we cannot live for ever, let us use with the utmost nobleness our span of years. The righteousness for which we strive from day to day is not buried

among distant snows; nor is the knowledge we have gained hid in the blackness of long-future night; nor is the love of wife or child or friend made nought by the eternal loneliness beyond. Whatever be the interpretation of the great enigma, these things are facts now. If the earth should burst to-morrow and we were all whirled on separate fragments into space, it would still be worth while to live our best to-day; and he who yields to the pessimist, and pronounces the world-process valueless if there be no immortality, who declares virtue a dream and God a lie, commits treason against the only realities we know, throws all the achievements of the past into confusion, and tramples the accumulations of experience into the dust.'

§ 3. *A defence of the transitory.*—Let us recur once more to that transitoriness which seemed to our author to cling to and to poison all human things. That the charge is false can hardly be maintained. We know and experience its truth. Lovely verse in many languages has described and bewailed the frailty and instability of man. The uncertainty of fortune, the certainty of death, the irony of fate, the emptiness of pleasure, the disregard of desert, the triumph of folly or of luck, the failures of wisdom or of worth, the sorrows of the righteous, the successes of fools and rogues—all these frequent phenomena of life have supplied themes for countless poets' pens. No one can deny that the poems thus written are founded on fact. And we can enlarge the range of our survey and admit that even the entire race of man and the earth which it inhabits is a mere transitory, come-and-go appearance in all the universe of things.

> 'And, like the baseless fabric of this vision,
> The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
> The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
> Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
> And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
> Leave not a rack behind. We are such stuff
> As dreams are made on; and our little life
> Is rounded with a sleep.'

The transitoriness of mortal things can, however, be put to very different uses. All depends upon the application. The lowest one of all is to say, 'Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.' It is just as possible, on the other hand, to say, 'Let us up and be doing, for we have no time to lose.' Again, because the most adorable of human joys inevitably pass away, that does not necessarily make them less adorable while they are actually enjoyed. The sweet

companionship of two persons who love one another more than they love anybody else in the world—this close communion of two human beings is not the less a supreme good because it is transitory. In this shape—the union of two persons formed of body and soul—it can positively never again recur, and yet it is supremely enjoyed by those who now enjoy it, supremely missed by those who have enjoyed and lost it, supremely longed for by those whom some overmastering necessity keeps asunder.

> 'All beauteous things for which we live
> By laws of space and time decay;
> But oh, the very reason why
> I clasp them is because they die.'

We may therefore admit the 'transitoriness' and deny the 'vanity.'

Again, it may be urged that while all those things of which the transitoriness is bewailed by the poets are indeed transitory, there are still other things left which are not. Or a thing may have two aspects, one transitory, one permanent. A good act dies as an act; its goodness lives and fertilizes. Preachers admit and emphasize the transitoriness of all 'earthly pleasures and ambitions'; they use their transitoriness as a foil by which to contrast the permanence of goodness and of wisdom. The permanence and indestructibility of these in one form or in another are conditioned and assured by the permanence and indestructibility of their source. And if there be in human life and in outward nature manifestations and qualities which betoken and require God, then these qualities and appearances cannot be empty, cannot be vain. If there be such a thing as beauty, if there be such a thing as wisdom, if there be such a thing as goodness, if there be such a thing as soul, *because* God is, then no thing or deed or person which displays them can possibly be vain. God and 'all is vanity' are in the last resort contradictions in terms.

§ 4. *Two beliefs unharmonized and inconsistent with each other.*—But this contradiction was not apparent to the author of Ecclesiastes. Or rather his belief in both was too strong to allow of either to yield unto the other. He did not so utterly believe in 'all is vanity' as to compel him to deny that God could be. His faith in God was not warm and living enough to make him realize that 'vanity' is not coextensive with 'all.' He pushed neither his faith nor his scepticism to its legitimate and logical conclusion. He probed neither unto the bottom. Professor Cornill not unjustifiably contends that the Book of Ecclesiastes may be regarded

as a triumph of Jewish piety. For though its author sees everywhere insolvable riddles and 'vanities,' he never imagines that the right deduction may possibly be that God is a fiction. In truth the author's belief in God appears to be, as it were, merely borrowed from his environment. God is taken for granted, or assumed; he has not been felt and realized in the soul as the source of goodness and truth, the guarantee of love and of love's reality, even as love is the evidence of him. But the cry, 'all is vanity,' is the author's very own; *that* is personal and experienced.

Beyond this dual but unequal belief in God and vanity it is not easy to make any definite statement of the writer's opinions or counsels. So much depends on whether certain verses are his or not his. On the whole it would appear as if he recommended a moderate and perhaps even a grateful enjoyment of the external goods of life—avoiding excess and debauchery on the one hand, and a needless asceticism or self-denial on the other. Man had best be wise and good, because after all wisdom is 'better' than vanity and virtue 'better' than vice. Man also had best fear God, for God is all-powerful, and 'what's to come is still unsure.' A prudential morality and a prudential religion apparently; what seems higher and better is more probably than not an interpolation or a misunderstanding.

When all is said, it remains strange that this book, even if 'edited' and corrected, should have found a place in the Canon. Is it because in the opening of his book the author assumes the person of Solomon? He puts his words into Solomon's mouth not to give them an adventitious authority, but dramatically. If Solomon, the great king, with all his magnificence and all his wisdom, found all things vanity, no lesser man could refuse to abide by his decision. But the mask is hardly maintained beyond the first two chapters. The author, moreover, calls himself not Solomon but *Koheleth*, the precise meaning of which is uncertain. 'It is most probable that it is applied to Solomon, regarded as a public teacher of wisdom, a "preacher" or "debater" in an assembly, setting forth before his listeners the conclusions to which experience or reflexion had brought him' (Professor Driver).

§ 5. *Opening keynotes.*—Let us now listen to the reflections of Koheleth from the beginning of them to their end. The passages which may be interpolations will be indicated either by being enclosed in brackets or by being printed in italics.

The words of the Preacher, the son of David, king in Jerusalem. Vanity of vanities, saith the Preacher, vanity

of vanities; all is vanity. What profit hath a man of all his labour which he taketh under the sun? One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh: but the earth abideth for ever. The sun also ariseth, and the sun goeth down, and hasteth to its place where it must arise. The wind goeth toward the south, and turneth about unto the north; it whirleth about continually, and the wind returneth again unto its circuits. All the rivers run into the sea; yet the sea is not full; unto the place whither the rivers go, thither they return to go again.

All things are full of weariness; man cannot utter it: the eye is not satisfied with seeing, nor the ear filled with hearing. The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be; and that which is done is that which shall be done: and there is no new thing under the sun. Is there any thing whereof it may be said, 'See, this is new'? it hath been already in the ages which were before us. There is no remembrance of former generations; neither shall there be any remembrance of generations that are to come with those that shall come after.

I the Preacher was king over Israel in Jerusalem. And I gave my heart to seek and search out by wisdom concerning all things that are done under heaven: this sore travail hath God given to the sons of man to trouble themselves therewith. I saw all the works that are done under the sun; and, behold, all was vanity and pursuit of wind. That which is crooked cannot be made straight: and that which is wanting cannot be numbered. I communed with mine own heart, saying, Lo, I have gotten great wisdom, more also than all they that have been before me in Jerusalem: yea, my heart hath seen great store of wisdom and knowledge. And when I had given my heart to know wisdom, and to know madness and folly: I perceived that this also is pursuit of wind. For in much wisdom is much vexation: and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow.

The Hebrew word translated 'vanity' means literally 'a breath.' All human things, the Preacher means, are as empty, unsubstantial and transitory as a breath. 'Pursuit or striving after wind' also indicates the flimsy and unsatisfying result of every human endeavour. Both phrases are meant to convey the peculiar irony which seems to the author to lurk in all God's arrangements for man. God gives man wisdom, but only to increase the burden

of his pain; he gives him knowledge, but only to see more clearly that the world's wrongs and anomalies can never be rectified. ('The crooked cannot be made straight.') We read Koheleth's words and recognize the relative truth of them, but they also stir us up to realize their greater falsity. The pain of knowledge is nobler than the vacuity of ignorance, and the pleasures of wisdom are as real as its sorrows. That which is crooked can often be made straight, and the activity of the mind is a bond of union between ourselves and God. Aristotle's exultation over man's capacity to think and the glory of it is truer than Koheleth's lament over the painful impotence of its issues. Truer and better also is the old Jewish prayer in the *Amidah*: 'Thou favourest man with knowledge and teachest mortals understanding. O favour us with knowledge, understanding and discernment from thee. Blessed art thou, O Lord, gracious Giver of knowledge.' And in another formula of benediction God is thanked for 'imparting of his wisdom to those that fear him.' The last phrase might almost be translated, 'for sharing his wisdom with them that fear him.'

§ 6. *The doubtful profit of human labour.*—I said in mine heart, 'Go to now, I will prove thee with mirth, therefore enjoy pleasure: but, behold, this also is vanity.' I said of laughter, 'It is mad:' and of mirth, 'What bringeth it?' I planned in mine heart to refresh myself with wine, while mine heart yet bore itself wisely, (?) and to lay hold on folly, till I might see what was that good for the sons of men, which they should do under the heaven all the days of their life. I made me great works; I builded me houses; I planted me vineyards: I made me gardens and parks, and I planted trees in them of all kind of fruits: I made me pools of water, to water therewith the wood that bringeth forth trees: I got me servants and maidens, and had servants born in my house; also I had great possessions of great and small cattle above all that were in Jerusalem before me: I gathered me also silver and gold, and the peculiar treasure of kings: I gat me men singers and women singers, and the delights of the sons of men.

So I was great, and increased more than all that were before me in Jerusalem: also my wisdom remained with me. And whatsoever mine eyes desired I kept not from them, I withheld not my heart from any joy; for my heart had joy from all my labour; and this was my portion of all my labour. But when I looked on all the works that my hands

had wrought, and on the labour that I had laboured to do, behold, all was vanity and pursuit of wind, and there was no profit under the sun.

And I turned myself to behold wisdom, and madness, and folly, and I saw that wisdom excelleth folly, as far as light excelleth darkness. The wise man's eyes are in his head; but the fool walketh in darkness; but I also perceived that one event happeneth to them all. Then said I in my heart, As it happeneth to the fool, so will it happen even to me; and why am I then become so very wise? Then I said in my heart, that this also is vanity. For there is no remembrance of the wise more than of the fool for ever; seeing that in the days to come all will long ago have been forgotten. And how the wise man dieth even as the fool! Therefore I hated life; because the work that is wrought under the sun was offensive unto me: for all is vanity and pursuit of wind. Yea, I hated all my labour which I had taken under the sun: because I must leave it unto the man that shall be after me. And who knoweth whether he shall be a wise man or a fool? yet shall he have rule over all my labour wherein I have laboured, and wherein I have shewed myself wise under the sun. This is also vanity. So I turned to let my heart despair of all the labour which I had taken under the sun. For if a man's labour be wrought with wisdom, and with knowledge, and with skill, yet to a man that hath not laboured therein must he leave it as his possession. This also is vanity and a great evil. For what hath man of all his labour, and of the striving of his heart, wherein he hath laboured under the sun? For all his days are sorrows, and his travail grief; even in the night his heart taketh not rest. This is also vanity.

There is nothing better for a man, than that he should eat and drink, and that he should let his soul enjoy happiness in his labour. [*This also I saw, that it was from the hand of God. For who can eat, or who can enjoy without him? For God giveth to a man that is good in his sight wisdom, and knowledge, and joy: but to the sinner he giveth travail, to gather and to heap up, that he may give to him that is good before God.*] This also is vanity and pursuit of wind.

Sensual pleasure is at least as unsatisfying to the Preacher as the pursuit of wisdom. He admits the relative superiority of

wisdom over folly, but holds that this very superiority is practically cancelled because the same death befalls the sage as the fool. Moveover, whatever a man acquires by wise labour may be inherited by a worthless simpleton, while his own memory is utterly forgotten. On the whole the best thing is moderate enjoyment coupled with or produced by reasonable labour. This seems to be the meaning of the words, 'There is nothing better for a man than that he should eat and drink, and that he should let his soul enjoy happiness in his labour.' The phrase 'eat and drink' seems, as Mr. Moulton says, to express a general 'appreciation of what life brings with it' in the way of happiness and enjoyment. May we then go so far as to say that the ultimate advice of Koheleth is the same as that of the visionary youth in Goethe's poem:—

'Tages Arbeit, Abends Gäste!
Saure Wochen, frohe Feste!
Sei dein künftig Zauberwort.'

Yet even here he sees irony, for that which is best is itself a 'breath.'

The words in italics seem to be editorial. The second part of them supplies the corrective to what the Preacher had said about the fool succeeding to the labour of the wise. The pious editor insists that it is rather the good who inherit the gathered treasures of the wicked.

§ 7. *Travail and disappointment.*

To every thing there is a season, and a time to every
purpose under the heaven:
A time to be born, and a time to die;
A time to plant, and a time to pluck up that which is
planted;
A time to kill, and a time to heal;
A time to break down, and a time to build up;
A time to weep, and a time to laugh;
A time to mourn, and a time to dance;
A time to cast away stones, and a time to gather stones
together;
A time to embrace, and a time to refrain from embracing;
A time to get, and a time to lose;
A time to keep, and a time to cast away;
A time to rend, and a time to sew;
A time to keep silence, and a time to speak;

A time to love, and a time to hate;
A time of war, and a time of peace.
What profit hath he that worketh in that wherein he laboureth?

I saw the travail, which God hath given to the sons of men to plague themselves therewith. He hath made every thing beautiful in its time; also he hath put the world in their heart, except that no man can find out the work that God hath made from the beginning to the end. (?) I know that there is no good among them, but for a man to rejoice, and to enjoy good in his life. [*But also that every man should eat and drink, and enjoy good in all his labour, it is the gift of God.*] I know that, whatsoever God doeth, it shall be for ever: nothing can be put to it, nor any thing taken from it: [*and God hath so made it, that men should fear before him.*] That which is hath been long ago; and that which is to be hath already been; and God reneweth the past.

And furthermore I saw under the sun: in the place of judgement there was wickedness; and in the place of righteousness there was iniquity. [*I said in mine heart, God shall judge the righteous and the wicked: for he hath set a time for every purpose and for every work.*] I said in mine heart it is because of the sons of men, that God may shew them that they are but beasts. (?) For the lot of the sons of men and the lot of the beast—one lot is to both of them: as the one dieth, so dieth the other; yea, they have all one breath; so that a man hath no preeminence above a beast: for all is vanity. All go unto one place; all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again. Who knoweth whether the spirit of man goeth upward, and the spirit of the beast goeth downward to the earth? Wherefore I perceived that there is nothing better, than that a man should rejoice in his own works; for that is his portion: for who can bring him to see what shall be after him?

And moreover I considered all the oppressions that are done under the sun: and behold the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter; and on the side of their oppressors there was power; but they had no comforter. Wherefore I praised the dead who are already dead more than the living who are yet alive. And better than both is

he who hath not yet been, who hath not seen the evil work that is done under the sun.

Again, I considered all travail, and every skilful work, that it cometh of a man's rivalry with his neighbour. This is also vanity and vexation of spirit. The fool foldeth his hands together, and eateth his own flesh. Yet better is an handful with quietness, than both the hands full with travail and vexation of spirit.

And again I saw vanity under the sun. There is a man who hath neither child nor brother: yet is there no end of all his labour; neither is his eye satisfied with riches. For whom, then, saith he, do I labour, and bereave my soul of good? This is also vanity, yea, it is a sore travail.

Two are better than one; because they have a good reward for their labour. For if they fall, the one will lift up his fellow: but woe to him that is alone when he falleth; for he hath not another to help him up. Again, if two lie together, then they have heat: but how can one be warm alone? And if a man prevail against one, yet two shall withstand him; and a threefold cord is not quickly broken.

Better is a poor and a wise child than an old and foolish king, who knoweth no more to be warned. For out of prison he came to reign, although in the kingdom of the other he was born poor. I contemplated all the living who walk under the sun, on the side of the child, to wit, the second one, that should stand up in the stead of the other. There was no end of all the people, even of all them at whose head he stood; yet they that come after will not rejoice in him. Surely this also is vanity and pursuit of wind.

This interesting section contains many difficulties. The list of 'seasons' seems to lead up to the conclusion that no labour can ensure profit because one cannot be sure that the right moment for any particular course of action has certainly been found.

The sentence containing the words 'he hath put the world in their heart' is very obscure and doubtful. Does it mean there is a sort of natural God-given instinct or propensity in man to seek to understand the 'world,' but that this impulse can never be fully gratified? A vein of selfishness runs through our author's reflections. Unless you profit personally by your own labour, it is profitless altogether. If you personally cannot reach final conclusions by your thinking, it is better not to think at all. But

social progress and scientific achievement demand alike unselfish abnegation.

The words in italics that follow seem interpolated. So too those about the divine motive and the divine judgement, which seem to contradict the general tendency of the author to emphasize the immunity of wickedness from punishment.

The following verse is probably corrupt. As it stands the Hebrew must be translated: 'It is because of the sons of men, that God may prove them, and that they may see that they themselves are beasts.'

Koheleth touches on the idea that the destiny of man may be different from the destiny of the beast, but he rejects it on the agnostic ground that it is a question which none can answer.

The following paragraphs contain a variety of ironical observations and cautious counsels. The wise child and the foolish king probably refer to contemporary history, but so far the allusions have not been satisfactorily explained.

The commentators provide us with many parallels for all these mournful reflections from Greek literature. It is hard to believe that Koheleth was not influenced in one way or another by Greek thought and speculation.

§ 8. *Prudential maxims.*—Keep thy foot when thou goest to the house of God, for to draw nigh in order to hear is better than to give the sacrifice of fools: for they know not except to do evil. Be not rash with thy mouth, and let not thine heart be hasty to utter a word before God: for God is in heaven, and thou upon earth: therefore let thy words be few. For a dream cometh through multitude of travail: and a fool's voice through multitude of words. When thou vowest a vow unto God, defer not to pay it; for he hath no pleasure in fools: pay that which thou hast vowed. Better is it that thou shouldest not vow, than that thou shouldest vow and not pay. Suffer not thy mouth to bring thy flesh into guilt; neither say thou before the messenger [i.e. the priest], that it was an error: wherefore should God be angry at thy voice, and destroy the work of thine hands? For in the multitude of dreams and words there is also much vanity: but fear thou God.

If thou seest the oppression of the poor, and violent perverting of judgement and justice in the province, marvel not at the matter: for one that is higher watcheth warily above him that is high; and there be higher than they. But

the profit of a land generally is a king that is devoted to the soil. (?)

He that loveth silver shall not be satisfied with silver; nor hath he that loveth riches increase from them: this is also vanity. When goods increase, they are increased that eat them: and what good is there to the owners thereof, saving the beholding of them with their eyes? The sleep of a labouring man is sweet, whether he eat little or much: but the satiety of the rich will not suffer him to sleep. There is a sore evil which I have seen under the sun, namely, riches kept for the owners thereof to their hurt. For if those riches perish by an evil chance, and he hath begotten a son, nothing remaineth in his hand. As he came into the world, naked shall he return from it, and shall take nothing for his labour, which he may carry away in his hand. And this also is a sore evil, that in all points as he came, so shall he go: and what profit hath he that hath laboured for the wind? All his days are passed in darkness and mourning, and much suffering and wrath. Behold that which I have seen as good and fair: that a man should eat and drink, and enjoy good in all his labour that he taketh under the sun all the days of his life, which God giveth him: for that is his portion. [*Every man also to whom God hath given riches and wealth, and hath given him power to eat thereof, and to take his portion, and to rejoice in his labour—this is a gift of God.*] For he shall not greatly bear in mind the days of his life; because God answereth to the joy of his heart. (?)

There is an evil which I have seen under the sun, and it is heavy upon men: a man to whom God hath given riches, wealth and honour, so that he wanteth nothing for his soul of all that he desireth, yet God giveth him not power to eat thereof, but a stranger eateth it: this is vanity, and a sore sickness. If a man beget an hundred children, and live many years, and though he be great all the days of his life, yet if his soul be not filled with good, and if he have no burial; I say, that an untimely birth is better than he. For that cometh in nothingness, and departeth in darkness, and its name is covered with darkness. Moreover it hath not seen the sun, nor known any thing: yet is it better off than he. Yea, though he live a thousand years twice told, and did not see good: do not all go to one place?

All the labour of man is for his mouth, and yet the appetite is never filled. For what preeminence hath the wise over the fool? or what hath the poor, that knoweth to walk before the living? (?) Better is the enjoyment of the eyes than the wandering of the desire: this is also vanity and vexation of spirit.

That which happeneth now hath been named already, and it is known what man shall be; neither may he contend with Him that is mightier than he. For though there be many words that increase vanity, what is man the better? For who knoweth what is good for man in this life, all the days of his vain life which he spendeth as a shadow? for who can tell a man what shall be after him under the sun?

This section opens with various prudential maxims, which though they deal with religion are chilling and unconsoling. The writer's notion of God seems limited to his power. Men of deeper soul and nobler piety have also advocated few words in prayer, but for higher motives than Koheleth's.

The first words of the second paragraph seem to refer to the corruption which pervaded the kingdom (of which the Jews formed a province) from high to low. It is no good, says Koheleth, to marvel or grumble at it: it is inevitable.

At the end of the third paragraph there seems to be another interpolation. At any rate what succeeds to it joins on to what precedes it far better. If God gives a man tolerable enjoyment, he will not constantly call to mind the brevity of his transitory life.

§ 9. *Sorrow and self-restraint.*

A good name is better than good ointment,
And the day of death than the day of one's birth.
It is better to go to the house of mourning,
Than to go to the house of feasting:
For that is the end of all men;
And the living can lay it to his heart.
Sorrow is better than laughter:
For with a sad countenance the heart is well.
The heart of the wise is in the house of mourning;
But the heart of fools is in the house of mirth.
It is better to hear the rebuke of the wise,
Than for a man to hear the song of fools.
For as the crackling of thorns under a pot,
So is the laughter of the fool: this also is vanity.

Oppression maketh a wise man mad;
And a gift destroyeth the heart.
Better is the end of a thing than the beginning thereof:
And the patient in spirit is better than the proud in spirit.
Be not hasty in thy spirit to be angry;
For anger resteth in the bosom of fools.
Say not thou, What is the cause that the former days were better than these?
For thou dost not inquire wisely concerning this.

Wisdom is as good as an inheritance:
And by it there is profit to them that see the sun.
For wisdom is a defence, and money is a defence:
But the excellency of wisdom is that it giveth life to them that have it.
Consider the work of God:
For who can make that straight, which he hath made crooked?
In the day of prosperity be joyful,
But in the day of adversity consider:
God hath made even the one as well as the other,
To the end that man should experience nothing at all hereafter.

The sad and sober cautiousness of Koheleth inclines him in some moods to throw cold water upon the very enjoyment which he had erewhile recommended as the best thing for man 'under the circumstances.'

The second paragraph opens suddenly. Some think a verse has fallen out. 'Oppression' seems to mean the power of using it. Tyrannical power ruins the moral and intellectual nature of the tyrant.

Koheleth is against any form of exaggeration or enthusiasm. The present is not worse than the past, just as the future will not be better than the present.

The third paragraph yields a somewhat reluctant admission to wisdom's value. No small part of it consists in recognizing and realizing the limitations of man, and in a right attitude of mind both in good days and evil. Koheleth appends the singular thought that God has made both kinds of days in order that (as the life in Sheol is destitute of either good or evil) man may gain his experience of both on earth. It is fair to add that translation and interpretation are alike uncertain.

§ 10. *The golden mean.*—All things have I seen in the days of my vanity: there is a just man that perisheth in his righteousness, and there is a wicked man that prolongeth his life in his wickedness. Be not pious over much; neither make thyself over wise: why wilt thou ruin thyself? Be not over much wicked, neither be thou a fool: why shouldest thou die before thy time? It is good that thou shouldest take hold of the one; yea, also from the other withdraw not thine hand: *for he that feareth God shall discharge himself of them all.* (?)

Wisdom strengtheneth the wise more than ten rulers who are in the city. There is not a just man upon earth, that doeth (always) good, and sinneth not. So take no heed unto all words that are spoken; lest thou hear thy servant curse thee: for oftentimes also thine own heart knoweth that thou thyself likewise hast cursed others.

All this have I tried by wisdom: I said, I will be wise; but it was far from me. That which is is far off and exceeding deep, who can find it out? I turned and set mine heart to know and to search and to seek out wisdom and the reason of things, and to know that wickedness is folly and foolishness is madness: and I found more bitter than death the woman who is snares and her heart is a net, and her hands are as bands: whoso pleaseth God shall escape from her; but the sinner shall be taken by her. Behold, this have I found, saith the Preacher, adding one to one, to find out the account: what my soul sought but found not is this: one man among a thousand have I found: but a woman among all those have I not found. Lo, this only have I found, that God hath made man upright; but they have sought out many inventions.

A strange and difficult section. The writer appears to advocate the proper or 'golden' mean. Exaggerated pretensions to piety are contemptible. Already that fatal 'hedge round the law,' with its myriad ordinances and restrictions which culminated in the so-called 'oral Law,' was steadily rising. To the spiritual pride, which in certain natures the 'hedge' tended to produce, Koheleth offers a healthy opposition. But he also warns his disciples from falling into the opposite error. The reasonable objection to a pretentious and exaggerated piety need not drive a man into libertinism and sin. 'Be not over much wicked' does not mean 'be rather wicked.' The phrase is ironical. In the eyes

of a self-righteous formalist one may indeed be 'wicked'; but the standards of a sane morality one must not transgress. On each of these rules: not too much piety, not too much 'wickedness,' let a man keep firm his hold.

In the second paragraph the connexion is obscure. Professor Bickell would put the verse about the universal frailty of man at the close of the whole.

In the third paragraph the harsh verses about women are regarded by Professor Haupt as interpolations. The last verse seems to refer the abundance of evil in human life to man putting his own resourcefulness of invention to evil uses. He uses this faculty for wily plottings and contrivances.

§ 11. *Life's ironies.*—Who is as the wise man? and who knoweth the interpretation of a thing? a man's wisdom illumineth his face, but the stubbornfaced is hated. I counsel thee to keep the king's commandment, and that because of the oath to God. Be not hasty to go out of his sight: (?) enter not in an evil matter; for he doeth whatsoever pleaseth him. Seeing the word of a king is with power, and who may say unto him, What doest thou? Whoso keepeth the commandment shall experience no evil thing: and a wise man's heart knoweth that there is a time and judgement. For to every purpose there is a time and judgement, for the misery of man is great upon him. (?) For he knoweth not that which shall be: and how it will be, who can tell him? There is no man that hath power over the wind to retain the wind; neither hath he power in the day of death: and there is no discharge in war; neither shall riches deliver their owner.

All this have I seen, as I applied my heart unto every work that is done under the sun, at a time wherein one man ruleth over another to his hurt. And so I saw ungodly men honoured, and that too in the holy place, but those who had acted rightly had to depart and were forgotten in the city: this is also vanity. Because sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily, therefore men have abundant courage to do evil. For I know that it even happeneth that a sinner doeth evil for a long time, and yet liveth long, while he who feareth before God is short-lived as a shadow. [*Though a sinner do evil an hundred times, and his days be prolonged, yet surely I know that it shall be well with them that fear God, who fear before him: but it shall not be well*

with the wicked, and like a shadow he shall not prolong his days, because he feareth not before God.] There is a vanity which is done upon the earth; that there be just men, unto whom it happeneth according to the work of the wicked; again, there be wicked men, to whom it happeneth according to the work of the righteous: I said that this also is vanity. And so I commended mirth, because a man hath no better thing under the sun, than to eat, and to drink, and to be merry: and that may accompany him in his labour during the days of his life, which God giveth him under the sun.

The section opens with prudential counsels about a safe relation to kings and despots. The connexion becomes soon very obscure. The verse, 'For to every purpose,' &c., is very doubtful. I forbear to suggest an explanation consistent with Koheleth or the context. Further on new instances of life's ironies are adduced. In the second paragraph we come upon a sentence which has apparently been 'edited' by some one who was shocked by Koheleth's plain speaking. What the Preacher probably wrote is given first ('For I know' down to 'short-lived as a shadow'), and then in brackets how the Hebrew is now made to read. Thought and wording provoked Professor Bickell's critical suspicion, and he suggested the highly ingenious restoration of the original text, the translation of which is given above.

§ 12. *One event to all and the moral thereof.*—When I applied mine heart to know wisdom, and to see the travail that is done upon the earth, (for neither by day nor by night man seeth sleep with his eyes,) then I perceived that man cannot find out all the work of God, even the work that is done under the sun: because though a man labour to seek it out, yet he shall not find it; yea farther; though a wise man think to know it, yet shall he not be able to find it. For all this I considered in my heart, and my heart saw it: that the righteous, and the wise, and their works, are in the hand of God: yea, love also and hatred no man knoweth; everything before them is vanity. (?) For there is one event to all, to the righteous, and to the wicked; to the clean, and to the unclean; to him that sacrificeth, and to him that sacrificeth not: as is the good, so is the sinner; and he that sweareth, as he that feareth to swear. This is an evil among all things that are done under the sun, that there is one event unto all: yea, also the

heart of the sons of men is full of evil, and madness is in their heart while they live, and after that they go to the dead. For to him that is joined to all the living there is hope: for a living dog is better than a dead lion. True the living know that they shall die: but the dead know not any thing, neither have they any more a reward; for the memory of them is forgotten. Also their love, and their hatred, and their rivalry, is now perished; neither have they any more a portion for ever in any thing that is done under the sun.

Go thy way, eat thy bread with joy, and drink thy wine with a merry heart; for God hath long ago accepted these thy works. (?) Let thy garments be always white; and let thy head lack no ointment. Live joyfully with the wife whom thou lovest all the days of the life of thy vanity, which he hath given thee under the sun: for that is thy portion in life, and in thy labour which thou takest under the sun. Whatsoever thy hand findeth within thy power to do, that do: for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in Sheol, whither thou goest.

Furthermore I saw under the sun, that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men of understanding, nor yet favour to men of skill; but time and chance happeneth to them all. For man knoweth not even his time: as the fishes that are taken in an evil net, and as the birds that are caught in the snare; so are the sons of men snared in an evil time, when it falleth suddenly upon them.

This section deals mainly with the common and cheerless goal to which every man must travel. The moral is once more found in reasonable enjoyment, but also (as it would seem) in fruitful energy applied while there is yet time. Be active while you can. Here the author grazes a profound truth. There is happiness in activity even apart from its result, though a noble end sanctions and glorifies the activity. The familiar proverb, 'Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might,' is not a quite accurate rendering of the original text.

§ 13. *Wisdom and folly.*—This also have I seen as wisdom under the sun, and it seemed great unto me: There was a little city, and few men within it; and there came a great king against it, and besieged it, and built great bulwarks against it: now there was found in it a poor wise man, and

he by his wisdom delivered the city; yet no man remembered that same poor man. Then said I, Wisdom is better than strength: nevertheless the poor man's wisdom is despised, and his words are not heard.

The words of wise men heard in quiet
  Are better than the cry of him that ruleth among fools.
Wisdom is better than weapons of war:
  But one sinner destroyeth much good.
Dead flies cause the ointment of the perfumer to stink and ferment:
  So is a little folly weightier than wisdom and honour.
A wise man's heart is at his right hand;
  But a fool's heart at his left.
Yea also, when he that is a fool walketh by the way, his heart faileth him,
  And he saith to every one that he is a fool.

*

He that diggeth a pit may fall into it;
  And whoso breaketh an hedge, a serpent may bite him.
Whoso quarrieth stones may be hurt therewith;
  And he that cleaveth wood may be endangered thereby.
If the iron be blunt, and he do not whet the edge,
  Then must he put forth more strength:
  But wisdom is profitable to give success. (?)
If the serpent will bite without enchantment;
  Then the charmer hath no profit.
The words of a wise man's mouth are gracious;
  But the lips of a fool will swallow up himself.
The beginning of the words of his mouth is foolishness:
  And the end of his talk is mischievous madness.

In this section, somewhat closer to the manner of the earlier sages, we have divers maxims relative to the advantages or superiority of wisdom over folly. And yet with all its advantages how often is wisdom forgotten or ignored, and folly honoured and preferred!

§ 14. *Maxims and observations about kings and rulers.*

If the anger of the ruler rise up against thee, leave not thy place;
  For yielding avoideth great offences.
There is an evil which I have seen under the sun
  As an error which proceedeth from the magistrate:

The burden-bearer is set in great dignity,
And the rich sit in low place.
I have seen servants upon horses,
And princes walking as servants upon the earth.

Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child,
And thy princes eat in the morning!
Blessed art thou, O land, when thy king is the son of nobles,
And thy princes eat in due season, for strength, and not for drunkenness!
By much slothfulness the beam giveth way,
And through idleness of the hands rain droppeth through the house.
For merriment they make feasts, and wine maketh joyful:
And money provideth all things.
Curse not the king among thine acquaintance;
And curse not the rich in thy bedchamber:
For a bird of the air shall carry the voice,
And that which hath wings shall tell the matter.

A short section about kings. The allusions are no longer apparent. I have ventured on a small transposition.

§ 15. *Final counsels of doubtful meaning.*

Cast thy bread upon the waters:
For thou shalt find it after many days.
Make seven portions, and also eight;
For thou knowest not what evil shall be upon the earth.
If the clouds be full of rain, they empty themselves upon the earth:
And if the tree fall toward the south, or toward the north,
In the place where the tree falleth, there it shall be.
He that observeth the wind shall not sow;
And he that regardeth the clouds shall not reap.
As thou knowest not what is the way of the wind,
Even so thou knowest not the works of God who maketh all.
In the morning sow thy seed,
And in the evening withhold not thine hand:
For thou knowest not whether shall prosper, either this or that,
Or whether they both shall be alike good.

And light is sweet,
And a pleasant thing it is for the eyes to behold the sun:
Yea, though a man live many years, let him rejoice in them all;
For let him remember that the days of darkness will be many.
All that cometh is vanity.

Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth;
And let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth,
And walk in the ways of thine heart, and in the sight of thine eyes:
[*But know thou, that for all these things God will bring thee into judgement.*]
And remove sorrow from thy heart,
And put away trouble from thy flesh:
For youth like morning-time is a breath.
And remember thy *Creator* (?) in the days of thy youth,
Before the evil days come, and the years draw nigh,
Of which thou shalt say, I have no pleasure in them;
Before the sun, and the light, and the moon, and the stars, be darkened,
And the clouds return after the rain:
In the day when the keepers of the house tremble,
And the strong men bow themselves,
And the grinders cease because they are few,
And those that look out of the windows be darkened,
And the doors are shut towards the street,
And the sound of the grinding is low,
And the voice riseth into the voice of a bird,
And all the daughters of song are brought low.
They are afraid of a steep place,
And fears beset every way;
And the almond tree is in bloom,
And the grasshopper draggeth itself along,
And the caper-berry faileth:
Because man goeth to his eternal home, and the mourners go about in the street:
Or ever the silver cord be loosed, or the golden bowl be broken,
Or the pitcher be shivered at the fountain, or the wheel broken into the pit:

[*And the dust returneth to the earth as it was:*
And the spirit returneth unto God who gave it.]

Vanity of vanities, saith the Preacher; all is vanity.

The opening of the first paragraph is famous but enigmatic. It is usually understood to inculcate single-minded benevolence. Give succour widely; the recompense shall not fail, albeit perhaps after many days. But it may mean: venture boldly on this enterprise after that; though long delayed the profit will come at last. Nevertheless do not stake your all on one venture, but divide your eggs into many baskets. Though the future is uncertain, work notwithstanding. If you wait too long, nothing can be achieved. In the midst of your labour, or by means of it, get all the right enjoyment you can; for though there be many days of a man's life wherein he can rejoice, they are as nothing to the eternity of Sheol which will succeed them.

The second paragraph re-echoes the close of the first. Let the young man rejoice in his manhood before the days come when rejoicing will be impossible. The paragraph concludes with a long description of old age, gloomy and drawn out, yet not without a beauty of its own. It is much disputed whether the various details of the imagery have each of them an exact meaning. It seems probable that most of them have. According to Professor Cheyne, e.g., the 'keepers of the house' are the hands and arms, the 'strong men' are the feet and legs, the 'grinders' are the teeth, while 'those who look out of the window' are the eyes. Then the 'doors' are the lips, and the 'daughters of song' are the words. The 'bloom of the almond tree' is the white hair, while the next two are doubtful. The 'silver cord' is the tongue, the 'golden bowl' is the head, the 'pitcher' is the heart, and the 'wheel' is the breathing apparatus.

Two important verses are supposed by some great scholars to be interpolations, and no less stoutly claimed as genuine by others. I have printed them in italics and enclosed them in brackets, for I myself incline to believe that they are additions of a later piety to the original text. The reader can see for himself how materially they modify these 'parting counsels,' and indeed the whole 'philosophy' of Koheleth if they be genuine.

I may also add that the line, 'And remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth,' in the connexion where it stands is exceedingly doubtful. Some scholars hold that the 'editor' has here not added but changed. They believe that 'Creator' was not the word originally written by the Preacher himself.

As the last verse reads now it seems intended to assert that

very doctrine of spiritual immortality, the consoling hope of which was rejected by Koheleth at an earlier section of the book. But it is also possible to interpret it as meaning no more than what is meant by a certain passage of a noble psalm already printed in my first volume (p. 601). In that case (i.e. if it does not imply *personal* immortality), it might be more confidently attributed to Koheleth.

§ 16. *An epilogue of puzzles.*—And moreover the Preacher was a wise man; he further taught the people knowledge; yea, he weighed, and sought out, and set in order many proverbs. The Preacher sought to find out pleasant words: and he wrote down plainly words of truth. The words of the wise are as goads, and like nails well fastened in are the collectors; they are given from one shepherd. And as for all beyond them, my son, be warned: of making many books there is no end; and much study is a weariness of the flesh.

Let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter: Fear God, and keep his commandments: for this concerneth every man. For God shall bring every work into the judgement, upon every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil.

The epilogue to Ecclesiastes is no less full of puzzles than any previous section. Is it or is it not from the pen of the Preacher? And in either case did the writer of its first paragraph also write the second? What is the true translation, and what is the true meaning, of that verse which begins, 'The words of the wise are as goads'? Who is the shepherd? It seems on the whole most probable that the first part of the epilogue was written not by Koheleth himself, but by an admiring disciple. Yet such a one would hardly claim for his master's sayings (any more than Koheleth would have claimed for himself) divine authority. Is the 'shepherd' then a human teacher? In that case the text is probably unsound. But the reader who desires further information or suggestions must go to Professor Cheyne's *Job and Solomon*, or to a commentary on Ecclesiastes.

The second paragraph was probably written by one of those pious editors whose correcting hand we have noticed already. The conclusion of all inquiry into human life and its problems is for him predetermined. That conclusion is inspiring if severe. Though it lack warmth and devotion, it is dignified and solemn. God is our Judge. Nothing we do can be concealed from his all-seeing eyes. For all our actions we must render, in the words of our

Prayer-book, after our death on earth, 'an account before the throne of his glory.' For the 'judgement' here referred to appears to mean a judgement after death. Therefore that which concerns us all is to fear God and keep his commandments. Let none of us ask for more till we are confident that we can rightly claim more. Or rather let us say: 'Seek to fulfil this parting counsel, and more will be revealed to you.' Out of the true fear of God and out of the keeping of his commandments the love of goodness and the love of God will surely be born.

§ 17. *Some reflections on Koheleth.*—Is there any other 'conclusion' to be added to the solemn exhortation of our 'editor'? We have heard the Preacher's proofs and illustrations of human vanity. Life is transitory and yet monotonous. What use to labour and struggle, seeing that your memory is soon forgotten and you yourself will disappear? Moreover, what you have gathered your successor may dissipate, and chance and circumstance are stronger than wisdom and toil. And among society as it is and will be, folly often triumphs over wisdom, and vice over virtue, while at the end the same inevitable fate befalls us all.

It is well, I think, for us to read these thoughts and words, and to face them fairly and squarely, without extenuation and without fear. Let us recognize their relative truth and their relative importance, and we shall all the better be able to master and defy them. Let us briefly call to mind how many lines of reply there are to the disconsolate complaints of Koheleth.

(1) Most of the Preacher's facts may be accepted, and yet a very different moral can be drawn from them. Life is transitory; many of its shows and allurements are vain; many of the aims and objects, for which men sweat and labour, are futile and empty. Let us then direct our energy towards, and spend our toil upon, the imperishable and eternal. No one in this way turns the tables on Koheleth more completely and more severely than the great Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus in those wonderful musings which a kindly fate has preserved for the admiration and the help of all succeeding ages. In that book you will find the transitoriness and monotony of life expressed almost in Koheleth's very words, but the moral is very different. Man is akin to the divine. Even if we have 'given up this worthless thing called fame,' something worth living for remains: to act and to refrain from acting in conformity with our proper nature. 'Reverence the gods, and help men. Short is life. There is only one fruit of this earthly life: a pious disposition and social acts. Look within. Within is the fountain of good, and it will ever bubble up, if thou

wilt ever dig. Love mankind. Follow God. Take pleasure in one thing only and rest in it: in passing from one social act to another social act, thinking of God.' Essentially the same advice and doctrine can be read in a thousand religious writers both Jewish and Christian, can be read also in many of the greater poets. 'Within be fed, without be rich no more.' This 'inward richness' may issue in creations of wisdom, beauty or goodness; it may also 'feed upon orts and die without a grave': but in either case it is not 'vain.'

(2) Again there is, as Koheleth himself has at least on one occasion admitted, a pleasure in *activity*. The pleasure varies as the activity varies, but in every normal nature this pleasure exists. Hence the satirical remark that a man's view of life depends on his digestion. All innocent and useful activities, and even some activities which are, from the highest point of view, of very doubtful 'innocence' (e.g. fox-hunting), cause pleasure to a healthy mind and body. Such is the great psychological law of human nature recognized and established by Aristotle. As a rule man is little disturbed by the thought that much of his labour will fail, or will be lost or wasted or forgotten. Nor, on the other hand, is the pleasure and satisfaction of it limited to and determined by the thought that some of it may help others in his own or a future generation. The mere doing it gives him satisfaction while he does it. He seems to be most himself when he is active, and this satisfaction or self-realization constantly passes, but constantly recurs. And in the judgement of the sanest men it also is not 'vain.'

(3) Koheleth, sage though he be, speaks constantly of the futility and limited range of human wisdom. Man cannot find out the secrets of the universe. He had best bend the resources of his mind to lowly ends and temperate enjoyments. But greater and not less reverent minds than his have urged us to use the capacity of our divine prerogative of reason to the utmost. Not 'vain' are the activities of the man of science and of philosophy. Their life, says Aristotle, is lived in virtue of the divine element which is within them. And if, he adds, 'the reason is divine in comparison with the rest of man's nature, the life which accords with reason will be divine in comparison with human life in general. Nor is it right to follow the advice of people who say that the thoughts of men should not be too high for humanity or the thoughts of mortals too high for mortality; for a man, as far as in him lies, should seek immortality and do all that is in his power to live in accordance with the highest part of his nature . . . the true self of every one, if a man's true self is his supreme or better part.'

Nor is this advice given only by a philosopher. Very aptly does Sir Alexander Grant illustrate Aristotle's words by the quaint lines of George Herbert:—

> 'Pitch thy behaviour low, thy projects high:
> So shalt thou humble and magnanimous be:
> Sink not in spirit: who aimeth at the sky
> Shoots higher much than he that means a tree.
> A grain of glory mixed with humbleness
> Cures both a fever and lethargicness.'

(4) The stanzas quoted on p. 205 from Browning's 'Rabbi ben Ezra' suggest another train of reasoning in reply to Koheleth. The care and the doubt which are distinctively human are worth their pain. Milton has put a fine thought in the mouth of his Satan when he makes him say:—

> 'Who would lose,
> Though full of pain, this intellectual being,
> These thoughts that wander through eternity?'

They are not 'vain.'

(5) We can easily dispense with posthumous fame. We may recall the words of Jowett: 'To have been a benefactor to the world, whether in a higher or a lower sphere of life and thought, is a great thing; to have the reputation of being one, when men have passed out of the sphere of earthly praise or blame, is hardly worthy of consideration.' Nevertheless a good deed is not 'vain' because its author is forgotten. How solemn and true are the concluding words of *Middlemarch*: 'The growing good of the world is partly dependent upon unhistoric acts, and that things are not so ill with you and me as they might have been is half owing to the number who lived faithfully a hidden life and rest in unvisited tombs.'

(6) Koheleth had argued that 'all travail and every skilful work come of a man's rivalry with his neighbour.' Even if it were so, the deduction is not warranted that *therefore* all is vanity and vexation of spirit. Rivalry is not purely evil. But the assertion itself is a wild exaggeration. There is much 'travail' which has nothing to do with rivalry or competition. And this 'travail' is the salt of the earth. The caviller first ignores the best elements of life and then denies the worth of the whole. Disinterested study and research; disinterested goodness, sacrifice and love; these things exist, and they contain in themselves, and by the very fact that they *can* be and *are*, the most irrefragable refutation of the doctrine: all is vanity.

Yet it may be doubted by some whether permanent value would belong to these replies if we refuse to associate them with two other 'replies' of a more fundamental character and of a wider sweep: the 'Messianic' hope of the gradual improvement of the race, and its complementary hope of the progress towards perfection of the individual soul in another life after the life on earth. Certainly the optimistic idealism of great modern poets such as Browning and Tennyson is largely conditioned by them. The outburst in Andrea del Sarto,

> 'Ah, but a man's reach should exceed his grasp,
> Or what's a heaven for?'

defends failure on earth through belief in a 'heaven' hereafter. And so with many other passages of noblest verse, which strengthen and cheer us as we seek to face and grapple with the pressure and travail of pain and suffering and evil. Yet is it a most noticeable fact that Marcus Aurelius, who while admitting Koheleth's premises draws such very opposite conclusions, can hardly be said to have believed in either of these two great complementary expectations for the individual and the race. They were certainly not the motives of his elevated morality. Nevertheless we have seen how widely his views differ from the 'omnia vanitas' of the Preacher. Shall we venture to say that the Roman emperor was less logical than the Jewish sage? Be this as it may, the fact remains that these two 'hopes' are for many of us to-day the almost indispensable support and condition of all our other 'replies.' I will bring this chapter to a close by citing two poems that deal with them. They are good poems to learn by heart. The first is the last poem written by Arthur Hugh Clough.

> 'Say not, the struggle nought availeth,
> The labour and the wounds are vain;
> The enemy faints not, nor faileth,
> And as things have been they remain.
>
> 'If hopes were dupes, fears may be liars;
> It may be, in yon smoke concealed,
> Your comrades chase e'en now the fliers,
> And, but for you, possess the field.
>
> 'For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
> Seem here no painful inch to gain,
> Far back, through creeks and inlets making,
> Comes silent, flooding in, the main.

'And not by eastern windows only,
When daylight comes, comes in the light;
In front, the sun climbs slow, how slowly,
But westward, look, the land is bright.'

The second poem is Tennyson's 'Wages':—

'Glory of warrior, glory of orator, glory of song,
Paid with a voice flying by to be lost on an endless sea—
Glory of Virtue, to fight, to struggle, to right the wrong—
Nay, but she aim'd not at glory, no lover of glory she:
Give her the glory of going on, and still to be.

'The wages of sin is death: if the wages of Virtue be dust,
Would she have heart to endure for the life of the worm and the fly?
She desires no isles of the blest, no quiet seats of the just,
To rest in a golden grove, or to bask in a summer sky:
Give her the wages of going on, and not to die.'

CHAPTER V

THE WISDOM OF SOLOMON

§ 1. *The last book of the Wisdom Literature.*—In this chapter we have to speak about and to read portions from the last of those five wisdom books which have found a resting-place in the Bible or the 'Apocrypha.' Of those five books, three are Biblical—Proverbs, Job and Ecclesiastes; two form part of the Apocrypha—Ben Sira and the Wisdom of Solomon. Selections from Ben Sira have occupied us already; selections from the so-called 'Wisdom of Solomon' we are now to hear. The subject of the book may be said to be a description and panegyric of Divine Wisdom. It has two well-marked divisions. The first part of the first division deals with the effects of wisdom and of its opposite in human life. The second part contains the real panegyric. The second division essays to prove how in certain special events of Jewish history (notably in the life of Abraham and the Exodus from Egypt) Divine Wisdom, or the Spirit of God, displayed its power and manifested its supremacy. This second division is discursive and ill arranged, and of less spiritual and religious value than the first. I shall not give many extracts from it here. By the kindness of the University Presses of Oxford and Cambridge I have been allowed to use the Revised Version in my selections from the Wisdom of Solomon, as in my extracts from Ecclesiasticus and the Maccabees.

§ 2. *The fusion of Greek and Hebrew thought.*—Once more we have the usual uncertainty as to date. The author probably lived somewhere about 100 B.C. His book, like Ben Sira's and all the other writings of the Apocrypha, is in Greek; but unlike Ben Sira and some other portions of the Apocrypha, of which the Greek is a translation from the Hebrew, the Greek is in this case the original tongue. Nor is the Hellenism of the book confined to language. Its Greek words express, it is true, predominantly Hebrew thought, but they also express Greek thought as well.

I have already mentioned how, after the foundation of Alexandria by Alexander the Great, the number of Jewish settlers in that city gradually increased until by the middle of the first century of the Christian era there were said to be not less than a million Jewish inhabitants. To these Egyptian Jews Greek became their mother tongue. They therefore set about translating the Pentateuch and other portions of the Hebrew Bible into their vernacular. Moreover, in the synagogues of Alexandria the service was conducted in Greek, in order that the prayers might be entirely intelligible to the worshippers. And together with the knowledge of the Greek language, there came also to the more educated and cultivated section of the Jewish settlers a gradual knowledge of Greek literature and philosophy. I cannot here attempt to give even the barest outline of the immensely important issues produced by this strange fusion of Greek and Hebrew thought. Let me only say that the two systems or modes of Greek philosophy which appealed most to the Hebrew mind were the Platonic and the Stoic. No one who has read the Dialogues of Plato, even in the most superficial way in an English translation, can fail to appreciate the grand ethical and religious teaching which they contain. The same may be said of the two great Stoics, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius, both of whom are easily accessible to English readers. Though these two are later in time than the Wisdom of Solomon, much of their teaching goes back to the founders of the school in the third century, to Zeno, Cleanthes and Chrysippus. The writings of these three philosophers, with the exception of a few fragments, are now unfortunately lost, but they were all available to the Jews of Alexandria in the first century B.C. The author of the Wisdom of Solomon may possibly have read them. Yet the most important effect of Greek philosophy upon his religious position and teaching was due not to the Stoics, but to Plato. It is the doctrine of the soul's immortality.

§ 3. *Idolatry and sin.*—It might be supposed that one of the best results of the infusion of Greek thought into the Hebrew religion would have been to strengthen its elements of universalism and to free it from national limitations. Jewish 'wisdom' was, as we have seen, very broadly human in its tone and contents, while the Stoics freely recognized and taught the universal brotherhood of man. One would therefore have supposed *a priori* that a coalescence of the two tendencies would have caused an emphatic teaching not only that God was the Creator and Ruler of all, but that he was the equal Father of all, governing the Gentiles upon the same principles and methods as the Jews. If the Gentiles

knew him not as the Jews knew him, this would be an argument not for their punishment but for their conversion. In that conversion would lie the true office and mission of the Servant of God. Unfortunately what actually happened corresponded only partially and inadequately to this *a priori* presupposition. In the first place, the Greek-speaking Jews of Alexandria and elsewhere, just because they stood aloof from the religious observances of their fellow-subjects, were disliked and despised. Dislike breeds dislike, contempt fosters contempt. Thus while, through the influence of Greek philosophy, the writings of the Alexandrian Jews are wider and more universal in *language* than the purely Palestinian literature, they are often no less bitterly national. Both these tendencies we find illustrated in the Wisdom of Solomon. In the second place, much of this Graeco-Jewish or Hellenistic literature falls after the Maccabean persecutions and revolt, when national feelings had been fiercely and justifiably aroused. In the third place the Jews outside Judaea, and the Jews of Alexandria more especially, became eye-witnesses of the follies of heathen worship as well of the frequently cruel and immoral rites which were associated with it. Hence the conviction that even the idolater who knows no better is guilty of sin was strengthened and deepened in their minds. Idolatry is sin and the mother of sin. Heathen life often seemed to their eyes a seething mass of corruption and crime. They wanted to show that the heathen deserved the disfavour of God; they wanted to show that God might justly punish the heathen in one way, and discipline the Jews in another; they wanted to show that it was *just* for the Jews to have a life of happiness after death and for the heathen to have a life of misery, and their religious feelings played as it were into the hands of their national antipathies. We who live in another age can see more clearly and judge more calmly.

§ 4. *An imperfect universalism.*—The lofty universalist *language* of our Alexandrian sage, together with his passionate hatred of idolaters and idolatry, may be now illustrated by one or two quotations from the *second* division of his book.

To be greatly strong is thine at all times; and the might of thine arm who shall withstand? Because the whole world before thee is as a grain in a balance, and as a drop of dew that at morning cometh down upon the earth. But thou hast mercy on all men, because thou hast power to do all things, and thou overlookest

the sins of men to the end they may repent. For thou lovest all things that are, and abhorrest none of the things which thou didst make; for never wouldest thou have formed anything if thou didst hate it. And how would anything have endured, except thou hadst willed it? Or that which was not called by thee, how would it have been preserved? But thou sparest all things, because they are thine, O Sovereign Lord, thou lover of men's lives; for thine incorruptible spirit is in all things. Wherefore thou convictest by little and little them that fall from the right way, and, putting them in remembrance by the very things wherein they sin, dost thou admonish them, that escaping from their wickedness they may believe on thee, O Lord.

Yet in mournful contrast to this universalist *language*, we are told that while God admonished and tried the Jews *as a father*, he condemned and punished the heathen as a severe king. 'While thou dost *chasten* us, thou *scourgest* our enemies ten thousand times more, to the extent that we may ponder thy goodness when we judge, and when we are judged may look for mercy.' If God did indeed rule the world on these lines, could his goodness and mercy be said to exist at all? Does our author's language here betray the fact that the actual state of things was terribly unlike that which he describes? The scourging was as a rule the lot of the Jews. Certainly the sad history of the Jews would seem to show that the divine policy announced by Amos has been far more closely followed than that indicated in the Wisdom of Solomon. 'You only have I known of all the families of the earth: therefore I will visit upon you all your iniquities.' Yes, and not only their iniquities, but also their virtues. For these too, by the inscrutable wisdom of God, the Jews have suffered in the past, and in Russia, Roumania and elsewhere they are still suffering to-day.

§ 5. *The origin and progress of idolatry.*—In the course of a long digression upon idolatry our author offers some interesting speculations and remarks upon its origin, progress and results.

A first stage of idolatry, far less reprehensible than the later developments, but still not wholly excusable, was the confusion of the Creator with his works.

For verily all men by nature were but vain who had no perception of God, and from the good things that are seen they gained not power to know him that is, neither by giving heed to the works did they recognize the artificer;

but either fire, or wind, or swift air, or circling stars, or raging water, or luminaries of heaven, they thought to be gods that rule the world. And if it was through delight in their beauty that they took them to be gods, let them know how much better than these is their Sovereign Lord; for the first author of beauty created them: but if it was through astonishment at their power and influence, let them understand from them how much more powerful is he that formed them; for from the greatness of the beauty even of created things in like proportion does man form the image of their first maker.

But yet for these men there is but small blame, for they too peradventure do but go astray while they are seeking God and desiring to find him. For living among his works they make diligent search, and they yield themselves up to sight, because the things that they look upon are beautiful. But again even they are not to be excused. For if they had power to know so much, that they should be able to explore the course of things, how is it that they did not sooner find the Sovereign Lord of these his works?

The emphasis laid on the *beauty* of the divine works is notable, and may be regarded as betraying the influence of Greece. So too the appellation of God as the 'author of beauty.' Yet Ben Sira had already spoken of the 'beauty of heaven' (p. 111), and in the newly found Hebrew fragments, where the Greek says, 'Who shall be filled with beholding his glory?' the original text seems to have run, 'And who can be filled with beholding his beauty?'

From the worship of the divine works to the worship of objects made by man, that is to idolatry in the narrower and more literal sense of the word, the declension was great and disastrous. The following passage is largely based upon the famous description in the Second Isaiah (Part I, p. 491).

But miserable were they, and in dead things were their hopes, who called them gods which are works of men's hands, gold and silver, wrought with careful art, and likenesses of animals, or a useless stone, the work of an ancient hand. Yea and if some woodcutter, having sawn down a tree that is easily moved, skilfully strippeth away all its bark, and fashioning it in comely form maketh a vessel useful for the service of life; and burning the refuse of his handywork to dress his food, eateth his fill; and taking the very refuse thereof which

served to no use, a crooked piece of wood and full of knots, carveth it with the diligence of his idleness, and shapeth it by the skill of his indolence; then he giveth it the semblance of the image of a man, or maketh it like some paltry animal, smearing it with vermilion, and with paint colouring it red, and smearing over every stain that is therein; and having made for it a chamber worthy of it, he setteth it in a wall, making it fast with iron.

While then he taketh thought for it that it may not fall down, knowing that it is unable to help itself; (for verily it is an image, and hath need of help;) when he maketh his prayer concerning goods and his marriage and children, he is not ashamed to speak to that which hath no life; yea for health he calleth upon that which is weak, and for life he beseecheth that which is dead, and for aid he supplicateth that which hath least experience, and for a good journey that which cannot so much as move a step, and for gaining and getting and good success of his hands he asketh ability of that which with its hands is most unable.

Again, one preparing to sail, and about to journey over raging waves, calleth upon a piece of wood more rotten than the vessel that carrieth him; for that vessel the hunger for gains devised, and an artificer, even wisdom, built it; and thy providence, O Father, guideth it along, because even in the sea thou gavest a way, and in the waves a sure path, shewing that thou canst save out of every danger, that so even without art a man may put to sea; and it is thy will that the works of thy wisdom should not be idle; therefore also do men intrust their lives to a little piece of wood, and passing through the surge on a raft are brought safe to land.

For in the old time also, when proud giants were perishing, the hope of the world, taking refuge on a raft, left to the race of men a seed of generations to come, thy hand guiding the helm. For blessed hath been wood through which cometh righteousness: but the idol made with hands is accursed, itself and he that made it; because his was the working, and the corruptible thing was named a god: for both the ungodly doer and his ungodliness are alike hateful to God; for verily the deed shall be punished together with him that committed it. Therefore also among the idols of the nations shall there be a visitation, because, though formed of things which God created, they were made an abomination,

and stumblingblocks to the souls of men, and a snare to the feet of the foolish.

To this description of idolatry there succeeds a curious speculation upon its origin and cause. Our author is not original in this speculation. His ideas had already been more or less suggested by Greek thinkers.

For the devising of idols was the beginning of fornication, and the invention of them the corruption of life: for neither were they from the beginning, neither shall they be for ever; for by the vaingloriousness of men they entered into the world, and therefore was a speedy end devised for them. For a father worn with untimely grief, making an image of the child quickly taken away, now honoured him as a god which was then a dead man, and delivered to those that were under him mysteries and solemn rites. Afterward the ungodly custom, in process of time grown strong, was kept as a law, and by the commandments of princes the graven images received worship. And when men could not honour them in presence because they dwelt far off, imagining the likeness from afar, they made a visible image of the king whom they honoured, that by their zeal they might flatter the absent as if present.

But unto a yet higher pitch was worship raised even by them that knew him not, urged forward by the ambition of the artificer: for he, wishing peradventure to please one in authority, used his art to force the likeness toward a greater beauty; and the multitude, allured by reason of the grace of his handywork, now accounted as an object of devotion him that a little before was honoured as a man. And this became a hidden danger unto life, because men, in bondage either to calamity or to tyranny, invested stones and stocks with the incommunicable Name.

The author proceeds to dilate upon the moral effects which in his eyes and to his reasoning were the inevitable issues of idolatry.

For the worship of those nameless idols is a beginning and cause and end of every evil. For their worshippers either make merry unto madness, or prophesy lies, or live unrighteously, or lightly forswear themselves. For putting their trust in lifeless idols, when they have sworn a wicked

oath, they expect not to suffer harm. But for both sins shall the just doom pursue them, because they had evil thoughts of God by giving heed to idols, and swore unrighteously in deceit through contempt for holiness. For it is not the power of them by whom men swear, but it is that Justice which hath regard to them that sin, that visiteth always the transgression of the unrighteous.

But thou, our God, art gracious and true, longsuffering, and in mercy ordering all things. For even if we sin, we are thine, knowing thy dominion; but we shall not sin, knowing that we have been accounted thine: for to be acquainted with thee is perfect righteousness, and to know thy dominion is the root of immortality.

§ 6. *Righteousness and life eternal.*—I now pass on to the first division of the book, the larger portion of which I shall give in full.

The author opens rhetorically with an exhortation to kings and rulers to love justice and to search for the knowledge of God. Those who seek God in purity of heart and sincerity of faith shall surely find him. Into their souls God's holy spirit will enter and make them participate in that true life which is begun on earth and continued 'beyond' it. Righteousness leads to eternal life; sin to eternal death. It is unfortunate that our author is not content to leave good and bad alike to the goodness and wisdom of God, but ventures to lay down the dread and terrible doctrine that the wicked, after the severance of body from soul, will undergo the real or true death, consisting negatively in the loss of blessedness with the knowledge of being for ever 'too late,' and positively in pain and consciousness of guilt. In the case both of the righteous and the wicked, it is the soul which enjoys and the soul which suffers; the body perishes with the earthly death.

At the close of the penultimate paragraph of this section, it will be observed that our author puts forward a strange theory, according to which death (whether in its first or second sense is not quite clear) is due to the envy of the devil. The figure or figment of the Satan has here developed into that of an evil spirit who deliberately fights against God and goodness. (It is perhaps not superfluous to add that the word 'devil' is derived from the Greek *diabolos*, which is the term here employed. *Diabolos* means *slanderer*, and in the Greek translation of the Bible is used to render the Hebrew Satan or the Adversary.) This conception has happily never taken root in Judaism and is now, I think, almost universally abandoned. Evil is made no whit easier to understand

by the figment of a devil. On the contrary. It is made still more positive and permanent. Far better to maintain God's single supremacy over all, to be so assured of the reality of goodness and wisdom that even all the world's evil and man's cannot shake us from our trust. Nearer to and in better accordance with God's rule of the world than the mournful hypothesis of the Alexandrian sage is, let us believe, the aspiration of our great poet:—

'There shall never be one lost good! What was, shall live as before;
The evil is null, is nought, is silence implying sound;
What was good shall be good, with, for evil, so much good more;
On the earth the broken arcs; in the heaven, a perfect round.'

Love righteousness, ye that be judges of the earth, think ye of the Lord with a good mind, and in singleness of heart seek ye him; because he is found of them that tempt him not, and is manifested to them that do not distrust him. For crooked thoughts separate from God; and the supreme Power, when it is brought to the proof, putteth to confusion the foolish: because wisdom will not enter into a soul that deviseth evil, nor dwell in a body that is held in pledge by sin.

For a holy spirit of discipline will flee deceit, and will start away from thoughts that are without understanding, and will be put to confusion when unrighteousness hath come in. For wisdom is a spirit that loveth man, and she will not hold a blasphemer guiltless for his lips; because God beareth witness of his reins, and is a true overseer of his heart, and a hearer of his tongue: because the spirit of the Lord hath filled the world, and that which holdeth all things together hath knowledge of every voice. Therefore no man that uttereth unrighteous things shall be unseen; neither shall Justice, when it convicteth, pass him by.

For in the midst of his counsels the ungodly shall be searched out; and the sound of his words shall come unto the Lord to bring to conviction his lawless deeds: because there is an ear of jealousy that listeneth to all things, and the noise of murmurings is not hid. Beware then of unprofitable murmuring, and refrain your tongue from backbiting; because no secret utterance shall go on its way void, and a mouth that belieth destroyeth a soul.

Court not death in the error of your life; neither draw upon yourselves destruction by the works of your hands:

because God made not death; neither delighteth he when the living perish: for he created all things that they might have being: and the generative powers of the world are healthsome, and there is no poison of destruction in them: nor hath Hades royal dominion upon earth, for righteousness is immortal: but ungodly men by their hands and their words called death unto them: deeming him a friend they consumed away, and they made a covenant with him, because they are worthy to be of his portion.

The arguments of the wicked are now set forth. The author has probably in his mind Jewish apostates who had adopted all the worst features of Hellenism, Epicureans of a low type. It is noteworthy that some of the words put into the mouth of these sensualists seem like a designed exaggeration or perversion of Koheleth's. Hence some people think that the Wisdom of Solomon is a reply to Ecclesiastes.

I have not been allowed to put the margin of the Revised Version into the text, but in a few instances in this passage the margin seems to me so much better than the text that I must specially call attention to it. In line 1, for 'within' read 'among.' In line 3, read 'None was ever known that returned out of Hades.' In the last sentence of the first paragraph read, 'And there is no putting back of our end; because it is fast sealed, and none cometh again.' In the third paragraph, line 9, for 'servant' read 'child.'

For they said within themselves, reasoning not aright, 'Short and sorrowful is our life; and there is no healing when a man cometh to his end, and none was ever known that gave release from Hades. Because by mere chance were we born, and hereafter we shall be as though we had never been: because the breath in our nostrils is smoke, and while our heart beateth reason is a spark, which being extinguished, the body shall be turned into ashes, and the spirit shall be dispersed as thin air; and our name shall be forgotten in time, and no man shall remember our works; and our life shall pass away as the traces of a cloud, and shall be scattered as is a mist, when it is chased by the beams of the sun, and overcome by the heat thereof. For our allotted time is the passing of a shadow, and our end retreateth not; because it is fast sealed, and none turneth it back.

'Come therefore and let us enjoy the good things that now are; and let us use the creation with all our soul as youth's possession. Let us fill ourselves with costly wine and perfumes; and let no flower of spring pass us by: let us crown ourselves with rosebuds, before they be withered: let none of us go without his share in our proud revelry: everywhere let us leave tokens of our mirth: because this is our portion, and our lot is this.

'Let us oppress the righteous poor; let us not spare the widow, nor reverence the hairs of the old man gray for length of years. But let our strength be to us a law of righteousness; for that which is weak is found to be of no service. But let us lie in wait for the righteous man, because he is of disservice to us, and is contrary to our works, and upbraideth us with sins against the law, and layeth to our charge sins against our discipline. He professeth to have knowledge of God, and nameth himself servant of the Lord. He became to us a reproof of our thoughts. He is grievous unto us even to behold, because his life is unlike other men's, and his paths are of strange fashion. We were accounted of him as base metal, and he abstaineth from our ways as from uncleannesses. The latter end of the righteous he calleth happy; and he vaunteth that God is his father. Let us see if his words be true, and let us try what shall befall in the ending of his life. For if the righteous man is God's son, he will uphold him, and he will deliver him out of the hand of his adversaries. With outrage and torture let us put him to the test, that we may learn his gentleness, and may prove his patience under wrong. Let us condemn him to a shameful death; for he shall be visited according to his words.'

Thus reasoned they, and they were led astray; for their wickedness blinded them, and they knew not the mysteries of God, neither hoped they for wages of holiness, nor did they judge that there is a prize for blameless souls. Because God created man for incorruption, and made him an image of his own proper being; but by the envy of the devil death entered into the world, and they that are of his portion make trial thereof.

But the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and no torment shall touch them. In the eyes of the foolish they seemed to have died; and their departure was accounted to be their hurt, and their journeying away from us to be their

ruin: but they are in peace. For even if in the sight of men they be punished, their hope is full of immortality; and having borne a little chastening, they shall receive great good; because God made trial of them, and found them worthy of himself. As gold in the furnace he proved them, and as a whole burnt offering he accepted them.

Here, then, in this concluding paragraph of our sixth section (which corresponds to the opening of the third chapter) occur those great and notable words which I have so often quoted before. Here is the doctrine, now fully taught and accepted by a Jewish sage, of the human soul's immortality.

§ 7. *Life on earth and life hereafter.*—The later Greeks had coined the adage, 'Those whom the gods love die young.' So too the Alexandrian sage essays to show how childlessness on the one hand and early death on the other may be regarded as a blessing in disguise.

The example of Enoch, used to illustrate his general doctrine, sounds a strange one, seeing that he lived, according to the statement of the Priestly Code, for 365 years. But in comparison with the lives of the other legendary heroes of the primaeval period even 365 years are few. For 'hasted he' read with the margin 'he hastened him away.'

Better than this [i.e. than vice] is childlessness with virtue; for in the memory of virtue is immortality: because it is recognised both before God and before men. When it is present, men imitate it; and they long after it when it is departed: and throughout all time it marcheth crowned in triumph, victorious in the strife for the prizes that are undefiled.

But a righteous man, though he die before his time, shall be at rest. (For honourable old age is not that which standeth in length of time, nor is its measure given by number of years: but understanding is gray hairs unto men, and an unspotted life is ripe old age.) Being found well-pleasing unto God he was beloved of him, and while living among sinners he was translated: he was caught away, lest wickedness should change his understanding, or guile deceive his soul. (For the bewitching of naughtiness bedimmeth the things which are good, and the giddy whirl of desire perverteth an innocent mind.) Being made perfect in a little

while, he fulfilled long years; for his soul was pleasing unto the Lord: therefore hasted he out of the midst of wickedness.

In a striking passage our author parallels the former speech of the wicked on earth with a speech put, if I may use the phrase, into their souls' mouth after death, when they realize how the seeming folly of the righteous was in truth supreme wisdom, and how their own seeming cunning was in truth supremest folly.

They shall come, when their sins are reckoned up, with coward fear; and their lawless deeds shall convict them to their face. Then shall the righteous man stand in great boldness before the face of them that afflicted him, and them that make his labours of no account. When they see it, they shall be troubled with terrible fear, and shall be amazed at the marvel of God's salvation. They shall say within themselves repenting, and for distress of spirit shall they groan,

'This was he whom aforetime we had in derision, and made a parable of reproach: we fools accounted his life madness, and his end without honour: how was he numbered among sons of God? And how is his lot among saints? Verily we went astray from the way of truth, and the light of righteousness shined not for us, and the sun rose not for us. We took our fill of the paths of lawlessness and destruction, and we journeyed through trackless deserts, but the way of the Lord we knew not.

'What did our arrogancy profit us? And what good have riches and vaunting brought us? Those things all passed away as a shadow, and as a message that runneth by: as a ship passing through the billowy water, whereof, when it is gone by, there is no trace to be found, neither pathway of its keel in the billows: or as when a bird flieth through the air, no token of her passage is found, but the light wind, lashed with the stroke of her pinions, and rent asunder with the violent rush of the moving wings, is passed through, and afterwards no sign of her coming is found therein: or as when an arrow is shot at a mark, the air disparted closeth up again immediately, so that men know not where it passed through: so we also, as soon as we were born, ceased to be; and of virtue we had no sign to shew, but in our wickedness we were utterly consumed.'

Because the hope of the ungodly man is as chaff carried

by the wind, and as foam vanishing before a tempest; and is scattered as smoke is scattered by the wind, and passeth by as the remembrance of a guest that tarrieth but a day. But the righteous live for ever, and in the Lord is their reward, and the care for them with the Most High.

§ 8. *The panegyric of Wisdom.*—We come now to the central portion of the whole book. the description and panegyric of wisdom. It is introduced, just as the Justification of the Righteous was introduced, by a rhetorical appeal to rulers and kings. We may note the stress laid upon the true doctrine that of him who has large power much is expected.

Hear therefore, ye kings, and understand; learn, ye judges of the ends of the earth: give ear, ye that have dominion over much people, and make your boast in multitudes of nations. Because your dominion was given you from the Lord, and your sovereignty from the Most High; who shall search out your works, and shall make inquisition of your counsels: because being officers of his kingdom ye did not judge aright, neither kept ye law, nor walked after the counsel of God.

Awfully and swiftly shall he come upon you; because a stern judgement befalleth them that be in high place: for the man of low estate may be pardoned in mercy, but mighty men shall be searched out mightily. For the Sovereign Lord of all will not refrain himself for any man's person, neither will he reverence greatness; because it is he that made both small and great, and alike he taketh thought for all; but strict is the scrutiny that cometh upon the powerful.

Unto you therefore, O princes, are my words, that ye may learn wisdom and fall not from the right way. For they that have kept holily the things that are holy shall themselves be hallowed; and they that have been taught them shall find what to answer; set your desire therefore on my words; long for them, and ye shall be trained by their discipline.

The praise of wisdom begins by stating that, given the desire for her, she is easily found. If we remember that wisdom is more akin to goodness than to knowledge, the assertion is not so rash as it seems at first sight. Him who seeks to find God, God will meet halfway. Next, by a chain of deductions called in Greek

a 'sorites' (from the word *sôros*, a heap), it is proved that this desire of wisdom will lead to a true kingdom, namely the heavenly kingdom of nearness, spiritual nearness, to God. 'Discipline' is used, much as its Hebrew equivalent would be used in Proverbs, in the sense of training and teaching.

Wisdom is radiant and fadeth not away; and easily is she beheld of them that love her, and found of them that seek her. She forestalleth them that desire to know her, making herself first known. He that riseth up early to seek her shall have no toil, for he shall find her sitting at his gates. For to think upon her is perfectness of understanding, and he that watcheth for her sake shall quickly be free from care. Because she goeth about, herself seeking them that are worthy of her, and in their paths she appeareth unto them graciously, and in every purpose she meeteth them.

For her true beginning is desire of discipline; and the care for discipline is love of her; and love of her is observance of her laws; and to give heed to her laws confirmeth incorruption; and incorruption bringeth near unto God; so then desire of wisdom promoteth to a kingdom. If therefore ye delight in thrones and sceptres, ye princes of peoples, honour wisdom, that ye may reign for ever.

But what wisdom is, and how she came into being, I will declare, and I will not hide mysteries from you; but I will trace her out from the beginning of creation, and bring the knowledge of her into clear light, and I will not pass by the truth; neither indeed will I take pining envy for my companion in the way, because envy shall have no fellowship with wisdom. But a multitude of wise men is salvation to the world, and an understanding king is tranquillity to his people. Wherefore be disciplined by my words, and thereby shall ye profit.

The author now assumes the mask of Solomon and tells how he sought for wisdom, how he obtained her, and how various was the knowledge which she brought in her train. The reader should throughout compare the description of wisdom in Proverbs and Ben Sira. Of the Greek elements in our present author's conception this is not the place to speak. It may, however, be noted that he combines the idea of wisdom (in Hebrew *Chochmah*) with the idea of the Divine Spirit (in Hebrew *Ruach*

Adonai). Wisdom in God is the maker and sustainer of the world; and as passing from God to man, wisdom is the source as well of goodness as of knowledge. Constantly imparting herself to the world and to man, she yet remains eternally the same. For God, ever giving, is yet never the poorer. As he was, so he is; as he is, so will he be.

I myself also am mortal, like to all, and am sprung from one born of the earth, the man first formed. And I also, when I was born, drew in the common air, and fell upon the kindred earth, uttering, like all, for my first voice, the self-same wail: in swaddling clothes was I nursed, and with watchful cares. For no king had any other first beginning; but all men have one entrance into life, and a like departure.

For this cause I prayed, and understanding was given me: I called upon God, and there came to me a spirit of wisdom. I preferred her before sceptres and thrones, and riches I esteemed nothing in comparison of her. Neither did I liken to her any priceless gem, because all the gold of the earth in her presence is a little sand, and silver shall be accounted as clay before her. Above health and comeliness I loved her, and I chose to have her rather than light, because her bright shining is never laid to sleep.

But with her there came to me all good things together, and in her hands innumerable riches: and I rejoiced over them all because wisdom leadeth them; though I knew not that she was the mother of them. As I learned without guile, I impart without grudging; I do not hide her riches. For she is unto men a treasure that faileth not, and they that use it obtain friendship with God, commended to him by the gifts which they through discipline present to him.

But to me may God give to speak with judgement, and to conceive thoughts worthy of what hath been given me; because himself is one that guideth even wisdom and that correcteth the wise. For in his hand are both we and our words; all understanding, and all acquaintance with divers crafts. For himself gave me an unerring knowledge of the things that are, to know the constitution of the world, and the operation of the elements; the beginning and end and middle of times, the alternations of the solstices and the changes of seasons, the circuits of years and the positions

of stars; the natures of living creatures and the ragings of wild beasts, the violences of winds and the thoughts of men, the diversities of plants and the virtues of roots: all things that are either secret or manifest I learned, for she that is the artificer of all things taught me, even wisdom.

Now follows the description of wisdom herself. The author starts by a list of twenty-one adjectives, but not arranged according to any clear system or plan; several of them are terms of familiar use in the Stoic philosophy. It is possible that there are just twenty-one of these adjectives because twenty-one is the product of the two holy numbers, seven and three. Fanciful playing with numbers became a characteristic of the Alexandrian school. I cannot attempt to give the slightest commentary to the superb and truly magnificent description that follows.

For there is in her a spirit quick of understanding, holy, alone in kind, manifold, subtle, freely moving, clear in utterance, unpolluted, distinct, unharmed, loving what is good, keen, unhindered, beneficent, loving toward man, stedfast, sure, free from care, all-powerful, all-surveying, and penetrating through all spirits that are quick of understanding, pure, most subtle: for wisdom is more mobile than any motion; yea, she pervadeth and penetrateth all things by reason of her pureness. For she is a breath of the power of God, and a clear effluence of the glory of the Almighty; therefore can nothing defiled find entrance into her.

For she is an effulgence from everlasting light, and an unspotted mirror of the working of God, and an image of his goodness. And she, being one, hath power to do all things; and remaining in herself, reneweth all things: and from generation to generation passing into holy souls she maketh men friends of God and prophets. For nothing doth God love save him that dwelleth with wisdom.

For she is fairer than the sun, and above all the constellations of the stars: being compared with light, she is found to be before it; for to the light of day succeedeth night, but against wisdom evil doth not prevail; but she reacheth from one end of the world to the other with full strength, and ordereth all things graciously.

'Alone in kind, manifold,' means in essence single, in working manifold. 'Subtle' probably means non-material. 'Clear in

utterance' must be interpreted as meaning eloquent in its instruments, i. e. in prophets and sages; but the Greek word more probably means 'penetrating' (of wisdom as the universal spirit of God). 'Distinct' is doubtful; perhaps it means of certain issue. 'Unharmed' means not susceptible of being injured, spoiled or impaired, just as 'unpolluted' means not capable of receiving pollution, and as 'unhindered' means irresistible. 'Sure' means fixed of its purposes, certain in its results. 'Free from care,' because divine, immutable and self-sufficient. The 'spirits' through whom wisdom penetrates may be both human souls and angels. 'Remaining in herself' means simply herself changeless.

§ 9. *A prayer for wisdom.*—The author, speaking once more in the assumed person of Solomon, tells how and why he had from his youth up desired to possess wisdom; how he had realized that wisdom was only to be won by the gift and grace of God, and how he had prayed to the Lord of all to grant him this sovereign excellence.

Her I loved and sought out from my youth, and I sought to take her for my bride, and I became enamoured of her beauty. She glorifieth her noble birth in that it is given her to live with God, and the Sovereign Lord of all loved her. For she is initiated into the knowledge of God, and she chooseth out for him his works.

But if riches are a desired possession in life, what is richer than wisdom, which worketh all things? And if understanding worketh, who more than wisdom is an artificer of the things that are? And if a man loveth righteousness, the fruits of wisdom's labour are virtues, for she teacheth soberness and understanding, righteousness and courage; and there is nothing in life for men more profitable than these. And if a man longeth even for much experience, she knoweth the things of old, and divineth the things to come: she understandeth subtleties of speeches and interpretations of dark sayings: she foreseeth signs and wonders, and the issues of seasons and times.

I determined therefore to take her unto me to live with me, knowing that she is one who would give me good thoughts for counsel, and encourage me in cares and grief. Because of her I shall have glory among multitudes, and honour in the sight of elders, though I be young. I shall be found of a quick conceit when I give judgement, and in the presence of princes I shall be admired. When I am

silent, they shall wait for me; and when I open my lips, they shall give heed unto me; and if I continue speaking, they shall lay their hand upon their mouth. Because of her I shall have immortality, and leave behind an eternal memory to them that come after me. I shall govern peoples, and nations shall be subjected to me. Dread princes shall fear me when they hear of me: among my people I shall shew myself a good ruler, and in war courageous. When I am come into my house, I shall find rest with her; for converse with her hath no bitterness, and to live with her hath no pain, but gladness and joy.

When I considered these things in myself, and took thought in my heart how that in kinship unto wisdom is immortality, and in her friendship is good delight, and in the labours of her hands is wealth that faileth not, and in assiduous communing with her is understanding, and great renown in having fellowship with her words, I went about seeking how to take her unto myself. Now I was a child of parts, and a good soul fell to my lot; nay rather, being good, I came into a body undefiled. But perceiving that I could not otherwise possess wisdom except God gave her me (yea and to know by whom the grace is given, this too came of understanding), I pleaded with the Lord and besought him, and with my whole heart I said,

'O God of the fathers, and Lord who keepest thy mercy, who madest all things by thy word; and by thy wisdom thou formedst man, that he should have dominion over the creatures that were made by thee, and rule the world in holiness and righteousness, and execute judgement in uprightness of soul; give me wisdom, her that sitteth by thee on thy throne; and reject me not from among thy servants: because I am thy bondman and the son of thy handmaid, a man weak and short-lived, and of small power to understand judgement and laws. For even if a man be perfect among the sons of men, yet if the wisdom that cometh from thee be not with him, he shall be held in no account. Thou didst choose me before my brethren to be king of thy people, and to do judgement for thy sons and daughters. Thou gavest command to build a sanctuary in thy holy mountain, and an altar in the city of thy habitation, a copy of the holy tabernacle which thou preparedst aforehand from the beginning.

'And with thee is wisdom, which knoweth thy works, and was present when thou wast making the world, and which understandeth what is pleasing in thine eyes, and what is right according to thy commandments. Send her forth out of the holy heavens, and from the throne of thy glory bid her come, that being present with me she may toil with me, and that I may learn what is well-pleasing before thee. For she knoweth all things and hath understanding thereof, and in my doings she shall guide me in ways of soberness, and she shall guard me in her glory. And so shall my works be acceptable, and I shall judge thy people righteously, and I shall be worthy of my father's throne.

'For what man shall know the counsel of God? or who shall conceive what the Lord willeth? For the thoughts of mortals are timorous, and our devices are prone to fail. For a corruptible body weigheth down the soul, and the earthy frame lieth heavy on a mind that is full of cares. And hardly do we divine the things that are on earth, and the things that are close at hand we find with labour; but the things that are in the heavens who ever yet traced out? And who ever gained knowledge of thy counsel, except thou gavest wisdom, and sentest thy holy spirit from on high? And it was thus that the ways of them which are on earth were corrected, and men were taught the things that are pleasing unto thee; and through wisdom were they saved.'

In this fine concluding section of the first division we may note, as illustrating the Greek influence to which our author owes much of his poetry and depth of thought, the mention of the four cardinal virtues: soberness (in Greek *Sôphrosunê*, usually translated by 'temperance'), understanding (in Greek *Phronêsis*, to avoid the use of *Sophia, wisdom*, which is here regarded as the source and origin of every excellence), righteousness (in Greek *Dikaiosunê*, usually translated by 'justice,'), and courage (in Greek *Andreia*).

'A good soul fell to my lot.' Here in rather veiled and uncertain language the author adopts the Platonic view of pre-existence. As the soul is indestructible, it not only continues to live after death, but it has already lived before birth. Those who would like to read more about this and kindred theories can 'make up the subject' in easily accessible books. The tendency to ascribe to the body *moral* as well as physical corruption ('the body weighs down the

soul') is again Platonic, and illustrative proofs of it can be found in Plato's dialogue on the Immortality of the Soul called the *Phaedo*.

Note how, to our author, wisdom and God's spirit are one and the same. Sometimes he speaks of 'God's incorruptible spirit,' sometimes of a 'spirit of wisdom,' sometimes of wisdom itself, sometimes of wisdom *as* a spirit, sometimes of a holy spirit *in* wisdom, sometimes of 'the spirit of the Lord,' sometimes of the 'holy spirit of discipline,' and finally, as in the last passage, of 'the holy spirit of God.' In all these various forms the same idea is variously expressed. He means by them that aspect of God which seems to him the creative cause of all existence, the living condition and active source of truth, of beauty and of goodness. God as the sustainer of nature, God as the inspirer of man, these divine functions are attributed by our author to Wisdom or the Holy Spirit. God in his own divine life—who can fathom it or him? But God is near as well as far. And it is in his quality as giver, helper and inspirer that our Alexandrian sage, combining Greek and Hebrew strands of thought, attempts to bring him more closely home to us by the conception of him as holy and all-pervading Spirit.

For this conception, helpful and quickening as it is, we have reason to be grateful; nor must we forget its close connexion, in our author's mind at any rate, with his second claim to honour and renown, the doctrine of the soul's immortality. Man's soul is akin to the world's soul, and therefore, like that, imperishable. Not till that doctrine is fully reached is it easy to distinguish clearly between the things of sense and the things of spirit, and to mark with adequate difference the cleavage between the perishable outward 'goods' of 'matter' and the inward and incorruptible 'goods' of 'soul.' Not till then is it possible to realize fully that the essential gifts of Spirit are essentially spiritual—beauty, wisdom and goodness; and that those things are the supremest bestowals of God's grace, which, being states or powers of the mind, are presumably indestructible by death. The bidding of Shakespeare to his soul in his 146th sonnet is dependent upon the hope of its closing couplet:—

> 'Poor soul, the centre of my sinful earth,
> Fool'd by those rebel powers that thee array,
> Why dost thou pine within and suffer dearth,
> Painting thy outward walls so costly gay?
> Why so large cost, having so short a lease,
> Dost thou upon thy fading mansion spend?

Shall worms, inheritors of this excess,
Eat up thy charge? Is this thy body's end?
Then, soul, live thou upon thy servant's loss,
And let that pine to aggravate thy store;
Buy terms divine in selling hours of dross;
Within be fed, without be rich no more:
So shalt thou feed on Death, that feeds on men,
And Death once dead, there's no more dying then.'

SECTION II

PROPHETICAL LITERATURE

CHAPTER I

THE BOOK OF AMOS

§ 1. *A leap backward through the ages.*—According to the plan sketched out in the last paragraph of the Introductory Chapter, the present section will consist of certain select extracts and specimens from the Prophetical Literature. The order adopted may seem strangely and very unnecessarily unchronological, and indeed it is a far backward cry through the ages from the Wisdom of Solomon to the Book of Amos. But this present volume is specially intended to contain the products of literary activity among the Jews in the post-exilic period, and therefore it seemed desirable to begin with a kind of literature which, in my opinion, was typical of the period. Selections from the prophetical literature are included in this volume because almost every prophetical book, as we now possess it, was at least *edited* in the post-exilic age, and contains in all probability interpolated additions written by post-exilic Jews. Originally indeed I had intended to confine my specimens of this prophetical literature to the Book of Joel and to select chapters from the Book of Isaiah. But on further consideration it has seemed advisable to include also the work of those two great inaugurators of written prophecy, Amos and Hosea.

It is true that some short selections from Amos and Hosea were given in Part I; but it seems a great pity to limit the knowledge of them, even so far as my own Bible for Home Reading is concerned, to these fragments. These two prophetical books are great and short enough to be given in their entirety.

Moreover, although their date is pre-exilic, yet there are perhaps in them sufficient post-exilic 'interpolations' and 'additions' to justify their inclusion in a volume dedicated predominantly to

the post-exilic and even post-Nehemian period. These possible later additions, concerning which the great scholars are by no means agreed, I shall indicate by brackets.

§ 2. *Amos and his time.*—The date of Amos is tolerably certain. It was the middle of the eighth century B. C., towards the close of the reign of Jeroboam II of Israel (790–749 B. C.). The circumstances of his age are thus described by Professor Driver in his admirable Commentary on Joel and Amos in the *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges.* I append references to the respective pages of Part I, in which the passages from the Books of Kings alluded to by Professor Driver are to be found.

'The reign of Jeroboam II, though passed by briefly in the historical books (p. 351), was one of singular external prosperity for the northern kingdom. Jeroboam II was the fourth ruler of the dynasty founded (B. C. 842) by Jehu (pp. 344–348). Under both Jehu and his successor, Jehoahaz, Israel had suffered severely at the hands of the Syrians. Already under Jehu (p. 349) Hazael had succeeded in wresting from Israel all its territory east of Jordan; under Jehoahaz (B. C. 815–802) Israel was if possible still more humiliated; throughout his whole reign Hazael continued its vexatious oppressor, inflicting upon its armies defeats, in which (to use the expressive metaphor of the historian) he "made them like dust in threshing" (p. 349), and gaining possession of various cities (p. 355). The details given in the Book of Kings are meagre; but the terms in which the narrator speaks make it evident how seriously by these losses the strength of Israel was impaired (pp. 355–357). Under Jehoash (B. C. 802–790) the tide turned. Ben-hadad succeeded Hazael on the throne of Damascus; and from him Jehoash, encouraged by Elisha's dying charge, recovered the cities which his father had lost (pp. 356, 357). Jeroboam II (B. C. 790–749) was yet more successful. "He restored the coast of Israel from the entering in of Hamath unto the sea of the Arábah" (p. 357), i. e. from the far north to the Dead Sea, besides gaining other successes. The old limits of its territory were thus regained, and Israel could again breathe freely, and devote itself to the arts and enjoyments of peace. The Book of Amos exhibits to us the nation reposing in the ease which had thus been won for it. But some years would obviously be required ere the full fruits of Jeroboam's successes could be reaped; and hence we are justified in assigning the prophecy of Amos to the later years of his reign.

'The Book of Amos presents a vivid picture of the social condition of Israel at the time. On the one hand, we see the material prosperity which Israel now enjoyed. Wealth abounded;

and those who possessed it lived in self-indulgence and luxury. They had their winter houses and their summer houses; they had houses built solidly of hewn stone and panelled with ivory; they had couches inlaid with the same costly material, upon which they reclined anointed with rich perfumes, feasting upon delicacies, drinking wines "in bowls," and listening to strains of varied music: there was many a "palace" and "great house," we may be sure, in which, during these happy days of Israel's prosperity, the sound of "revelry" was often to be heard. The temples, especially that at Bethel, which was under royal patronage, were well appointed, and thronged with worshippers: pilgrims flocked to the principal sanctuaries, Beth-el, Gilgal, and even Beer-sheba, in the south of Judah; tithes and other dues were regularly paid; voluntary offerings were ostentatiously rendered, a splendid and no doubt impressive ceremonial was punctiliously maintained. The nation felt itself secure: it judged itself to be under the special favour and protection of its God; it could contemplate the future without apprehension; it could say, in proud consciousness of its newly-born powers, "Have we not taken to us horns by our own strength?"

'On the other hand, we see also the darker side of the picture, the moral deterioration resulting from the continuance of unbroken prosperity. The affluence of the wealthy was not obtained as the result of their own honest toil, but was wrung, by injustice and oppression, from the hard-worked *fellahin*, the poor cultivators of the soil, who lived penuriously, and had as much as they could do to keep body and soul together. The Book of Amos is full of allusions to the sufferings inflicted upon the poor by the hard-hearted aristocracy, by remorseless creditors, by avaricious and dishonest traders, by venal judges. Justice was sold to the highest bidder; for the sake of some trifling article, the value of which he could not pay, the debtor was sold into slavery; the sufferings and misfortunes of the poor were viewed with complacency; in the capital itself might ruled over right, and the palaces of the nobles were stored with the gains of violence and robbery; even the women co-operated with their husbands in unscrupulous exactions, that they might have the means of indulging in a carouse; justice, so-called, was simple injustice; the claims of innocence were listened to with impatience; presents and bribes were openly demanded, violence reigned supreme; the rapacious merchants longed for the time when the sabbath or the new moon would be past, in order that they might resume their dishonest practices, and make fresh profits out of the helplessness of the poor. The ceremonial observances, so sumptuously and lavishly maintained at

the sanctuaries, were no guarantee, Amos plainly indicates, of the moral or religious sincerity of the people. The nobles of Samaria, immersed in their own pleasures, were selfishly indifferent to the welfare of the nation of which they were the responsible leaders: they were satisfied with the external semblance of strength and soundness which it presented; they had no eye for the inner flaws which the prophet's keener vision too truly perceived; and they were heedless of the future.'

So much for the circumstances of his age. Amos himself was no citizen of Israel, but a Judaean herdman; no prophet by education or profession, but a simple countryman and shepherd. 'No prophet am I, or prophet's son,' we shall hear him say; 'but a herdman and a dresser of sycomores: and the Lord took me from following the flock, and the Lord said unto me, 'Go, prophesy unto my people Israel.' His home was Tekoa.

'Tekoa—now Taku'a—was a village situated on a hill, six miles south of Bethlehem and twelve miles south of Jerusalem, in the centre of a barren and desolate region, bounded on the south-west and north by limestone hills, while on the east the land slopes away over eighteen miles, first of wild moorland—the "wilderness," or pasture-ground, of Tekoa—and afterwards of bleak and rugged hills down to the Dead Sea, some 4,000 feet below. The sycomore does not grow at so high a level as Tekoa; and hence we must suppose that Amos carried on his occupation as a sycomore-dresser in some sheltered nook in the lower part of the "wilderness of Judah," where the milder temperature of the Jordan valley prevailed.'

But this shepherd of Tekoa was a great religious genius. The earliest of the canonical prophets, he is in many fundamental points inferior to none of his successors. His lofty conception of God and of his relation to Israel and the world, his supreme passion for righteousness, his deeply ethical conception of religion—in these respects later prophets could scarcely supplement or purify his doctrine and thought.

And his short book is not only striking for the religious truths which it conveys, but for the language in which it conveys them, and 'for the breadth of human interest, embracing both acute observation and wide historical knowledge,' which it reveals. The markets and fairs which his profession of wool-grower compelled him to visit explain his familiarity with the scenes and life of the kingdom of Israel, while 'to associate inferior culture with the simplicity and poverty of pastoral life is totally to mistake the conditions of eastern society' (Robertson-Smith). In his own life occasional mingling with crowds and strangers alternated with

longer periods of solitude, where amid the silence of the wide pastures he could meditate over all he had seen and heard, and attune his mind into preparedness for the divine message. And if any piece of literature implies and demands for its adequate explanation the inspiration of God, it is the Book of Amos.

§ 3. *The roll call of the nations.*—The first part of the book is introductory. It deals with the neighbours of Israel as well as with Israel itself. 'After the exordium, which describes under a fine image Jehovah's power over Palestine, Amos takes a survey of the principal nations bordering on Israel—Damascus, the Philistines, Tyre, Edom, the Ammonites, Moab, Judah—for the purpose of showing that, as none of these will escape retribution for having violated some generally recognized principle of humanity or morality, so Israel, for similar or greater sins, aggravated in its case by an ungrateful forgetfulness of Jehovah's benefits, will be subject to the same law of righteous government: a terrible military disaster will ere long overtake the nation, in which its bravest warriors will flee panic-stricken and helpless.'

The words of Amos, who was among the herdmen of Tekoa, which he beheld concerning Israel in the days of Uzziah king of Judah, and in the days of Jeroboam the son of Joash king of Israel, two years before the earthquake.

And he said, The Lord roareth from Zion, and uttereth his voice from Jerusalem; and the pastures of the shepherds mourn, and the top of Carmel is withered.

Thus saith the Lord: For three transgressions of Damascus, yea, for four, I will not turn It back; because they have trodden Gilead with sharp threshing boards of iron: but I will send a fire into the house of Hazael, and it shall devour the palaces of Ben-hadad. And I will break the bar of Damascus, and cut off the inhabitant from the valley of Aven, and him that holdeth the sceptre from Beth-Eden: and the people of Syria shall go into exile unto Kir, saith the Lord.

Thus saith the Lord: For three transgressions of Gaza, yea, for four, I will not turn It back; because they carried into exile entire villages, to deliver them up to Edom: but I will send a fire on the wall of Gaza, and it shall devour the palaces thereof: and I will cut off the inhabitant from Ashdod, and him that holdeth the sceptre from Ashkelon; and I will turn mine hand against Ekron, and the remnant of the Philistines shall perish, saith the Lord God.

Thus saith the Lord: For three transgressions of Tyre, yea, for four, I will not turn It back; because they delivered up entire villages to Edom, and remembered not the covenant of brethren; but I will send a fire on the wall of Tyre, and it shall devour the palaces thereof.

[Thus saith the Lord: For three transgressions of Edom, yea, for four, I will not turn It back; because he did pursue his brother with the sword, and did cast off all pity, and retained his anger perpetually, and kept his wrath for ever: but I will send a fire upon Teman, and it shall devour the palaces of Bozrah.]

Thus saith the Lord: For three transgressions of Moab, and for four, I will not turn It back; because he burned the bones of the king of Edom into lime: but I will send a fire upon Moab, and it shall devour the palaces of Kirioth: and Moab shall die with tumult, with shouting, and with the sound of the horn: and I will cut off the ruler from the midst thereof, and will slay all the princes thereof with him, saith the Lord.

[Thus saith the Lord: For three transgressions of Judah, and for four, I will not turn It back; because they have rejected the teaching of the Lord, and have not kept his statutes, and their lies caused them to err, after the which their fathers have walked: but I will send a fire upon Judah, and it shall devour the palaces of Jerusalem.]

Thus saith the Lord: For three transgressions of Israel, and for four, I will not turn It back; because they sell the righteous for silver, and the needy for a pair of shoes; that trample to the dust of the earth the head of the poor, and turn aside the way of the meek. And they lay themselves down upon clothes taken in pledge by every altar, and they drink the wine of them that are fined in the house of their God.

Yet destroyed I the Amorite before them, whose height was like the height of the cedars, and he was strong as the oaks; yet I destroyed his fruit from above, and his roots from beneath. And I brought you up from the land of Egypt, and led you forty years through the wilderness, to possess the land of the Amorite. And I raised up of your sons for prophets, and of your young men for Nazarites. Is it not even thus, O ye children of Israel? saith the Lord. But ye gave the Nazarites wine to drink; and commanded

the prophets, saying, Ye shall not prophesy. Behold, I will make the ground quake under you, as a waggon quaketh under its load of sheaves. And refuge shall fail the swift, and the strong shall not prove his force, neither shall the mighty escape with his life: neither shall he stand that handleth the bow; but naked shall men flee away in that day, saith the Lord.

'I will not turn It back.' 'In harmony with the rest of the book, Jehovah is represented as moving to punishment, not for a single sin, but for repeated and cumulative guilt. The unnamed *It* which God will not recall is not the word of judgement, but the anger and the hand stretched forth to smite' (Dr. G. A. Smith).

For the guilt of Damascus cp. Part I, chapter xiii. §§ 11 and 14.

'The second denunciation is directed against the Philistines. The reference seems to be to raids made upon the villages of Judah without the excuse of war, for the purely commercial purpose of procuring slaves for the trade with Edom.'

'The covenant of brethren,' which Tyre forgot, seems to refer to cruelties practised *not* against Israel, but against other Phoenician cities.

The attack upon Edom seems to be a post-exilic interpolation. Before the exile the guilt seems to have been rather on Judah's side than Edom's. In Nebuchadrezzar's days Edom did show marked cruelty to Judah.

Note the sin of Moab, which has nothing to do with Israel. The first of the literary prophets, Amos is also the most impartial and the least national of them all. Almost every great characteristic of prophecy is already prominent in him, the leader of the band. Note too that Amos deals with each of these peoples as a moral unit. He is concerned with the nation or with classes of rich and poor. The religious rights and duties of the individual were not yet a subject for discussion or a puzzle for doubt. That was to come in Jeremiah's day and Ezekiel's.

Judah's sins are couched in vague, general terms, and the passage is probably interpolated.

When he reaches Israel, his proper subject, Amos expands his charge. To oppression of the poor is added ingratitude to God and obstinate refusal to hear his word. Amos thus alludes to earlier prophets *of his own type*, just as he later on alludes to the professional prophet with whom he disclaims kinship. These earlier prophets need not necessarily have written down their

messages. At all events we have no record of them. The unnamed executors of the judgement are the Assyrians.

§ 4. *The ruin to come.*—The next section of the Book of Amos includes chapters iii, iv, v and vi of his book. The general indictment of Israel is now justified and developed. The section is separable into three smaller divisions.

Hear this word that the Lord hath spoken against you, O children of Israel, against the whole family which I brought up from the land of Egypt, saying, *You only have I known of all the families of the earth : therefore will I visit upon you all your iniquities.*

Do two walk together, except they have made an appointment? Doth a lion roar in the forest, when he hath no prey? doth a young lion growl from out of his lair, if he have taken nothing? Doth a bird fall into a trap upon the earth, where no bait is laid for it? doth a trap spring up from the earth, and have taken nothing at all? Is the trumpet blown in the city, and the people is not afraid? doth calamity happen in a city, and the Lord hath not done it? Surely the Lord God will do nothing, but he revealeth his counsel unto his servants the prophets. The lion hath roared, who will not fear? the Lord God hath spoken, who can but prophesy?

The great and famous utterance, 'You only have I known of all the families of the earth: *therefore* will I visit upon you all your iniquities,' has been already quoted and explained in Part I. The greater the privilege, the greater the sin of betrayal. The greater the trust, the grosser the sin of faithlessness. The greater the knowledge, the graver the sin which misused it. The greater the opportunity, the more inexcusable the sin which missed it.

The purport of the questions is to show that as ordinary events have their causes, so too has the abnormal event of Amos' prophesying its cause. And the cause is God and his revealed purpose. The prophet's coming is no chance. It means that something is going to happen, the Author of which is God.

Proclaim it over the palaces at Ashdod, and over the palaces in the land of Egypt, and say, Assemble yourselves upon the mountain of Samaria, and behold the great tumults and the oppression in the midst thereof. For they know not

to do right, saith the Lord, who store up violence and robbery in their palaces. Therefore thus saith the Lord God: An adversary shall compass the land; and he shall bring down thy strength from thee, and thy palaces shall be spoiled.

Thus saith the Lord: As the shepherd rescueth out of the mouth of the lion two legs, or a piece of an ear; so shall the children of Israel be rescued—they that sit in Samaria in the corner of the sofa and on the cushions of the couch!

Hear ye, and testify against the house of Jacob, saith the Lord God, the God of hosts, that in the day that I shall visit the transgressions of Israel upon him I will also visit the altars of Beth-el: and the horns of the altar shall be cut off, and fall to the ground. And I will smite the winter house with the summer house; and the houses of ivory shall perish, yea, many houses shall have an end, saith the Lord.

Hear this word, ye kine of Bashan, that are in the mount of Samaria, who oppress the poor and crush the needy, saying to your lords, Bring, and let us drink. The Lord God hath sworn by his holiness, that, lo, the days are coming upon you, that ye shall be taken away with hooks, and the last of you with fish-hooks. And ye shall go out by the breaches, every one straight before her, and ye shall be cast . . . saith the Lord.

The oration is directed against the rich and ruling classes, both men and women. Amos has as much sympathy with the poor as any modern worker or reformer. Hence the prophets have often been claimed as 'socialists.' Such an appellation is erroneous and anachronistic, but it is true that much of our modern civilization as well as very many rich men's lives would fall under the prophetic lash. We too have great houses built and inhabited without righteousness; and are there not, alas, kine of London or New York as thoughtless, if not as directly cruel, as the kine of Bashan at whom the prophet girds?

'Proclaim over the palaces,' 'i. e. on their flat roofs, whence all can hear.'

'As the shepherd.' The ruin will be sudden, the remnant that escape will be few.

'The summer house.' 'Separate buildings, such as the wealthy might be able to indulge in, appear to be intended. Both terms are to be understood collectively, and not confined to the royal palaces alone.'

§ 5. *Warnings unheeded.*—In this section Amos 'points ironically to the zeal with which the Israelites perform their religious rites, as though a mere external ceremonial could guarantee their safety; again and again Jehovah has shown signs of his displeasure; but again and again the warning has passed unheeded: now at last his patience is exhausted, and Israel must prepare to meet its doom.' 'Five unheeded chastisements' were sent by God upon Israel, but one and all failed to produce any moral or religious improvement. Famine, drought, blasting and mildew, pestilence and the sword, and lastly an earthquake—all these have befallen Israel, but Israel is still unrepentant. As Amos spoke during the prosperous reign of Jeroboam II, we must assume that Amos mainly refers here to the events of previous reigns, as, for instance, to the calamities of the earlier Syrian wars. But there may have been occasional droughts and famines and seasons of pestilence in the course of a long reign which was prosperous as a whole.

Come to Beth-el, and transgress; at Gilgal multiply transgression; and bring your sacrifices in the morning, and your tithes on the third day! And offer leavened bread as a thanksgiving, and proclaim and publish the free-will offerings: for so ye love to do, O children of Israel, saith the Lord God!

So I gave you cleanness of teeth in all your cities, and want of bread in all your places: *yet have ye not returned unto me*, saith the Lord.

I withheld the rain from you, when there were yet three months to the harvest: and I caused it to rain upon one city, and caused it not to rain upon another city: one plot was rained upon, and the plot whereupon it rained not withered. So two or three cities wandered unto one city to drink water; but they were not satisfied: *yet have ye not returned unto me*, saith the Lord.

I smote you with blasting and mildew, I laid waste your gardens and your vineyards, and your fig trees and your olive trees the palmerworm devoured: *yet have ye not returned unto me*, saith the Lord.

I sent among you the pestilence after the manner of Egypt: your young men have I slain with the sword, your horses I gave as spoil, and I have made the stink of your camps to come up unto your nostrils: *yet have ye not returned unto me*, saith the Lord.

I made an overthrowing among you, as God overthrew

Sodom and Gomorrah, and ye were as a firebrand plucked out of the burning: *yet have ye not returned unto me*, saith the Lord.

Therefore thus will I do unto thee, O Israel: . . . . . [and because I will do this unto thee, prepare to meet thy God, O Israel. For, lo, he that formeth the mountains, and createth the wind, and declareth what his thought is, that maketh the morning darkness, and treadeth upon the high places of the earth, the Lord, the God of Hosts, is his name!]

Thus the nearer the people think to come to God through their sacrifices and ritualism, the further they are removed from him. The only approach to God is by rectitude. Amos shows an absolute and utter indifference to the ritual. He seems unacquainted with any supposed 'Mosaic' legislation about sacrifices and burnt offerings. God's covenant with Israel rests wholly and solely on a basis of social righteousness.

The close of the section is difficult. There seems to be a gap after the words: 'Therefore *thus* will I do unto thee, O Israel,' for what he will do is not stated. The judgement is omitted, and instead we have a grand description of him from whom the judgement will proceed. But this description, striking as it is, does not seem, to the minds of many great scholars, to be from the pen of the prophet. We shall meet with two other passages closely resembling it, and each case seems more or less to break or interfere with the natural sequence or connexion of the sections in which it occurs.

§ 6. *The fall of Israel and its causes.*—'This section of the prophecy falls naturally into three parts, each drawing out, in different terms, the moral grounds of Israel's impending ruin, and ending with a similar outlook of invasion, or exile.' In the first part it is declared how 'Israel continuing to show no signs of amendment, there remains nothing but inevitable ruin; and the prophet accordingly begins to sing his elegy over the impending fall of the kingdom, which in spirit he beholds already as consummated. Israel deserves this fate, for it has done the very opposite of what God demands: God demanded obedience, judgement and mercy; Israel has persistently practised the reverse, and has acted so as to call down upon itself a just retribution. Its state is desperate; certainly, even now it is not too late to amend, and the prophet entreats it earnestly to do so; but he sees only too well that his words will not be listened to; and again therefore he draws in outline a dark picture of the calamities impending upon the nation' (Driver).

Hear ye this word which I take up against you—a dirge, O house of Israel:—

Fallen, no more to rise,
Is the virgin of Israel!
She lieth low on her own land;
There is none to raise her up!

For thus saith the Lord God: The city that went out with a thousand shall be left with a hundred, and the city that went out with a hundred shall be left with ten, to the house of Israel.

For thus saith the Lord unto the house of Israel: Seek ye me, and live. But seek not Beth-el, and come not to Gilgal, and pass not over to Beer-sheba: for Gilgal shall surely go into exile, and Beth-el shall come to ruin. Seek ye the Lord and live, lest he break out like fire upon the house of Joseph, and devour it, and there be none to quench at Beth-el. [He that made the seven stars and Orion, that turneth deep darkness into morning, and maketh the day dark with night; that calleth for the waters of the sea, and poureth them out upon the face of the earth: the Lord is his name. He flasheth forth ruin upon the strong, and bringeth down destruction on the fortress. (?)]

They turn justice to wormwood, and cast down righteousness to the earth. They hate him that reproveth in the gate, and they abhor him that speaketh uprightly. Forasmuch therefore as ye trample upon the poor, and take from him exactions of corn: ye have built houses of hewn stone, but ye shall not dwell in them; ye have planted pleasant vineyards, but ye shall not drink wine of them. For I know how many are your transgressions, and how mighty are your sins—ye who afflict the just, and take bribes, and turn aside the poor in the gate from their right. Therefore the prudent in such a time is silent; for it is an evil time.

Seek good, and not evil, that ye may live, and the Lord, the God of hosts, may be with you, as ye say. Hate the evil, and love the good, and establish justice in the gate: it may be that the Lord God of hosts will be gracious unto the remnant of Joseph.

Therefore thus saith the Lord, the God of hosts, the Lord: Wailing shall be in all streets; and they shall say in all the

highways, Alas! alas! And in all vineyards shall be wailing, and they shall call the husbandmen to mourning, and such as are skilful of lamentation to wailing: for I will pass through the midst of thee, saith the Lord.

Once again Amos distinguishes between the ritual of the altars and the true quest of God. Only the second leads to life: the first only to ruin and death. God 'passes through' for destruction, not for deliverance.

'Seek not Beth-el.' 'Seek ye me.' There is a play on the word 'seek' which, as Professor Driver points out, has two senses. 'To seek God was a standing expression for consulting him by a prophet, or an oracle, even on purely secular matters; but it is also used of seeking or caring for him more generally, by paying regard to his revealed will and studying to please him by the practice of a righteous and holy life.' In the phrase, 'Seek ye me,' we have the second sense; in 'Seek not Beth-el' we have the first.

'Him that reproveth in the gate.' The reprover is he, 'whether judge or advocate, who indicts, impeaches, seeks to convict, the wrong-doer. The "gate"—more exactly the gateway, with a depth corresponding to the thickness of the wall, in which it was constructed, and no doubt with seats along each side—is the Oriental *forum*: and it is often alluded to as the place in which the elders sat and justice was administered' (Driver).

The second and third parts of this section contain two denunciations: first, against those who in their false reliance upon ritual and outward worship desire the coming of 'the Lord's Day'; secondly, those who ignore and 'put far' from them its coming. Both are equally mistaken. To the first the 'day of the Lord' is necessarily a day of Israel's glory; to Amos it is and must be a day of Israel's shame and calamity. The people believe that their Lord must help his own. Amos knows that God, being righteous, must punish his wicked children. An equally reprehensible class—the careless, the luxurious and the dissolute, as well as the 'self-satisfied' political leaders—give no heed to Amos or his message. These too will be terribly undeceived.

Woe unto them that desire the day of the Lord! what would ye have with the day of the Lord? It is darkness, and not light. As if a man flee from a lion, and a bear meet him, and as if he go into his house, and lean his hand on the wall, and a serpent bite him. Is not the day of the Lord darkness, and not light? even very dark, and no brightness in it?

I hate, I despise your feast days, and I will smell no sweet savour in your assemblies. Though ye offer me burnt offerings I will reject them, and your meal offerings I will not accept; the peace offerings of your fat beasts I will not regard. Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs; I will not hearken to the melody of thy viols. But let justice roll on like water, and righteousness as a perpetual stream. Did ye bring unto me sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel? [But ye shall carry away Sakkuth your king and Kaiwan your god, whom you made for yourselves.] And I will cause you to go into exile beyond Damascus, saith the Lord, the God of hosts is his name.

Woe to them that [are at ease in Zion, and that] trust in the mountain of Samaria, men of renown of the chief of the nations, to whom the house of Israel resort! (?). [Pass ye unto Calneh and, see; and from thence go ye to Hamath the great: then go down to Gath of the Philistines: are ye better than these kingdoms? or is your land greater than their land?] Ye that put far away the evil day, and bring near the seat of violence; that lie upon beds of ivory, and stretch themselves upon their couches, and eat lambs from the flock, and calves from the midst of the stall; who warble to the sound of the viol, and invent them melodies like David; who drink wine in bowls, and anoint themselves with the choicest ointments—but they do not grieve for the affliction of Joseph. Therefore now shall they go into exile at the head of the exiles, and the revelry of the dissolute shall be ended. The Lord God hath sworn by himself, saith the Lord, the God of hosts: I abhor the pride of Jacob and hate his palaces, and I will deliver up the city with all that is therein. [And it shall come to pass, if there be left ten men in one house that they shall die. (?) And a man's uncle and . . . shall lift him up to bring the body out of the house, and he shall say to one who is in the recesses of the house, Are there any more with thee? And he shall say, Not one. And he shall say, Hush! For one must not make mention of the name of the Lord. (?)] For, behold, the Lord commandeth, and he will smite the great house with breaches, and the little house with clefts.

Do horses run on a rock? can the sea be ploughed with

oxen? that ye turn justice into gall and the fruit of righteousness into wormwood: ye who rejoice in Lo-Debar, and say, By our own strength have we captured Karnaim. For, behold, I raise up against you a nation, O house of Israel, saith the Lord the God of hosts: and they shall afflict you from the entrance of Hamath unto the torrent of the plain.

'As if a man flee.' In the day of the Lord, which is to prove the triumph of divine righteousness in the chastisement of Israel, no sinner shall be able to escape his punishment. It will overtake him as certainly as if one were to imagine a case of a man who, escaping from a lion, meets a bear, and escaping from a bear, is bitten by a snake.

'Did ye bring unto me,' i. e. though no sacrifices were brought, the divine favour was markedly shown. God therefore does not care for sacrifices.

'But ye shall carry.' A difficult verse. Sakkuth and Kaiwan are names of Assyrian deities. Amos does not elsewhere reproach the Israelites with idolatry in the sense of a direct worship of other gods. Some think the verse interpolated. But in that case something else must have stood in its place, for the next sentence would follow all too abruptly on the words, 'O house of Israel.'

'Beyond Damascus.' The exile is certain; but the authors of it are unnamed. But the Assyrians were undoubtedly in the mind of the prophet.

'Pass ye unto Calneh.' An obscure passage. It seems to mean, these once powerful cities have fallen. Why should you hope to escape? But Hamath at least was not taken by the Assyrians till 720, more than thirty years after Amos. If we translate (following the Hebrew text more strictly), 'Are they better than these kingdoms? or their land greater than your land?' the 'kingdoms' must be Israel and Judah, and the meaning is, 'Can you find from Hamath in the north of Syria to the Philistines on the south a single kingdom better, i. e. more flourishing, than your own?' And yet thus favoured though ye are, ye requite God's favour with ingratitude. But this interpretation, though accepted by Professor Driver, labours under many and serious objections.

'Put far away the evil day.' This long sentence contains many textual obscurities. 'Put far' probably means 'refuse to think of it, treat it with disdain.' 'Bring near,' &c., probably means, they 'prepare in their very midst a place, where, instead of justice, *violence* may sit enthroned' (Driver). But Professor Cheyne, emending the text, would read, 'Who make their free-will offerings on the day of assembly, and bring the sacrifice of violence.'

'If there be left ten men.' A desperately obscure and probably interpolated passage, the meaning of which I have no space to discuss. It seems to give a grim description of one or more scenes in a plague-stricken city.

'Do horses run?' The meaning apparently is: You can no more plough the sea than maintain society on injustice. The one is as preposterous as the other, and any attempt to overturn the very basis of society must end in failure and calamity.

Lo-Debar and Karnaim were cities of Gilead, the scene of endless struggles between Israelites and Aramaeans. They had apparently been recently captured by the former; hence their pride and exultation. The passage is, however, usually rendered: 'Ye who rejoice in a thing of nought, who say, Have we not taken to us horns by our own strength?' and Professor Driver prefers this rendering. The 'thing of nought' and the 'horns' both refer in that case to the temporary successes of the Israelites under Jeroboam II.

'A nation.' The Assyrians: the new, dread power of the East.

§ 7. *The visions of the locust, the fire and the plumb-line.*—We now come to the third and final division of the book, the first part of which contains a series of visions, interrupted by the scene between the prophet and the priest of Beth-el. It is uncertain whether these visions should not really be placed at the opening of Amos' prophetic career, for, as Wellhausen says, 'A vision is the initiation of the prophet; he is thereby for the first time torn out of his ordinary workaday consciousness. Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and also Mahommed, all become conscious of their call through visions.'

Thus the Lord God shewed unto me; and, behold, he was forming locusts at the beginning of the coming up of the latter crops. And, behold, it was after the king's mowings. And it came to pass, that when the locusts had made an end of eating up the grass of the land, that I said, 'Pardon, I beseech thee; how can Jacob rise again? for he is little.' The Lord repented for this: 'It shall not be,' said the Lord.

Thus the Lord God shewed unto me: and, behold, the Lord drew near to punish with fire, and the fire devoured the great deep, and was about to eat up the land. (?) Then said I, 'O Lord God, cease, I beseech thee: how can Jacob rise again? for he is little.' The Lord repented for this: 'It shall not be,' said the Lord.

Thus he shewed me: and, behold, the Lord stood beside

a wall, and in his hand a plummet. And the Lord said unto me, 'What seest thou, Amos?' And I said, 'A plummet.' Then said the Lord: 'Behold, I set a plummet in the midst of my people Israel; I will not again forgive them. And the high places of Israel shall be desolate, and the sanctuaries of Israel shall be laid waste; and I will rise up against the house of Jeroboam with the sword.'

'The king's mowings.' Apparently 'a tribute in kind levied by the kings of Israel on the spring herbage as provender for their cavalry' (Robertson-Smith). 'After this tax had been paid, everyone would naturally expect to be able to cut his grass for his own use. But the locusts came and devoured it' (Driver).

'I set a plummet.' The plummet being a test of what is perpendicular, it is a standard by which either to build up, or to pull down: Jehovah is already, he says, *setting* (the verb in the Hebrew is a participle) *a plummet in the very midst of his people* (i.e. applying to it a crucial moral test); and whatever does not conform to its standard will be destroyed: the condition of the nation is such that he will not again *pass over* (i.e. forgive) its offences, as he has done before' (Driver).

'The high places,' i.e. the local sanctuaries.

§ 8. *Amos and Amaziah.*—There now follows the historical interlude which has already been quoted in Part I, p. 360. It is noteworthy how Amaziah looks at the matter from a purely political point of view. Moreover, prophecy is to him a trade like any other. Let Amos earn his livelihood through it by all means; only in Judah, and not in Israel! But Amaziah makes no attempt to use violence: the person of the prophet is sacred.

Then Amaziah the priest of Beth-el sent to Jeroboam king of Israel, saying, 'Amos hath conspired against thee in the midst of the house of Israel: the land is not able to bear all his words. For thus Amos saith, Jeroboam shall die by the sword, and Israel shall surely be led away captive out of their own land.' So Amaziah said unto Amos, 'O seer, begone, flee thee away into the land of Judah, and there earn bread, and prophesy there: but thou shalt not prophesy again at Beth-el: for it is the king's sanctuary, and the house of the kingdom.'

Then answered Amos, and said to Amaziah, 'I am no prophet, neither am I a prophet's son; but I am an herdman, and a dresser of sycomores: and the Lord took me

away from following the flock, and the Lord said unto me, Go, prophesy unto my people Israel. Now therefore hear thou the word of the Lord: Thou sayest, Prophesy not against Israel, and drop not thy word against the house of Isaac. Therefore thus saith the Lord: Thy sons and thy daughters shall fall by the sword, and thy land shall be divided by line; and thou shalt die in a polluted land: and Israel shall surely go into exile away from his land.'

§ 9. *The vision of summer fruit.*—The scene with Amaziah is immediately followed by the fourth vision, containing one of those plays upon words in which the Hebrew poets delighted. We met with one at the call of Jeremiah.

Thus the Lord God shewed unto me: and behold a basket of summer fruit (*kayitz*). And he said, 'Amos, what seest thou?' And I said, 'A basket of summer fruit.' Then said the Lord unto me, 'The end (*kaitz*) is come upon my people of Israel; I will not again forgive them any more. And the women singers of the temple shall howl in that day, saith the Lord God: there shall be many dead bodies in every place.'

§ 10. *A fresh denunciation.*—The fourth vision is succeeded by a fresh and more detailed denunciation of judgement. On this occasion the prophet attacks the rich traffickers and 'corner' men who add fraud to oppression. In the last paragraph some think that the passage about a spiritual thirst is interpolated, for Amos does not elsewhere seem to give his countrymen credit for any even future desire to hear the word and know the will of God.

Hear this, O ye that trample upon the needy, even to make the poor of the land to cease, saying, 'When will the new moon be gone, that we may sell corn, and the sabbath, that we may open wheat?' (by making the measure small, and the weight great, and falsifying the balances of deceit.) The Lord hath sworn by the pride of Jacob, 'Surely I will never forget any of their works.' Shall not the land tremble for this, and every one mourn that dwelleth therein?

And it shall come to pass in that day, saith the Lord God, that I will cause the sun to go down at noon, and I will darken the earth in the clear day: and I will turn your feasts into mourning, and all your songs into a dirge; and I will bring up sackcloth upon all loins, and baldness

upon every head; and I will make it as the mourning of an only son, and the end thereof as a bitter day.

Behold, the days come, saith the Lord God, that I will send a famine in the land, [not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of the Lord: and they shall wander from sea to sea, and from the north even to the east they shall run to and fro to seek the word of the Lord, and shall not find it.] In that day shall the fair virgins and young men faint for thirst, they that swear by the guilt of Samaria, and say, 'As thy god, O Dan, liveth'; and, 'As liveth the way to Beer-sheba'; even they shall fall, and never rise up again.

The guilt of Samaria is its altars, or perhaps it is the golden calf of Beth-el. 'As liveth the way to Beer-sheba' seems a very odd oath, but Dr. Smith says there are parallels to it. 'To-day Arabs swear *wa hyat*, by the life of, even of things inanimate; "By the life of this fire, or of this coffee." And as Amos here tells us that the Israelite pilgrims swore by the way to Beer-sheba, so do the Moslems affirm their oaths by the sacred way to Mecca.'

§ 11. *The vision of the smitten sanctuary.*—On this oration there follows the fifth and last vision. At its close Amos once more reiterates his point that 'Jehovah' is the God not only of Israel, but of other nations as well. The mere fact that he brought the Israelites out of Egypt is no proof that they can reckon on his perpetual favour, be they righteous, be they sinners. He 'brought up' the Aramaeans from Kir and the Philistines from Caphtor equally with the Israelites from Egypt. He is the world-ruler (such is the inevitable inference—Amos anticipating the second Isaiah), and his every operation is dictated by Righteousness. And therefore his eyes *must* be upon the sinful kingdom to destroy it.

I saw the Lord standing over the altar, and he said: Smite the capitals, that the thresholds shake: and cut them off on to the head of all of them; and I will slay the residue of them with the sword: he that fleeth of them shall not flee away, and he that escapeth of them shall not be delivered. Though they dig into Sheol, thence shall mine hand take them; though they climb up to heaven, thence will I bring them down: and though they hide themselves in the top of Carmel, I will search and take them out thence; and though they hide themselves from before mine eyes in the

bottom of the sea, thence will I command the Serpent, and he shall bite them: and though they go into captivity before their enemies, thence will I command the sword, and it shall slay them: and I will set mine eyes upon them for evil, and not for good.

[And the Lord God of hosts is he that toucheth the earth and it melteth, and all that dwell therein mourn: and it riseth like the Nile, all of it together, and sinketh like the Nile of Egypt. He buildeth his upper chambers in the heaven, and hath founded his vault upon the earth; he calleth to the waters of the sea, and poureth them out upon the face of the earth: the Lord is his name.]

Are ye not as the children of the Ethiopians unto me, O children of Israel? saith the Lord. Did I not bring up Israel out of the land of Egypt, and the Philistines from Caphtor, and Aram from Kir? Behold the eyes of the Lord God are upon the sinful kingdom, and I will destroy it from off the face of the earth.

'Smite the capitals.' 'The altar meant is the altar at Beth-el, the chief Israelitish sanctuary and national religious centre.' The smiters are God's agents or servants: presumably, therefore, angels. The *capitals* were 'globular ornaments at the top of the columns, which supported the roof of the temple' (Driver).

'The Serpent.' The reference is probably 'to an imaginary monster, supposed by the Hebrews to have its home at the bottom of the ocean, and to be at the disposal of the Almighty' (Driver).

'Caphtor.' This Caphtor is probably Crete, but the position of Kir is uncertain.

'Did I not bring up Israel.' The lack of conjunctions and dependent clauses in Hebrew is often sorely felt and impairs the meaning. What Amos really meant would be better brought out if we translate: '*Though* I brought up Israel from Egypt, did I not *also* bring up the Philistines from Caphtor and the Syrians from Kir?' I am no mere national God, and I show no unrighteous partialities or favouritism. The indignant questions of the prophet show a marvellous religious purity and breadth of view, which hardly penetrated unto the general Jewish consciousness till quite modern times.

§ 12. *The future restoration.*—Sin must bring its own punishment both to society and the individual. The divine punishment is not outward and arbitrary, but inward and necessary. But as in a human ruler and judge there is opportunity both for punishment

and for forgiveness, so too in the Divine Ruler and in the Divine Judge there is room for the second as well as for the first. If punishment is divine, so and still more so is forgiveness. Expulsion from the divine favour may be rightly followed by restoration to the divine presence.

So it would not be surprising or unwarrantable if the prophecy of Amos, up till this point seeming to include all Israel in the sweep of a foretold doom, should at the end, for a purified remnant, become forgiving and restorative. We do as a matter of fact find this gracious conclusion. Exile is for all, but not destruction. Exile shall sift and purify; it shall not utterly destroy. But the manner of the change awakens suspicion. It is appended most abruptly to the last utterance of sore retribution—a sudden transition within a single sentence. And the restoration promised and foretold seems too material for Amos. Surely *his* restoration would be the reign of righteousness, not a mere era of fertility? Whether an editor's interpolation has expunged the prophet's own conclusion it is impossible to say. But as it stands, the comforting 'epilogue' seems perhaps hardly worthy of this purest, sternest, most ethical and most ideal of all the great company of prophets. Amos is the seer of righteousness: to this he clings even though the future of his own brethren in the northern kingdom be shrouded in impenetrable darkness and gloom. Even if Israel must perish, God's righteousness remains. Again, though the authenticity of the first paragraph of the epilogue may be defended by the analogy of other prophetical writings, and by the thought that the highest object of divine punishment is purification and amendment, and not annihilation, the second paragraph with its apparently clear allusion to the fall of the *Judaic* kingdom must surely be much later than Amos.

[Nevertheless, I will not utterly destroy the house of Jacob, saith the Lord. For, lo, I command, and I will shake the house of Israel among all nations, like as corn is shaken in a sieve, yet shall not a grain fall upon the earth. All the sinners of my people shall die by the sword, who say, The evil shall not overtake or surprise us.

In that day will I raise up the booth of David that is fallen, and close up the breaches thereof; and I will raise up his ruins, and I will build it as in the days of old: that they may possess the remnant of Edom, and all the nations over whom my name hath been called, saith the Lord.

Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that the ploughman shall overtake the reaper, and the treader of grapes him that

soweth seed; and the mountains shall drop new wine, and all the hills shall melt. And I will turn the captivity of my people of Israel, and they shall build the waste cities, and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, and drink the wine thereof; they shall also make gardens, and eat the fruit of them. And I will plant them upon their land, and they shall no more be pulled up out of their land which I have given them, saith the Lord thy God.]

'The remnant of Edom.' The meaning is that the empire of David shall be 'restored to its former limits.'

'Over whom my name hath been called,' i.e. 'in token of conquest or ownership. The reference is to the nations which had been conquered by David. In virtue of their subjugation by him, they had passed under the dominion of Jehovah' (Driver).

'The ploughman shall overtake the reaper.' With this hyperbolic description of the fertility of the soil and the graciousness of the seasons in the restored Israel, when the ploughman shall hardly have finished ploughing before the reaper will be called upon to reap, and when the vintage of the autumn shall for sheer abundance be scarcely concluded before the season for sowing the next year's seed has already arrived, we may compare the lovely description of the garden of Alcinous in the seventh book of the *Odyssey*. We may also compare the blessing which is promised as the reward of obedience in the Book of Leviticus: 'And your threshing shall reach unto the vintage, and the vintage shall reach unto the sowing time.'

CHAPTER II

THE BOOK OF HOSEA

§ 1. *Amos and Hosea.*—The prophet Hosea's message was also addressed almost exclusively to the Northern kingdom. And Hosea himself, unlike Amos, is an undoubted Northerner, deeply attached to his country and his people. It is customary to draw many other contrasts between Hosea and Amos. These contrasts read well on paper, but they are scarcely so marked in fact as some modern writers would have us believe. Hosea's nature does indeed seem cast in a gentler, more tender mould than that of Amos. But to call one the prophet of righteousness, the other of love, or one the preacher of morality, the other of religion, is to make a dangerous antithesis and a misleading anachronism.

The ideal of Hosea is very much the same as the ideal of Amos. To both outward religion, with all its rites and sacrifices, has little worth or sanction. Justice, compassion and the true knowledge of God—these constitute for both the real elements of religion. Nevertheless, Hosea does make valuable additions to the religious vocabulary and conceptions of his predecessor, and these additions must be noticed in their place. Only we must beware of exaggeration.

Of all the commentators it is Professor Driver who most temperately draws out those contrasts between the two prophets which do not perhaps exceed the limits of the scanty materials from which all our judgements must be drawn. I will quote what he has to say. 'There is a note of austerity in the terms in which Amos speaks. It is true, the message which he bears is a hard one: but his younger contemporary Hosea had substantially the same message to bring; and yet there is a marked difference in the tone in which he delivers it. Hosea's whole soul goes out in affection and sympathy for his people; he would give his all to reclaim it, if only it were possible; every line, almost, testifies to the reluctance with which he sadly owns the truth that the prospect of amendment is hopeless. Hosea's own nature is one of

love; and Jehovah is to him pre-eminently the God of love, who has cherished his "son" with tenderness and affection, who is grieved by the coldness with which his love has been requited, but who still loves his nation even at the time when he finds himself obliged to cast it from him. Hosea has as clear a sense as Amos has both of Israel's shortcomings and of Jehovah's claims; but his recognition of both is tinged throughout by a deep vein of sympathy and emotion. With Amos all this is different. With Amos God is the God of righteousness: he himself is the apostle of righteousness; he is the preacher, whose moral nature is moved by the spectacle of outraged right, but who does not unbend in affection or sympathy: on the contrary, he announces Israel's doom with the austere severity of the judge. Partly this may have been due to the circumstances of Amos' life: for he visited Israel as an outsider, and could not therefore feel the ties of kindred as Hosea felt them; he had, moreover, all his life been breathing the clear air of the moor, in which he had learnt to appreciate the rough honesty of the shepherd, but had discovered no excuse for the vices of the wealthy. But chiefly, no doubt, the strain in which Amos spoke was due to a difference of disposition. Amos' nature was not a sensitive or emotional one; it was not one in which the currents of feeling ran deep: it was one which was instinct simply with a severe sense of right. And so, though he sings his elegy over Israel's fall, and twice intercedes on its behalf, when he becomes conscious that the failing nation is unable to cope effectually with calamity, as a rule he delivers unmoved his message of doom. Amos and Hosea thus supplement each other; and a comparison of their writings furnishes an instructive illustration of the manner in which widely different natural temperaments may be made the organs of the same Divine Spirit, and how each, just in virtue of its difference from the other, may be thereby the better adapted to set forth a different aspect of the truth.'

§ 2. *The age of Hosea.*—Amos, as we saw, wrote his prophecies during the reign of Jeroboam II. And the first three chapters of Hosea possibly also belong to the end of the same king's reign. But the greater portion of his book must have been written during the first five years of confusion and distress which followed on Jeroboam II's death in 740 B.C. (Compare Part I, chapter xiv. § 3, p. 362.) It will be remembered that the year 738 B.C. was for the kingdom of Israel the 'beginning of the end.' For it was then that King 'Pul,' Tiglath-pileser III of Assyria, 'came against the land,' and was only bought off by a large tribute. Between 740 and 735 four kings sat on the throne of Israel, three of whom

met violent deaths by the swords of their successors. The dynasty of Jehu was cut off by a usurper, even as Jehu had destroyed the house of Omri.

§ 3. *The true parable of the faithless wife.*—The first three chapters of Hosea have given rise to a very great deal of discussion and dispute. I shall only give the most probable explanation of them.

Hosea became conscious of his prophetic mission through a heavy personal sorrow. He had married a woman called Gomer, and he loved her. But Gomer was faithless to him. Yet he continued to love her. He had been mistaken in her character. In fact she had not been a pure, good woman when he married her. But Hosea's love was proof even against faithlessness and falsehood. Though his wife at last deserted him, his love remained, and when Gomer had finally sunk to the position of a slave, he bought her back to him to be his wife anew. But he set her a period of probation. She should not resume at once all the rights and duties of wifehood. There was to be an interval of test and trial. If she remained faithful during that interval of probation, then she should once more become his honoured wife, purified by affliction, grateful for his forgiveness, responsive to his love.

It would seem that while this domestic tragedy was taking place within his own home, Hosea began to feel as though his own individual story was a symbol or allegory of the story of his nation. There too it might be said that a loving husband had been deceived and abandoned by his wife; but the husband was no human bridegroom: for the wife was Israel and the husband was God. God, it might be said, had chosen Israel for his bride: he had taken her away from the bondage of Egypt and given her a home, but in that home Israel had played him false. Wherein lay the national falsity to the eyes of Hosea? In the idolatrous ritual, in the worship of God under gross material forms, in the confusion between the true God and the local godlings, the many 'Baalim' of Canaan. It lay, moreover, in the false substitution of ritual for righteousness, of sacrifice for justice, of burnt offerings for love.

When this parallelism between his wife's conduct and that of Israel had possessed Hosea's mind, not only was his career as prophet determined, but he felt convinced that his marriage with the wayward and faithless Gomer was itself the will of God. It was God's will that he should realize Israel's guilt through the guilt of his wife, and through his own persistent love of Gomer realize God's greater love for Israel. And it was God's will that he should reveal his own sorrows and use them as a parable to convict, if indeed this were still possible, a faithless

people of their ingratitude and their sin. Hence when he writes down this parable from his own life, he represents it as if from the first God had ordered him to marry a woman who *was* 'light of love,' and who *would be* faithless to her bond and her duty. But this must not be taken as literally accurate. There is a perfect parallel in the prophecies of Jeremiah. Just before the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar, his cousin Hanamel came to Jeremiah with a proposal that he should purchase some land in his own village of Anathoth. It was a strange request—to buy land at such a time when the enemy was at the gate and exile seemed imminent. But even while Hanamel was speaking, Jeremiah 'realized that this was the word of the Lord.' This purchase should also be a parable. So when he writes down the story of it he says, 'And the word of the Lord came unto Jeremiah, saying, Hanamel thy cousin is coming to you to bid you buy the land at Anathoth.' But that Jeremiah did not realize before Hanamel had spoken that his visit was divinely willed, we may certainly infer from what he adds parenthetically after Hanamel had made his proposition: '*Then I realized that it was the word of the Lord.*' (See Part I, p. 435.) It is just the same with Hosea. The divine intention in his marriage, or rather the way in which God uses sorrow for enlightenment, how he teaches by suffering—this was not realized by Hosea till *after* his marriage, till *after* the fickle and faithless character of his wife (unsuspected by him at the time of his marriage) had been unmistakably revealed to him. But in telling the story he describes it as divinely ordered from the first.

He tells us also that of this unhappy marriage there were three children. When these children came, Hosea, it would appear, had already realized his wife's unworthiness, and the parable had already been borne in upon his soul. Hence he feels constrained, by a divine command, to give to their children symbolical names of dread and terrible significance—names referring to that other wife's history and future of which his own wife was the symbol and the image.

The word of the Lord that came unto Hosea, the son of Beeri, [in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz and Hezekiah, kings of Judah, and in the days of Jeroboam the son of Joash, king of Israel.]

At the first, when the Lord spoke with Hosea, he said to Hosea, Go, take unto thee a faithless wife, for the land is faithless unto the Lord. So he went and took Gomer the

daughter of Diblaim, and she bare him a son. And the Lord said unto him, Call his name Jezreel: for yet a little while, and I will avenge the blood of Jezreel upon the house of Jehu, and will cause to cease the kingdom of the house of Israel. And it shall come to pass at that day, that I will break the bow of Israel in the valley of Jezreel.

And she bare a daughter. And God said unto him, Call her name Lo-Ruchamah (Unpitied): for I will no more have pity upon the house of Israel, that I should pardon them. [But I will have mercy upon the house of Judah, and will save them by the Lord their God, and will not save them by bow, nor by sword, nor by battle, by horses, nor by horsemen.]

Now when Lo-Ruchamah was weaned, she bare another son. And God said, Call his name Lo-ammi (Not my people): for ye are not my people, and I am not your God.

The comforting allusion to Judah is probably a later interpolation. For Jezreel and the crimes of Jehu, compare Part I, chapter xiii. § 13, pp. 343–348.

Upon this narrative there suddenly follows a short passage of an entirely opposite tendency. It seems to be an interpolation of hope and promise dating from the exile of Babylon.

[And the number of the children of Israel shall be as the sand of the sea, which cannot be measured nor numbered; and it shall come to pass, that instead of it being said unto them, Ye are not my people, it shall be said unto them, Ye are the sons of the living God. Then shall the children of Judah and the children of Israel be gathered together, and appoint themselves one head, and they shall get them up out of the land: for great shall be the day of Jezreel. Say ye unto your brother, My People, and to your sister, Pitied.]

'Get them up out of the land.' The land is here the foreign land; the land of their exile.

'The day of Jezreel.' So the writer calls the day on which Israel is once more settled on its own soil. There shall then be but 'one head'—an undivided kingdom.

In the next passage full use is made of the true Parable of the faithless Wife. The 'lovers' are the idols, partly the images of

Jehovah, Israel's true God, partly the images of the Baalim, the gods of Canaan. By Hosea the corrupt and immoral worship of the people, whether nominally offered to the true God or not, is equally accounted as idolatry. He seems to anticipate (I say 'seems,' for his language is veiled and obscure) that the people will be exiled from their homes. The land of exile is the wilderness. The suffering and want produced by exile are symbolized by the aridity of the desert. By them Israel shall learn to repent her sin, as an individual learns by suffering. Then once more shall the divine Husband betroth himself unto Israel; people and God shall be re-united in bonds of fidelity and love.

The opening words seem an appeal to chosen individuals that they should realize the guilt of their community.

Contend with your mother, contend: for she is not my wife, neither am I her husband: let her therefore put away her faithlessness out of her sight, lest I strip her naked, and set her as in the day that she was born, and make her as a wilderness, and set her like a dry land, and slay her with thirst, and have no mercy upon her children; for they are the children of faithlessness. For their mother hath done shamefully: for she saith, 'I will go after my lovers, that give me my bread and my water, my wool and my flax, mine oil and my drink.'

Therefore, behold, I will hedge up her way with thorns, and build a wall against her, that she shall not find her paths. And she shall follow after her lovers, but she shall not overtake them; and she shall seek them, but shall not find them: then shall she say, 'I will go and return to my first husband; for then was it better with me than now.' For she doth not realize that it was I who gave her corn and wine and oil, and multiplied her silver and gold, which they used for the Baal. Therefore will I take away again my corn in its time, and my wine in its season, and will withdraw my wool and my flax. And I will lay bare her disgrace in the sight of her lovers, and none shall deliver her out of mine hand. I will also cause all her mirth to cease, her feast days, her new moons, and her sabbaths, and all her festivals. And I will destroy her vines and her fig trees, whereof she hath said, 'These are my rewards that my lovers have given me': and I will make them a forest, and the beasts of the field shall eat them. And I will visit upon her the days of the Baalim, wherein she burned incense to them, and she

decked herself with her earrings and her jewels, and she went after her lovers, and forgat me, saith the Lord.

Therefore, behold, I will allure her, and bring her into the wilderness, and speak unto her heart. And thence I will give her her vineyards, and I will make the Valley of Trouble to be the Gate of Hope; and she shall respond, as in the days of her youth, and as in the day when she came up out of the land of Egypt. [And it shall be at that day, saith the Lord, that thou shalt call me Ishi (my Husband), and shalt call me no more Baali (my Lord).] And I will take away the names of the Baalim out of her mouth, and they shall no more be mentioned by their name.

And in that day will I make a covenant for them with the beasts of the field, and with the birds of heaven, and with the creeping things of the ground: and I will break the bow and the sword and the battle out of the land, and will make them to lie down safely. And I will betroth thee unto me for ever; yea, I will betroth thee unto me with righteousness, and with justice, and with lovingkindness, and in mercies. I will even betroth thee unto me with faithfulness: and thou shalt know the Lord.

And it shall come to pass in that day, saith the Lord, I will respond to the heavens, and they shall respond to the earth; and the earth shall respond with corn and wine and oil; and they shall respond to Jezreel. And I will sow her unto me in the land; and I will have pity upon her that was Unpitied; and I will say to Not my people, My people art thou; and they shall say, Thou art my God.

'Therefore, behold, I will allure her.' In this third paragraph threats of mere punishment change into words of promise. The exile, or 'wilderness,' is for the purpose of purification and leads up to amendment and restoration.

'The Valley of Trouble.' In the Hebrew, 'the valley of Achor.' It lay near Jericho, and through this valley, of which the name means Trouble, the Israelites shall pass, as through a gate of Hope, on their return to Palestine.

'I will respond to the heavens.' God is the source of all good, whether physical or moral: he gives to the sky what the sky, in light and warmth and rain, gives to the earth. Then the earth gives forth its fruits, and the fruits give themselves to Jezreel (i. e. Israel).

The exquisite pleading and promise to which we have just listened seem to have been the result and the application of that sequel to the prophet's own personal story which we are now to hear. Gomer, degraded and forlorn, is Israel in its apostasy and sin; while Gomer restored to her husband's house, but not yet restored to her husband's trust and love, is Israel in exile, gradually becoming worthy by suffering and trial and repentance to be restored to her land and pardoned by her God.

And the Lord said unto me, Love yet again a faithless woman, according to the love of the Lord toward the children of Israel, although they turn to other gods and love raisin-cakes. So I bought her back to me for fifteen pieces of silver, and for an homer of barley, and an half homer of barley: and I said unto her, Thou shalt dwell apart many days; and I will dwell apart likewise.

For the children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without sacrifice, and without pillar, and without ephod and without teraphim. But afterward shall the children of Israel return, and seek the Lord their God, and shall hasten eagerly to the Lord and to his goodness in the latter days.

'According to the love.' Though Israel is faithless to her God, God still loves Israel.

'Without a pillar.' Hosea sarcastically enumerates the various items of their semi-idolatrous worship of which the Israelites in exile shall be deprived.

'But afterward.' The verse bears some traces of later phraseology. After the word 'God' the Hebrew has the additional words 'and David their king.' If these words are not a later assertion, the whole verse is most probably post-Hosean. 'David' means here a Judaean king of the Davidic line, a use of the word which is hardly pre-exilic.

§ 4. *The moral and religious condition of Israel.*—We now come to the second part of the Book of Hosea, the precipitate, as it has been called, of many spoken orations. Their date, as I have already said, is later than the narrative which precedes them; the sections are usually short, the transitions are sometimes abrupt, the connexion of thought not always easy to trace. Unfortunately too the Hebrew is frequently very obscure and corrupt; the old versions only rarely give certain help; the translation is therefore often doubtful, and occasionally hopeless.

Hear the word of the Lord, ye children of Israel: for the Lord hath a controversy with the inhabitants of the land, because there is no truth, nor lovingkindness, nor knowledge of God in the land. They swear and lie, they murder and steal, they commit violence, and blood toucheth blood. Therefore doth the land mourn, and everything that dwelleth therein languisheth, even to the beasts of the field, and to the birds of heaven; yea, even the fishes of the sea are swept away. Yet let none rebuke, nor reprove another: for my people are as their priestlings! Therefore shalt thou, O priest, stumble by day, and the prophet shall stumble with thee by night, and . . .

My people are ruined for lack of knowledge: because thou hast rejected knowledge, I will also reject thee, that thou shalt be no priest to me: seeing thou hast forgotten the teaching of thy God, I will also forget thy children. As they increased, so they sinned against me: they exchanged their glory for shame. They eat the sin of my people, and they set their heart on their iniquity. And therefore it shall be as with the people, so with the priest: I will punish them for their ways, and requite them their doings. For they shall eat, and not have enough: they shall be faithless, and find no pleasure: because they have abandoned the Lord.

Apostasy and wine and new wine take away the mind. My people ask counsel at their stocks, and their staff declareth unto them: for the spirit of apostasy hath caused them to err, and they have gone astray from their God. They sacrifice upon the tops of the mountains, and burn incense upon the hills, under oaks and poplars and terebinths, because the shadow thereof is good.

[Though thou, Israel, play the apostate, yet let not Judah become guilty; and come not ye unto Gilgal, neither go ye up to Beth-aven, nor swear (in Beer-sheba), As the Lord liveth.] For Israel is stubborn as a stubborn heifer: shall the Lord feed them as a lamb in a large place? Ephraim is joined to idols: let him alone. Their . . . . . : they shall be put to shame because of their altars!

The moral condition of Israel must have been grave indeed if this charge of Hosea was founded on sober facts. Note at once two religious terms characteristic of Hosea: knowledge of God and lovingkindness. To suppose that God cares for sacrifices, or that burnt offerings can undo iniquity—this is a false knowledge

of God, which is equivalent to moral guilt. It is a sin. So too to worship God under material forms, to confound him with the Baalim: that, again, is culpable ignorance; moral and religious iniquity. On the other hand, the highest and deepest knowledge of God, based on the fullest spiritual experience, is partly God's own gift. It is the special grace and guerdon of the period of forgiveness and restoration. The same double aspect of the highest religious qualities has repeatedly come before us.

Lovingkindness, in Hebrew *Chesed*, 'includes,' as Professor Cheyne points out, 'in its wide range of meaning,' the love of God to man, the love of man to God, and the love of man to man. Here the context favours the last of these meanings. Hosea is fond both of the word and the idea. In Amos, to whom righteousness is all inclusive and all sufficient, *Chesed* is wanting.

Some people like to emphasize love at the expense, if I may say so, of righteousness; some people, by way of opposition, like to emphasize righteousness at the expense of love. To some extent it is a question of words. The fullest righteousness must be loving; the fullest love must be righteous. Yet there are elements of self-sacrifice, of emotion, of unreckoning and unreserving self-abandonment in the highest *human* goodness which are more appropriate to the idea of love than to the idea of righteousness. Nevertheless even though God be love as well as righteousness, the conception of self-sacrifice is inapplicable to God. That which is great in man is not necessarily an attribute of God. Self-sacrifice involves struggle, or opposition, or change, or suffering, or death. All these things are utterly incommensurate with the supreme idea of God. Every attempt to apply the idea of self-sacrifice to God has only ended in failure. It is inconsistent with the divine unity. It is an exaggerated, if well-meant, application to God of human attributes. It is far better to rest humbly in the adequate assurance and perfect faith that God is wholly good. The precise nature of his goodness is not for us to determine. It is beyond our power. We do not wish to exclude from our conception of the Divine Being the idea that he greatly cares for 'the souls which he has made.' That he rejoices in *our* righteousness and grieves for *our* sin we may still maintain, if we remember that these words are human accommodations, and trench very closely upon the barrier between man and God. We want to ascribe love to God because love implies nearness and personality, whereas mere 'righteousness' *seems* cold and distant. But we must not use any of these human terms in a hard and fast or dogmatic manner. For directly we use concerning God words which too markedly imply the limitations and

dual nature of man, we become involved in hopeless difficulties, and end in an idolatry which, however refined and disguised, remains idolatry still.

Note that Hosea concentrates his attack upon the unworthy priests and prophets; false to their highest duty and charge, they ruin the people by spiritual starvation. The knowledge which it was their duty to impart of God's true nature and demands, of true religion in other words, they ignore or forget.

Perhaps Hosea's own exalted insight made him unaware how far he had advanced beyond the 'knowledge of God' which had yet been reached by the general body of priests and so-called 'prophets.' But in these matters all is conjecture.

'The sin of my people' consists in those very offerings which are brought in the vain delusion that they are pleasing to God. The priests approve of this delusion, for their revenues are thereby increased!

The entire ritual is idolatrous. From diviners' wands and idols advice and oracles are sought in the very manner of the heathen. And this is thought to be the true worship of Jehovah! The altars from which they seek protection shall prove their ruin.

'Neither go ye up to Beth-aven.' 'Beth-el,' house of God, is sarcastically described as Beth-aven, house of 'vanity' or 'violence.' Some scholars hold that this parenthetical reference to Judah is not the work of Hosea. In any case it is a warning to Judaeans not to join in the idolatrous worship of the north, or in their own equally contaminated worship at Beer-sheba. Compare Amos (in the foregoing chapter, § 6).

§ 5. *Israel the oppressor.*—The present section is again concerned with menace and rebuke. The main attack falls upon the priests and the rulers. Judah apparently does also not escape from the condemnation of the prophet.

Hear ye this, O priests; and hearken, ye house of Israel; and give ye ear, O house of the king; for to you is the judgement. Ye have become a snare on Mizpah, and a net spread upon Tabor, and a deep pit at Shittim: but I will be the chastisement of them all. I know Ephraim, and Israel is not hid from me: for now, O Ephraim, thou committest apostasy, and Israel is defiled. Their deeds will not suffer them to return unto their God: for the spirit of apostasy is in the midst of them, and they have not known the Lord.

And the pride of Israel doth testify to his face: therefore shall Israel and Ephraim stumble in their iniquity; Judah

also shall stumble with them. (?) They go with their flocks and with their herds to seek the Lord; but they shall not find him; he hath withdrawn himself from them. They have dealt treacherously against the Lord: their children are faithless. . . .

Blow ye the trumpet in Gibeah, and the clarion in Ramah: cry aloud at Beth-aven, raise the alarm in Benjamin. Ephraim shall be desolate in the day of rebuke: among the tribes of Israel have I made known that which shall surely be.

The princes of Judah (?) are become like them that remove the landmarks: therefore I will pour out my wrath upon them like water. Oppression and breaking of justice are in Ephraim, because he wilfully walked after vanity (?). And I am unto Ephraim as a moth, and to the house of Judah (?) as rottenness. And Ephraim saw his sickness, and Judah (?) his wound, and Ephraim went to Assyria, and (Israel) sent to the great king: but he cannot heal you nor cure you of your wound. For I am as a lion unto Ephraim, and as a young lion to the house of Judah (?): I, even I, tear and go away: I carry off, and none can rescue.

'The princes of Judah.' It seems probable that 'Judah' has been substituted for 'Israel.' An early editor in the south desired to make Hosea's words relate more directly to his own kingdom. For the message of Hosea is to Israel.

The 'great king' is the king of Assyria. But the allusion is very obscure, because the invasion of Israel by Tiglath-pileser III under Menahem can hardly be the 'sending' which is here referred to.

§ 6. *Ephemeral repentance.*—A striking and beautiful passage follows, but it does not seem in *real* and natural connexion with either what has preceded or what succeeds it. Professor Cheyne regards it as an interpolation. Other scholars, holding it to be the genuine work of Hosea, suppose that Israel is represented as showing an outward and transitory repentance. They are moved by the prophet's rebuke and threat, but Hosea knows that this desire to know the Lord is but fleeting, and proceeds from no true 'change of heart,' no deliberate and sustained resolve. Their 'love' will be as ephemeral as the cloud of the early summer morning; it will vanish like the dew.

[I will go away and return to my place, till they feel their guilt, and seek my face. In their affliction they will earnestly

seek me, saying: Come, and let us return to the Lord: for he hath torn, and he will heal us; he hath smitten, and he will bind us up. After two days he will revive us: on the third day he will raise us up, and we shall live in his presence. Yea, let us know, let us be zealous to know the Lord; as soon as we seek him earnestly, we shall find him. And he shall come to us like the winter rain, like the spring rain which watereth the land.

O Ephraim, what can I do unto thee? O Judah, (?) what can I do unto thee? For your love is as the morning cloud, and as the dew which early passeth away.]

§ 7. *Love, not sacrifice.*—Though the present section begins with a 'therefore,' this 'therefore' is not really connected with what precedes. It can only artificially be made to depend on it. For the false repentance just alluded to is yet to come. But the 'hewings' by the prophets lie in the past. Hosea is thinking (as Wellhausen supposes) of such great seers as Elijah and Elisha, whose 'word' was the harbinger of deeds—deeds of dread and of chastisement. The section is obscure and the text uncertain, but it contains the greatest sentence in all Hosea's book, the epitome of the entire prophetic teaching: 'I desire love, and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings.'

Does 'love' (in Hebrew, *Chesed*) mean here love to God or love to man? It would be hard to say; perhaps a clear difference between the two was not present to the prophet's mind, and he himself could hardly have answered the question. Professor Cheyne translates: 'For I delight in piety, and not in sacrifice.' Wellhausen: *Denn Liebe will ich und nicht Opfer.* Guthe: *Denn an Liebe habe ich Wohlgefallen, nicht an Schlachtopfern.*

Therefore have I hewed them by the prophets; and have slain them by the words of my mouth: my judgement went forth as the light. For I desire love, and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God, rather than burnt offerings.

But at . . . they broke the covenant: there they dealt treacherously against me. Gilead is a city of evildoers, foot-printed with blood. And as bandits lying in wait, so doth the company of priests (?): they murder on the road to Shechem; yea, they commit outrages (?). I have seen a horrible thing at Beth-el; there Ephraim hath wrought apostasy, there Israel hath become defiled. And Judah . . .

. . . The guilt of Ephraim is manifest, and the wickedness

of Samaria, for they practise falsehood, and the thief cometh in, and bandits roam abroad without. And they consider not in their hearts that I remember all their wickedness (?). Now their own doings beset them about; they are before my face.

§ 8. *Israel the ungrateful.*—To the sin of idolatry is added the sin of ingratitude. Israel owes all to God, and God is repaid by apostasy and forgetfulness. The first seven obscure and corrupt verses of this section are here omitted. Israel 'mixes himself' among the peoples by 'courting the favour now of Egypt and now of Assyria.' He is as a cake not turned, because he remains obstinately lying, as it were, on the wrong side, in spite of its calamitous results (Wellhausen). He persists in his iniquity.

Ephraim, he mixeth himself among the peoples (?); Ephraim is a cake not turned. Strangers have devoured his strength, and he knoweth it not: yea, gray hairs are sprinkled upon him, yet he knoweth it not. So the pride of Israel shall testify to his face: yet do they not return to the Lord their God, nor seek him for all this. Ephraim is become like a silly dove without understanding: they call to Egypt, they go to Assyria. Even as they go, I spread my net upon them; I bring them down as the birds of the heaven; I will chastise them . . . Woe unto them! that they have fled from me: destruction unto them! that they have rebelled against me. I would fain redeem them, but they speak lies against me. And they cry not unto me with their heart, but they howl for their . . . and they cut themselves for corn and wine, rebellious against me. But it was I who strengthened their arms, yet do they think evil concerning me. They . . .: they are like a deceitful bow: their princes shall fall by the sword. . . .

To thy mouth with the trumpet! (?) As an eagle shall he come against the house of the Lord, because they have transgressed my covenant, and rebelled against my law. To me forsooth they cry, My God, we know thee! Israel hath spurned the good: let the enemy pursue him!

The text is again very uncertain. The number of dots and queries might be even sensibly increased.

'They call to Egypt, they go to Assyria.' Allusions to rival Egyptian and Assyrian parties, which seem to have existed in Israel as well as in Judah.

'They cut themselves.' They pray for corn and wine, and make incisions in their flesh that their prayers may be all the more effectual! Compare Part I, p. 316.

'Covenant' and 'law.' 'Covenant' should be taken here as parallel to 'law': it probably signifies 'ordinance.' 'Law' is not of course the collected code of the 'Pentateuch,' for this did not yet exist in the age of Hosea. It should rather be translated 'teaching' or 'direction.' It is the will of God as revealed by the true prophets and teachers of Israel to which Hosea refers—a 'law' which to him is exclusive of ritual. The next section shows that written laws did already exist in Hosea's day, but those at any rate which Hosea recognizes as containing the will of God were only of a moral and spiritual nature.

'They shall return to Egypt.' A double exile is threatened by Hosea, both to Assyria and to Egypt.

§ 9. *Israel among the nations.*—In this section Hosea pours forth the full vials of his wrath and scorn against the popular religion. The 'calf of Samaria' is a contemptuous nickname for one of the golden bulls which to the people still symbolized the God of Israel. Probably there were other such bulls besides those set up by Jeroboam at Beth-el and Dan. But Hosea *may* here allude to one of these, for Samaria *may* here mean not the city, but the kingdom.

The kings set up, 'but not by me,' refer to the constant and violent changes of rulers and dynasty after the death of Jeroboam II. Hosea, like Isaiah, objects to all alliances with either Egypt or Assyria. They will not serve their purpose: exile is at hand, whether to Egypt, or to Assyria, or to both. There is no salvation except through moral and religious amendment: and this path great and small alike refuse to tread. The last sentence seems an interpolated imitation of Amos.

They have set up kings, but not by me: they have made princes, and I knew it not: of their silver and their gold have they made them idols, that they may be cut off. I loathe thy calf, O Samaria; mine anger is kindled against it. . . . A workman made it; it is not God: the calf of Samaria shall be broken into splinters. For they have sown the wind, and they shall reap the whirlwind: it hath no stalk: the bud shall yield no meal: if so be it yield, strangers shall swallow it up. Israel is swallowed up: already are they become among the nations as a worthless vessel. For they are gone up to Assyria, like a wild ass that roameth alone:

Ephraim hath given presents (?). Yea, though they give among the nations, now will I remove them, and they shall cease a little from anointing kings and princes! Ephraim hath made many altars to sin; yea, altars serve him to sin. Were I to write for him my laws by thousands, as those of a stranger would they be accounted. They slay burnt offerings for me and eat flesh (?), but the Lord accepteth them not; now will he remember their iniquity, and visit their sins: they shall return to Egypt! [For Israel hath forgotten his Maker, and buildeth temples; and Judah hath multiplied fenced cities; but I will send a fire upon his cities, and it shall devour the palaces thereof.]

§ 10. *Ill-timed rejoicing.*—In this section Hosea seems to allude to contempt and persecution from which he has had to suffer. Hosea retorts that if his overwrought indignation has seemed folly, and his excited rebuke as madness, this is the people's own fault; it is the nation's guilt which has driven its true spokesman almost beyond the limits of endurance.

Rejoice not, O Israel, in rapture, as the peoples: for thou hast gone astray from thy God, thou hast loved an apostate's hire upon every cornfloor. The floor and the winepress shall not feed them, and the new wine shall fail them. They shall not dwell in the Lord's land; but Ephraim shall return to Egypt, and they shall eat unclean things in Assyria. They shall not pour libations to the Lord, neither prepare for him their sacrifices; their bread shall be unto them as the bread of mourners; all that eat thereof shall be polluted: for their bread shall be only for their appetite; it shall not come into the house of the Lord. What will ye do at the festival, and in the day of the feast of the Lord? For, lo, they are gone up to Assyria; Egypt shall gather them, Memphis shall bury them: their precious things of silver, nettles shall possess them: thorns shall be in their tents. The days of visitation are come, the days of recompence are come; Israel shall feel it.

'The prophet is a fool, the man of the spirit is mad.' Yea, for the mass of thine iniquity and the greatness of the persecution (?). Ephraim . . . As for the prophet, the fowler's snare is on all his ways, they have made deep for him the pit in the house of his God (?).

§ 11. *Israel as the wild grape.*—Hosea loves to contrast the spring-time of Israel's youth with the miseries and guilt of its manhood. Yet it was but soon after the deliverance from Egypt that its apostasy began. 'Baal-peor is put for Beth-peor, the place where Baal-peor was worshipped. The open falling away to this heathen deity was one of the most startling episodes of the period of the wanderings' (Cheyne). But the sin of Baal-peor is no mere sin of the past: it has continued to Hosea's own time, for the whole ritual system is in the prophet's eyes nothing more nor less than a worship of Baal (Wellhausen).

I found Israel like grapes in the wilderness; I saw your fathers like the firstfruits on a fig-tree in her first season. But they came to Baal-peor, and dedicated themselves to the Shame; and became abominations like their loves. As for Ephraim, their glory shall fly away as a bird. Ephraim is smitten, their root is dried up, they shall bear no fruit.

All their wickedness is at Gilgal; there have I learned to hate them: for the wickedness of their doings I will drive them out of my house; I will love them no more; all their princes are rebellious. My God will reject them, for they have not hearkened unto him; and they shall be fugitives among the nations.

§ 12. *Israel as the cultivated vine.*—Civilization and prosperity led but to apostasy and sin. And these shall but lead to exile and ruin.

Israel is a luxuriant vine, which freely put forth fruit. As his fruit increased, he increased his altars; the goodlier his land, the more goodly he made his pillars! Their heart is deceitful; they shall bear their guilt: he shall break down their altars, he shall destroy their pillars. Yea, then shall they say, We have no king, because we feared not the Lord; and the king, what can he do for us? They speak words, they swear falsely, they make covenants: . . .

The inhabitants of Samaria shall fear because of the calf of Beth-aven: yea, the people thereof shall mourn over it, and its priestlings shall howl—for its glory, that it is banished from it (?). And it shall be carried unto Assyria for a present to the great king: Ephraim shall get disgrace, and Israel shall be put to shame because of his idol. Samaria is undone; her king is as a chip upon the face of the water.

And the high places of Israel shall be destroyed: the thorn and the thistle shall come up on their altars; and they shall say to the mountains, Cover us; and to the hills, Fall on us.

§ 13. *Sow righteousness: reap lovingkindness.*—Two obscure verses at the opening of this section are here omitted. 'Sow to yourselves righteousness, so shall ye reap lovingkindness': Hosea apparently means that as the seed is, so is the harvest. Where wickedness is sown, disaster is reaped. Where man sows righteousness, God's love and man's love shall be the fruit which he will reap.

Ephraim is an heifer broken in and loving to thresh. But I will come on her fair neck (?): I will yoke Ephraim; Judah (?) shall plough, and Jacob shall harrow. Sow to yourselves righteousness, so shall ye reap lovingkindness; break up your fallow ground: for it is time to seek the Lord, that the fruit of righteousness may come upon you. But ye have ploughed wickedness, ye have reaped disaster; ye have eaten the fruit of lies. Therefore the tumult of war shall arise in thy cities, and all thy fortresses shall be destroyed, [as Shalman destroyed Beth-arbel in the day of battle]: the mother shall be dashed in pieces upon her children. So shall I do unto you, O house of Israel, because of your great wickedness: soon shall the king of Israel utterly be cut off.

§ 14. *The wasted training of Israel.*—Once more Hosea recalls the past, and more especially the great act of consecration in Israel's history: the redemption from Egypt, the summons to be God's son, a divinely called witness, as the second Isaiah would say, to his unity and his righteousness. But in spite of all God did for Israel, the people refused to hear. Therefore as they will not 'return' in a spiritual sense to God, they shall return in a physical sense to Egypt—a grim play upon words.

Yet even now Hosea makes God hesitate, and even now God declares that his wrath will not end in sheer extermination. It is a great passage about God, though expressed in very human words. The divine wrath is not inconsistent with divine pity. Nay, in all God does, the entire God is operative. But goodness cannot delight in sheer destruction: the God of life and love cannot, even when his sons rebel, delight in ruin and death.

'God does not desire,' as Ezekiel said, 'the death of the sinner,

but rather that he should repent and live.' God has no enemies of any race (here we see more clearly than Ezekiel or Hosea), and he has no favourites in any lower or unrighteous sense of the word. If he suffers evil and suffers sin, he does not do so, we must fain believe, for any other purpose than that the strife and conflict with evil may cause the highest goodness, and that out of sin there may at last be evolved, whether in this life or in another, penitence and return. The very idea of God implies that he is eternally changeless and eternally good. In such more modern and more reflective manner we may re-adapt for our own use and time the thought and language of Hosea.

When Israel was a child, I loved him, and called him from Egypt to be my son (?). The more I called them, the further they went away from me: they sacrificed unto the Baalim, and burnt incense to graven images. But it was I who taught Ephraim to walk; I took them in mine arms; but they knew not that I tended them (?). I drew them with cords of a man (?), with bands of love, and I was to them as those who lift up the yoke from the cheeks (?), and I bent towards him and gave him food (?). But they shall return to the land of Egypt, and Assyria shall be their king, for they refused to return. And the sword shall whirl about in their cities, and shall consume their fortresses (?).

My people . . . How can I give thee up, O Ephraim? How can I surrender thee, O Israel? How can I give thee up as Admah, or make thee as Zeboim? My heart is turned within me; my pity burneth. I will not execute the fierceness of mine anger; I will not bring back Ephraim to nothing, for I am God and not man, the holy one in the midst of thee; I come not to utterly consume (?).

[They will follow the Lord; he shall roar as a lion; for he shall roar, and his sons shall hurry trembling from the west (?). They shall hurry trembling like birds from Egypt, and as doves from the land of Assyria, and I will cause them to dwell in their homes, saith the Lord.]

The last paragraph is perhaps an interpolation. For the people are already in exile: the judgement has fallen.

Admah and Zeboim are cities of the Sodom and Gomorrah group. It is to their sudden overthrow and destruction that Hosea refers.

The Hebrew of this section is very doubtful. In the first sentence we should perhaps read, 'I called my *sons* out of Egypt.'

§ 15. *Israel the supplanter and trafficker.*—The next section is very difficult. The text is frequently uncertain and corrupt; the sequence of thought very hard to trace. There are several brief allusions to the current stories about the life of Jacob, but Hosea's object in introducing them is far from clear.

Ephraim compasseth me about with lies, and the house of Israel with deceit; and Judah. . . . Ephraim pursueth wind, and followeth after the east wind: all day long he increaseth lies and falsity; they make a treaty with the Assyrians, and oil is carried into Egypt. The Lord hath a controversy with Israel, and will visit his ways upon Jacob; according to his doings will he requite him.

He supplanted his brother, and by his strength he contended with God: yea, he contended with the angel, and prevailed: he wept, and made supplication unto him: he found him in Beth-el, and there he spake with him. [The Lord, the God of hosts, the Lord is his name. Therefore turn thou to thy God: keep mercy and judgement, and wait on thy God continually.]

As for Canaan, deceitful balances are in his hand: he loveth to defraud. And Ephraim saith, Surely I am become rich, I have gotten me substance: but all his gain shall not suffice for the guilt which he hath sinned. For I the Lord thy God from the land of Egypt will again make thee to dwell in tents, as in the days of the festival (?).

I have spoken by the prophets, and I have multiplied visions, and through the prophets I have used similitudes (?). In Gilead there are iniquity and falsehood; they sacrifice to demons in Gilgal; their altars shall become stone heaps in the furrows of the fields.

And Jacob fled into the plain of Aram, and Israel served for a wife, and for a wife he guarded sheep. And by a prophet the Lord brought Israel out of Egypt, and by a prophet was he guarded. Ephraim hath given bitter provocation, . . . the Lord shall return upon him his reproach.

Israel is sarcastically called Canaan: the rich trafficker or merchant. For 'Canaanite became a synonym for "merchant" as "Chaldaean" was a synonym for "astrologer." Hosea uses the word collectively and metaphorically; his Canaan is a degenerate Israel. The sarcasm derives its point from the low repute of the Phoenician merchants for honesty' (Cheyne).

The curious contrast between Jacob and Moses at the close is noteworthy but obscure. Jacob, as a servant, 'guarded' sheep to win his wife; Moses, the 'prophet,' 'guarded' Israel, and by God's help delivered him from the bondage of Egypt. What is intended by this juxtaposition? What lesson is implied in the contrast? It is difficult to decide.

§ 16. *The doom upon unrepentant Israel.*—The doom is irrevocable, and Hosea's language becomes sterner and yet more stern. The same charges are repeated again and again, and the same punishment is again and again foretold. Death and Sheol must carry away these idolatrous and immoral apostates. God is even represented as summoning them to seize their prey.

When Ephraim spake trembling (?), he was the prince in Israel; but he became guilty through the Baal and died. And now they sin more and more; they make them molten images of their silver, and idols after their own likeness—craftsmen's work all of it: these they call God! sacrificing men kiss calves! Therefore they shall be as the morning cloud, and as the dew that early passeth away, as the chaff that is whirled by the wind up from the floor, and as smoke out of the window.

Yet I am the Lord thy God from the land of Egypt, and thou knowest no god but me: and there is no saviour beside me. I knew thee in the wilderness, I fed thee in the land of drought. As they fed, they waxed full; they were filled, and their heart was exalted; therefore have they forgotten me. Therefore I will be unto them as a lion: as a leopard by the way of Assyria. I will meet them as a bear that is bereaved of her whelps, and will rend the caul of their heart, and there will I devour them like a lioness: the wild beast shall tear them. I am thy destruction, O Israel; who can help thee? Where is thy king that he may save thee, and thy princes, that they may rule thee? Of whom thou saidst, Give me a king and princes! I gave thee kings in mine anger, and take them away in my wrath.

Ephraim's iniquity is bound up; his sin is stored! Shall I deliver them from the grasp of Sheol? Shall I redeem them from Death? Where are thy plagues, O Sheol? Where is thy pestilence, O Death? Pity is hid from mine eyes.

Though Ephraim be fruitful as sedge between waters (?),

an east wind of the Lord shall come, rising from the wilderness, and his spring shall become dry, and his fountain shall be dried up: he shall spoil the treasury of all its precious vessels (?). Samaria shall bear her guilt, for she hath rebelled against her God.

I cannot attempt to explain the many difficulties and allusions in this or in any other section of Hosea. It would take too long, and this book does not profess to supply the place of a commentary.

'An east wind of the Lord,' i. e. the Assyrian. The metaphor is dropped in the clause about the spoiling of the treasury.

§ 17. *Last words of promise.*—The concluding section of Hosea is filled with human penitence and divine promise. Professor Cheyne thinks it was added on to Hosea's book by a later writer, but Dr. George Adam Smith vigorously defends its Hosean authorship. It does not, of course, follow because this fragment (for it is little more) is *placed* last now that it was written last by Hosea. That we cannot tell. We have to remember that the prophet, though touched by divine power, remains a man, and is subject to human moods and changes. It is only God who is changeless. The different operations of God are humanly represented to man as results now of the divine anger, now of the divine mercy, whereas in reality all God does is done by the entire God, for God is One. If then the exile and punishment of Israel are to be regarded as the direct will and work of God, and if the restoration and forgiveness of Israel are also to be so regarded, the second is no more really due to any one divine attribute than the first. Such separations are purely arbitrary and human. God's justice and God's pity are wholly one and the same. That is implied in the great dogma of Judaism: *Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is One.*

Hosea, then, if this chapter be his, realized that the punishment of Israel could not be final and complete. Such a punishment would defeat its own end, and would therefore be inconsistent with the divine nature and rule. At some point or other, Israel would truly repent; at some moment of time, Israel would hear the divine voice, which in truth had never ceased to call, and would respond to the love which was ever ready to receive and welcome the penitent. Israel would realize the difference between the false gods and the true Saviour, and when, with this 'knowledge of God' growing and blossoming in its heart, it should sincerely ask for forgiveness, its backsliding would be healed.

The new heart would be partly the result of human effort and partly of divine grace. This double source and aspect of the regenerate life we have often had occasion to dwell upon before.

O Israel, return unto the Lord thy God; for thou hast stumbled by thine iniquity. Take with you words, and return unto the Lord: say unto him, 'Altogether forgive our iniquity, and accept the good; so will we render the fruit of our lips (?). Asshur shall not save us; we will not ride upon horses: neither will we say any more 'our god' to the work of our hands: for in thee the fatherless findeth mercy.'

I will heal their backsliding, I will love them freely: for mine anger is turned away from them. I will be as the dew unto Israel: he shall blossom as the lily, and send forth his roots deep as Lebanon. His branches shall spread, and his beauty shall be as the olive tree, and his smell as Lebanon.

They shall return and dwell in his shadow. They shall live well watered as a garden (?), they shall flourish like a vine, and be fragrant like the wine of Lebanon (?).

Ephraim, what has he to do any more with idols (?) . . . I am like a green fir tree (?); from me is thy fruit found (?).

[Whoso is wise, let him understand these things; whoso is prudent, let him realize them. For straight are the ways of the Lord, and the righteous walk therein, but transgressors shall stumble upon them.]

Several phrases in this beautiful passage must unfortunately remain obscure, as the text is frequently uncertain: some of the renderings, here as elsewhere, rest on critical emendations of the Hebrew. Constant marks of interrogation are necessary to remind the reader how doubtful any translation must always be. The strange comparison of God to a tree is a special stumbling-block. Some commentators suppose that Ephraim is here the speaker, and not the Deity; but this interpretation labours under even greater difficulties.

The final epilogue—the moral to the tragedy, as Wellhausen calls it—is clearly the work of a later editor. Compare what I have said about it in Part I, p. 365. Its sternness is medicinal. It represents one mysterious tendency or aspect of the divine order. Circumstance and opportunity are often so many stepping-stones for the 'righteous' (for him whose heart is on the whole in the right place, and whose will is set towards goodness) that he

may become more righteous still. He uses them for good. But these very circumstances and opportunities are to the 'wicked' (to him whose will is set rather sinwards than Godwards) so many 'stumbling-blocks,' steps downwards instead of steps upwards, by which he sins the more. He uses them for evil. It is false and foolish to neglect or overlook the power and fascination of sin. We recall the grim German proverb: *Wer Sünde thut, der ist der Sünde Knecht.* On the other hand, these truths are rather tendencies than fixed laws which admit of no exception. 'It is never too late to mend' is probably no less true than the proverb about the bondage of sin. The divine rulings under which our moral nature works are stern—and it is salutary for us that they are so—but they are not calculated to cause despair. They are stern, but not hopeless.

CHAPTER III

ISAIAH I–XII

§ 1. *A pledge redeemed.*—A few passages from the prophecies of the great Judaean seer and teacher, Isaiah, were given in Part I. For various reasons it was necessary to keep those passages within very narrow limits, but I pointed out that at a later stage I intended 'to print several chapters of the "Book of Isaiah" (as it is commonly called), both for the sake of the great thoughts and noble poetry contained in them, as well as to give a good example of written Hebrew prophecy in the composite and sometimes even confused form, wherein we now, for the greater part, possess it' (p. 373). The intention thus indicated is now to be fulfilled.

§ 2. *The original prophecies of Isaiah and the later additions.* —Isaiah, it will be remembered, was a great prophet of the kingdom of Judah, whose public career, extending through the reigns of Jotham, Ahaz and Hezekiah, occupied the last thirty-five years of the eighth century B.C.

But the *Book* of Isaiah, as we now possess it, is a composite collection containing writings of many men of many ages. Of its sixty-six chapters the last twenty-seven can be at once separated off from the first thirty-nine. For these last twenty-seven chapters open with the prophecies of the 'Great Unknown' of the days of Cyrus, and all that follows upon these is later and not earlier than they. These twenty-seven chapters therefore have nothing whatever to do with the Isaiah of Jotham's and Hezekiah's reigns. How they came and why they came into their present place no one can tell. The first thirty-nine chapters do, however, contain undoubted passages from Isaiah's pen. Why then, it may be asked, can we not still believe, as people up till not very long ago

used to believe, that the *whole* thirty-nine chapters and every verse in them are all Isaiah's?

The reasons, unfortunately, are too numerous and too complicated for me to set them forth here and now. This much only let me say.

The thirty-nine chapters clearly consist of certain minor collections or groups, which groups bear again within themselves the traces of *aggregation*. i–xii is one such group or collection, xiii–xxiii is a second, xxiv–xxxv is a third, while xxxvi–xxxix constitutes a sort of separate historical appendix.

These groups have each of them a history and growth of their own.

Isaiah himself did not, so far as we can gather, prepare and issue a complete collection of his own prophecies. He was more a speaker than a writer. But separate prophecies (remember that this word is not equivalent to predictions) were written down by him or at his dictation on separate scrolls, and there were also, as it would seem, small collections, which are alluded to in his own writings. For example, our present chapters xxviii–xxxi, apart from later additions, probably formed one such booklet, while chapters vi–viii may have formed another.

The various papyrus scrolls and broadsheets were doubtless treasured up by Isaiah's disciples, who themselves may have begun to piece them together into further collections. Probably these various collections by no means all tallied with each other; there may have been overlapping and interchange of order, so that one collection contained, e. g., prophecies A, B, C, D, while another may have contained C, A, E, D, F. This process went on; copyist succeeded to copyist, and doubtless the original text got often changed and corrupted.

Then came the great break and ruin of the exile. When the Jews returned, they gradually began to collect together and to edit the fragments of ancient prophecy which were still preserved and still intelligible. For by this time we may readily suppose that many of the pre-exilic scrolls had been lost, and many others had become defaced or injured and therefore unintelligible.

For many reasons it became a custom to add or to prefix anonymous prophecies of post-exilic date to scrolls of pre-exilic material. Thus the collection xxiv–xxxv in the 'Book of Isaiah' opens with four chapters (xxiv–xxvii), which are a separate and very late post-exilic 'prophecy,' and it ends with two chapters (xxxiv–xxxv) which are the same. On the other hand, the intervening chapters (xxviii–xxxiii) do undoubtedly contain important fragments of the true Isaiah.

Now that the historical and critical eyes of scholars are thoroughly opened and trained, it is quite easy to see or be shown that *wholes*, such as chapters xxiv–xxvii, or xxxiv–xxxv, are not Isaiah's. They are now seen to be unlike him in style and subject-matter, in thought and point of view, in environment and circumstance. They reflect and they assume a different and far later age.

It was and it is more difficult to see or to be made to see the editorial work in groups wherein are contained passages which Isaiah wrote and which certainly reflect his own age. Here opinions still differ, and will probably for long continue to differ. I allude to editorial work in chapters i–xii, in xiii–xxii and in xxviii–xxxiii. Be it noted that in these groups too there may be, in the second group there undoubtedly are, passages which have an independent origin, but which, though not originally written for the place they now occupy, were inserted, to give them a safe refuge and an honourable position, in an Isaianic collection. Such once independent passages, e.g., chapter xiv, quoted in Part I, p. 478, are, as I said before, more easy to detect and recognize than the editorial work and additions properly so called.

Let me state here in numerical form how much of the true Isaiah the distinguished German commentator, Professor Duhm, supposes still to exist in the groups i–xii, xiii–xxiii, and xxviii–xxxiii. Chapters i–xii contain 252 verses. Of these Professor Duhm thinks 181 are Isaiah's, while 71 are editorial or insertions. Chapters xiii–xxiii contain 171 verses, of which he thinks that only 46 are Isaiah's, while 125 were either originally independent prophecies or are editorial assertions. Chapters xxviii–xxxiii contain 139 verses, of which 84 are considered Isaiah's, and 55 editorial. Professor Cheyne's allowances to Isaiah, especially in section three, are rather less liberal than Professor Duhm's.

§ 3. *Tests by which to distinguish the work of Isaiah from later additions.*—On what grounds are the editorial accretions distinguished from Isaiah's own work? I must repeat that the full arguments and the complete list of reasons cannot here be given, but I may briefly indicate the following:—

(1) Sudden change of style. The sudden substitution of prose for rhythm, and for good rhythm a very broken and halting one. Halting and feeble utterance following on or interrupting passages of power and elegance. Isaiah was a splendid stylist.

(2) Late words and expressions.

(3) Repetitions of certain catch-words or phrases, such as 'in that day,' characteristic of the post-exilic period and writers.

(4) Sudden change of point of view or religious ideas, more especially a change from known pre-exilic to known post-exilic points of view or ideas.

(5) Sudden interruption of the sequence of thought.

(6) Sudden addition to a prophecy of judgement upon Israel of a judgement upon the 'nations.' The older prophets, as Jeremiah said (Part I, p. 424), prophesied mainly 'of war and of evil and of pestilence'; they were commissioned to threaten national ruin for national sin. The post-exilic writers, on the other hand, were constantly hoping for and speaking of the day when the tables would be turned, and when Israel would triumph over all its foes. The 'day of Jehovah' to Amos was the day of Israel's fall; 'that day' to the post-exilic writers is the day of Israel's triumph.

§ 4. *Contents of the present chapter and its arrangement.*—In the extracts from 'Isaiah' which are now to follow, dots will not generally mean, as in the translation of the Book of Job, that a line has been omitted because the Hebrew is untranslatable. They will mean that a part of a particular prophecy has probably been lost; that what we have is incomplete.

The present chapter will contain an English translation of Isaiah i–xii. Only in two cases have I ventured on a small transposition. Place and extent of these can be seen from the index. With these two exceptions the twelve chapters are printed exactly as we now find them. The supposed editorial additions are immediately made clear by rectangular brackets.

§ 5. *Character and object of the post-exilic additions.*—Two words more. Let it not be supposed that these editorial additions were written to deceive. In no wise would such an idea be true. The post-exilic Jews had no 'historic sense.' It was utterly indifferent to them what Isaiah meant to the men of Isaiah's generation; they only cared for what his words meant, or could be made to mean, to themselves. They believed that Isaiah's words had been written for them at least as much as for the past, and they saw no harm in adding to them, or in filling them out with, words which to their minds were in the very spirit of Isaiah himself. As God spoke through Isaiah, so the editors believed he spoke through them. Nor were they wholly mistaken; for though, upon the whole, their additions are far less religiously and spiritually valuable than Isaiah's own words, still these additions are not only often interesting, but sometimes great and noble. They often express hopes and aspirations which in a purified and universalized form still appeal to us to-day. Although, therefore, we ourselves should not edit ancient records

in such a manner, we must certainly acquit the editors of 'Isaiah' of any conscious or intentional breach of faith.

A second word as to form. In those passages from the prophetical literature which are here printed in lines, the English does not invariably follow the metrical divisions of the Hebrew. The printing in lines means that the Hebrew is rhythmical, and the printing in prose means that in the Hebrew the rhythm is either poor or broken or absent, but each distinct division of Hebrew rhythm is not always represented in the English by a separate line. Sometimes it has seemed better to include two such divisions in one English line. Moreover, the indented lines are not always strictly justified by the Hebrew. Occasionally they are only to be justified by the eye and the better appearance which they give to the printed page. Often they do not represent (as in strictness perhaps they should) the second division of a Hebrew rhythmical unit, and sometimes they do not even clearly mark a parallelism in the thought. That parallelism may either be wholly wanting, or it may be contained in the second division of a Hebrew rhythmical unit, which in the English is now and then printed as a single line.

§ 6. '*The great arraignment.*'—Of the minor collections which together constitute chapters i–xii of the Book of Isaiah, chapter i seems to form a whole by itself. Yet it was scarcely written at a single time. The short passage, 'Come now, and let us' down to 'the Lord hath spoken it,' is metrically different from what precedes, and the connexion is not particularly good. The passage, 'How is she become a traitress' down to 'the faithful city,' is composed in a peculiar metre and stands off from the rest. The concluding passage, 'For ye shall be ashamed' down to 'none shall quench them,' seems to be a fragment of a prophecy against tree worship, connected by an editorial link of two verses with all which precedes it. That 'all' seems, as Professor Cheyne says, to reproduce, or be a summary of, prophecies delivered by Isaiah during the invasions of Sennacherib but before the blockade of Jerusalem. The date would be 701 B.C. We have here a noble epitome of the prophetic teaching. Form and substance are alike superb. As to the attack on tree worship, seeing that 'tree worship specially prevailed in North Palestine, we may reasonably place the fragment before the fall of Samaria in 722' (Cheyne).

[The vision of Isaiah the son of Amos, which he saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah.]
Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth,

For the Lord speaketh:
Sons I have brought up and exalted,
But they have rebelled against me.
The ox knoweth its owner,
And the ass its master's crib:
But Israel doth not know,
My people doth not consider.
Ah, sinful nation,
A people laden with iniquity,
A seed of evildoers,
Sons that do corruptly:
They have forsaken the Lord,
They have reviled the Holy One of Israel.
Whereon will ye still be stricken,
Continuing your revolt?
The whole head is sick,
And the whole heart faint.
From the sole of the foot even unto the head
There is no soundness;
Wounds and bruises and putrifying sores:
They have not been pressed out, neither bound up,
Neither mollified with oil.
Your country is desolate,
Your cities are burned with fire:
Your land—before your face
Strangers devour it.
And the daughter of Zion is left
As a booth in a vineyard,
As a lodge in a garden of cucumbers,
As a fort that is besieged.
Except the Lord of hosts
Had left unto us a remnant,
We should almost be as Sodom,
And be like unto Gomorrah.

Hear the word of the Lord,
Ye rulers of Sodom;
Give ear unto the teaching of our God,
Ye people of Gomorrah.
To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me?
Saith the Lord:
I am full of the burnt offerings of rams,

And the fat of fed beasts;
And in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs,
Or of he goats, I delight not.
If ye come to see my face,
Who hath required this at your hand?
Trample on my courts no more;
Bring no more oblations;
Vain is the incense;
An abomination is it unto me;
New moon and sabbath,
The calling of assemblies—
I cannot away with
Iniquity and festal assembly together!
Your new moons and your appointed feasts
My soul hateth:
They are a trouble unto me;
I am weary to bear them.
And when ye spread forth your hands,
I hide mine eyes from you:
Yea, when ye make many prayers,
I do not hear:
Your hands are full of blood.
Wash you, make you clean;
Put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes.
Seek judgement, restrain the oppressor,
Judge the fatherless, plead for the widow.

Come now, and let us plead together, saith the Lord:
Though your sins be as scarlet,
They may become white as snow;
Though they be red like crimson,
They may become as wool.
If ye be willing and obedient,
Ye shall eat the good of the land:
But if ye refuse and rebel,
Ye shall be devoured with the sword:
For the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.

How is she become a traitress,
The faithful city!
She that was full of judgement,
Where righteousness abode!

Thy silver is become dross,
  Thy wine corrupted:
Thy princes are rebellious,
  And companions of thieves:
Every one loveth gifts,
  And followeth after rewards:
They judge not the fatherless,
  Neither doth the cause of the widow come unto them.
Therefore saith the Lord,
  The mighty One of Israel,
Ah, I will ease me of mine adversaries,
  And avenge me of mine enemies:
And I will turn my hand upon thee,
  And purge away thy dross in the furnace,
  And take away all thine alloy.
And I will restore thy judges as at the first,
  And thy counsellors as at the beginning:
Afterward thou shalt be called, The fort of righteousness,
  The faithful city.

[Zion shall be redeemed through judgement, and her converts through righteousness. But destruction of rebels and sinners together, and they that forsake the Lord shall be consumed.]

For ye shall be ashamed because of the oaks which ye love,
  And ye shall be confounded for the gardens that ye have chosen.
For ye shall be as an oak whose leaf fadeth,
  And as a garden that hath no water.
And the strong shall be as tow, and his work as a spark,
  And they shall both burn together, and none shall quench them.

§ 7. *A vision of peace.*—The next sub-group extends over chapters ii, iii and iv. It opens with a famous fragment which we have already heard, but which will be here repeated (Part I, p. 602). Professor Duhm thinks that it may have been written by Isaiah in his old age; Professor Cheyne thinks it is the work of a post-exilic writer. The nobility and grandeur of the fragment are in either case the same.

[The word that Isaiah the son of Amos saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem.]

[And it shall come to pass in the sequel of the days that
the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established at the
head of the mountains, and exalted above the hills. And
nations shall stream unto it, and many peoples shall go
and say,
Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord,
To the house of the God of Israel;
That he may teach us of his ways,
And that we may walk in his paths:
For out of Zion goeth forth teaching,
And the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.
And he shall judge between the nations,
And arbitrate for many peoples;
And they shall beat their swords into ploughshares
And their spears into pruninghooks.
Nation shall not lift up sword against nation;
Neither shall they learn war any more.]

§ 8. *Guilt and punishment.*—The next portion of this sub-group contains seventeen verses. It seems to consist of three fragments, of which the second has been wrongly wedged in between the more connected first and third. Here they have been transposed. The third fragment (here placed second) is really shorter than it seems, for it apparently contains a double recension of the same statements. The fourth sentence answers to the second, and the third is a late and prosaic paraphrase of the mutilated first. The date of all three sections is probably early in Isaiah's career; Professor Cheyne dates them 'soon after 740 B.C.' The ruin of Israel and Judah because of their idolatry and pride is threatened. That chastisement is the Lord's day.

A.

[O house of Jacob, come ye, and let us walk in the light
of the Lord.]
For the Lord hath rejected his people, the house of Jacob,
Because they are filled with sorcery from the East,
And with soothsayers like the Philistines,
And they join hands with strangers.
And their land is become full of silver and gold,
Neither is there any end of their treasures;
Their land is also full of horses,
Neither is there any end of their chariots:

Their land also hath become filled with idols:
They worship the work of their own hands,
That which their own fingers have made.
Therefore the mean man is humbled and the great man made low—
And thou canst not forgive them (?).
Enter into the rock,
And hide thee in the dust,
Before the fear of the Lord
And the glory of his majesty,
When he ariseth to terrify the earth.

B.

And the idols shall utterly vanish away.
And men shall go into caves of the rocks
And into holes of the ground,
Before the fear of the Lord
And the glory of his majesty
When he ariseth to terrify the earth.
[In that day a man shall cast his idols of silver and his idols of gold, which he made for himself to worship, to the moles and to the bats.]
And men shall go into clefts of the rocks,
And into hollows of the crags
Before the fear of the Lord,
And the glory of his majesty,
When he ariseth to terrify the earth.
[Cease ye from man in whose nostrils is a breath, for at what is he to be accounted?]

C.

And the high looks of man shall be humbled,
And the haughtiness of men shall be bowed down,
And the Lord alone shall be exalted in that day.
For a day hath the Lord of Hosts upon everything that is proud and lofty,
And upon everything that is high and exalted:
And upon all the cedars of Lebanon, that are lofty and high,
And upon all the oaks of Bashan,

And upon all the lofty mountains,
And upon all the high hills,
And upon every tall tower,
And upon every fenced wall,
And upon all the ships of Tarshish,
And upon all the carving of delight.
And the loftiness of man shall be bowed down,
And the haughtiness of men shall be humbled,
And the Lord alone shall be exalted in that day.

§ 9. *Misgovernment and its consequences.*—The next section seems to belong to a somewhat later period, and to refer to the probable consequences of the accession of the youthful Ahaz to the throne. If so it must belong to the very beginning of his reign, 735 B. C., before the Syro-Ephraimite invasion. The short paragraph, 'The Lord hath stationed himself,' seems written in a different and better rhythm from that of the preceding verses, and may have to be regarded as a separate fragment.

For, behold, the Lord, the Lord of hosts, doth take away from Jerusalem and from Judah stay and staff, the mighty man and the man of war, the judge and the prophet, the diviner and the elder, the captain of fifty and the favourite and the counsellor, the magician and the skilled enchanter. And I will make children to be their princes, and outrage shall rule over them. And the people shall be oppressed, every one by another, and every one by his neighbour: the child shall storm at the elder, and the base at the honourable. When one man taketh hold of his brother in the house of his father, saying, Thou hast a cloak, be thou our ruler, and let this ruin be under thy hand: in that day shall he protest, saying, I will not be an healer; for in my house is neither bread nor cloak: make me not a ruler of the people. For Jerusalem is ruined, and Judah falleth: because their tongue and their doings are against the Lord, to provoke the eyes of his glory. Their respecting of persons doth witness against them; and they declare their sin, they hide it not. Woe unto them! for they have done evil unto themselves.

[Happy is the righteous, for it is well with him: for he shall eat the fruit of his doings. Woe unto the wicked! it shall be ill with him: for the retribution of his hands shall be given him.]

As for my people, a child is their governor, and women rule over them: O my people, they which lead thee cause thee to err, and have confused thy paths.

The Lord hath stationed himself to plead,
And standeth to judge his people.
The Lord will enter into judgement
With the elders of his people, and the princes thereof.
And ye—ye have eaten up the vineyard;
The spoil of the poor is in your houses.
What mean ye that ye crush my people,
And grind the face of the afflicted?
Saith the Lord God of hosts.

§ 10. *The wicked daughters of Jerusalem.*—In this section we find a rhythmical fragment containing an attack upon and a threat against the grand and worldly ladies of the capital and the court enlarged by late prosaic additions. The catalogue of the women's ornaments is by no means in Isaiah's manner.

And the Lord said,
Because the daughters of Zion are haughty,
And walk with outstretched neck, and ogling eyes;
Tripping along as they go and tinkling with their feet;
Therefore the Lord will smite with a scab the crown of the head of the daughters of Zion,
And he will make bare their shame.

[In that day the Lord will take away the bravery of their anklets, and the little suns and the little moons, the ear-drops and the arm-chains and the veils, the tiaras and the foot-chains, the girdles and the scent-bottles and the armlets, the seal rings and the nose jewels, the festal garments and the tunics and the shawls and the purses, the mirrors and the shifts, and the turbans and the overalls.]

And it shall come to pass, that instead of sweet smell there shall be rottenness; and instead of curls baldness; and instead of a mantle a girdle of sackcloth—branding instead of beauty.

[Thy men shall fall by the sword, and thy mighty in the war. And her gates shall lament and mourn; and she shall sit, emptied out, upon the ground.]

And in that day seven women shall take hold of one man, saying,

We will eat our own bread,
And wear our own apparel:
Only let us be called by thy name;
Take thou away our reproach.

§ 11. *The final redemption.*—The conclusion of the sub-group is supposed by Professors Duhm and Cheyne to be entirely editorial. Style is certainly poor. Thought and expression are characteristic of the post-exilic period.

[In that day shall the sprouting of the Lord be for beauty and for glory, and the fruit of the land for pride and renown to the escaped of Israel. And it shall come to pass, that he that is left in Zion, and he that remaineth in Jerusalem, shall be called holy, even every one that is written for life in Jerusalem: when the Lord hath washed away the filth of the daughter of Zion, and hath purged the blood of Jerusalem from the midst thereof, by a spirit of judgement and a spirit of extermination. And the Lord will come, and there will be over the whole site of mount Zion and over her convocations a cloud by day and smoke with the shining of a flaming fire by night. And he will be as a shadow from the heat, and for a refuge and a shelter from storm and from rain (?).]

§ 12. *The parable of the vineyard.*—The fifth chapter of Isaiah seems to have no connexion or link with its neighbours on either side. Like the first chapter, it forms a short and small group by itself. But it was not written at once, for it is not a quite uniform whole. Moreover, its last six verses are now misplaced, and should be more correctly inserted elsewhere. This has here been done. The first twenty-four verses form two unequal parts. The first of these is the famous parable of the vineyard, both in style and rhythm in Isaiah's best manner. The date may be early in the reign of Ahaz.

I would sing of my Friend,
My Friend's song about his vineyard.

'My Friend hath a vineyard
On a fertile hill,
And he digged it, and gathered out the stones thereof,
And planted it with the choicest vine;

And he built a tower in the midst of it,
  Yea, he hewed out a wine-vat therein:
And he looked that it should bring forth grapes,
  And it brought forth wild grapes.

'And now, O inhabitants of Jerusalem,
  And men of Judah,
Judge, I pray you, betwixt me,
  And betwixt my vineyard.
What could have been done more to my vineyard,
  That I have not done in it?
Wherefore, when I looked that it should bring forth grapes,
  Brought it forth wild grapes?

'And now go to; I will tell you
  What I will do to my vineyard:
I will take away the hedge thereof,
  And it shall be eaten up;
And break down the wall thereof,
  And it shall be trodden down:
And I will make a full end of it:
  It shall not be pruned nor digged;
But there shall come up briers and thorns:
  I will also command the clouds that they rain no rain upon it.'

For the vineyard of the Lord of hosts is the house of Israel,
  And the men of Judah, the plant of his delight;
And he looked for justice, but behold, bloodshed;
  For righteousness, but behold, a cry!

§ 13. *A sixfold woe.*—The second part of the fifth chapter may date from the same period. It contains the six famous denunciations of social unrighteousness. I regret that both here and elsewhere I am unable to find room for the smallest commentary. Most earnestly would I commend Dr. Skinner's edition of the Book of Isaiah (two small volumes) to my readers.

Woe unto them that join house to house,
  That lay field to field,
Till there is no place,
  And they reside alone in the midst of the land!

Therefore in mine ears the Lord of hosts hath revealed:
Of a truth many houses shall be desolate,
Even great and fair ones, without inhabitant.
For ten yokes of vineyard shall yield but one bath,
And the seed of an homer shall yield but an ephah.

Woe unto them that rise up early in the morning,
That they may follow strong drink;
That sit late into the night,
While wine inflameth them!
And the harp, and the viol, the tabret, and pipe,
And wine, make up their feast:
But they regard not the work of the Lord,
Neither consider the operation of his hands.
Therefore my people goeth into captivity,
Because they have no knowledge:
And their honourable men are wasted by hunger,
And their multitude dried up with thirst.
Therefore Sheol hath enlarged its appetite,
And opened its mouth without measure:
And down goeth the pomp of Zion and her tumult,
And her uproar and all that is so jubilant in her!
[And the mean man is brought down, and the mighty man is humbled, and the eyes of the lofty are humbled: but the Lord of hosts is exalted through judgement, and the holy God sanctifieth himself through righteousness.]
And lambs shall graze as on their pasture,
And on the waste places kids shall feed.

Woe unto them that draw iniquity with cords of hypocrisy,
And sin as it were with a cart rope:
That say, 'Let him make speed, and hasten his work, that we may see it:
And let the counsel of the Holy One of Israel draw nigh and come, that we may know it!'
Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil;
That put darkness for light, and light for darkness,
That put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter!
Woe unto them that are wise in their own eyes,
And prudent in their own sight!
Woe unto them that are heroes to drink wine,
And men of strength to mingle strong drink:
Who justify the wicked for reward,

And take away the righteousness of the righteous from him!
Therefore as the fire devoureth the stubble,
And as the hay sinketh in the flame,
So their root shall be as rottenness,
And their blossom shall go up as dust:
Because they have cast away the teaching of the Lord of hosts,
And despised the word of the Holy One of Israel.

§ 14. *The prophet's call.*—As chapters ii to iv formed a little collection with a 'Messianic' close or appendix, so too do chapters vi, vii, viii, and the six opening verses of chapters ix. But the Messianic prophecy at the close of *this* collection may be from Isaiah's own pen. Professor Duhm thinks it is; Professor Cheyne thinks it is not. The collection opens with the inaugural vision which has already been quoted in Part I, p. 373. Its present place as the sixth chapter is an argument for the once independent existence of this smaller collection before being taken up into the larger collection of chapters i–xii. The last words of the vision some suppose to be a gloss. Yet Isaiah could never have believed in the *complete* destruction of the existing order; in his mind there must always have been the consoling conception of a remnant which should be the beginning and the source of better things. The metaphor of the last verse seems to mean that, even as when oak trees are cut down for a clearing, the stumps are burnt, so though a tenth of the people be left over from the imminent ruin, that tenth must again be purged by fire. It must be admitted that the words, 'a holy seed is the stock thereof,' limp awkwardly: their intention is to make the metaphor mean that, as the stump of a felled tree may sprout again, so a holy seed will remain as the stock from which a new sprouting of the people will come. The words are wanting in the Greek translation. Note that the *result* of Isaiah's prophecy is rhetorically described as its *purpose*. Isaiah realized that in one sense his mission would fail; but the failure, like every other event in human history, was itself part and parcel of the divine plan—a scene in the drama of the divine purpose.

In the year that king Uzziah died I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple. Above him stood seraphim: each one had six wings; with twain he covered his face, and with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly. And one kept crying unto the other, and said,

Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts:
The whole earth is full of his glory.
And the foundations of the thresholds shook at the voice of him that cried, and the house was filled with smoke.
Then said I, 'Woe is me! for I am undone; because I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips: for mine eyes have seen the King, the Lord of hosts.' Then flew one of the seraphim unto me, having a hot stone in his hand, which he had taken with the tongs from off the altar: and he laid it upon my mouth, and said, 'Lo, this hath touched thy lips; and thine iniquity is taken away, and thy sin purged.'
Then I heard the voice of the Lord, saying, 'Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?' Then said I, 'Here am I; send me.' And he said, 'Go, and tell this people,
Hear and hear again, but understand not;
And see and see again, but perceive not.
Make the heart of this people fat,
And make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes;
Lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears,
And their heart should understand, and they be healed.'
Then said I, 'Lord, how long?' *And he answered,*
'Until the cities be wasted without inhabitant,
And the houses without man, and the land be left desolate,
And the Lord have removed men far away,
And the deserted region be large in the midst of the land.
And if there still be in it a tenth,
It must again be burnt;
Like the terebinth and the oak,
Of which at the felling a stock remaineth,
[A holy seed is the stock thereof.']

§ 15. *Isaiah and Ahaz.*— The next section contains the famous scene between Isaiah and Ahaz, already quoted and very briefly explained in Part I, p. 375. The glosses there omitted are here inserted in brackets. For further explanations the reader should refer to Part I.

And it came to pass in the days of Ahaz the son of Jotham, the son of Uzziah, king of Judah, that Rezin the king of Syria, and Pekah the son of Remaliah, king of Israel, went up toward Jerusalem to storm it, but were not

able to storm it. And it was told the house of David, saying, Syria hath alighted upon Ephraim. And his heart was moved, and the heart of his people, as the trees of the wood are moved with the wind.

Then said the Lord unto Isaiah, Go forth now to meet Ahaz, thou, and Shear-jashub thy son, at the end of the conduit of the upper pool, on the highway by the fuller's field; and say unto him, Take heed, and be quiet; fear not, neither be fainthearted for these two tails of smoking firebrands, for the fierce anger of Rezin and Syria, and of the son of Remaliah. Because Syria, Ephraim, and the son of Remaliah, have taken evil counsel against thee, saying, Let us go up against Judah, and distress it, and let us make a breach therein for us, and set a king in the midst of it, even the son of Tabeal: *thus saith the Lord God,* It shall not stand, neither shall it come to pass. For the head of Syria is Damascus, and the head of Damascus is Rezin; [and within threescore and five years shall Ephraim be broken, that it be not a people;] and the head of Ephraim is Samaria, and the head of Samaria is Remaliah's son. . . . If ye will not believe, surely ye shall not be established.

And he spake again unto Ahaz, saying, 'Ask thee a sign of the Lord thy God, going deep unto Sheol or high unto heaven.' But Ahaz said, 'I will not ask, neither will I put the Lord to the proof.' And he said, 'Hear ye now, O house of David; Is it too little for you to weary men, that ye weary my God also? Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign, Behold, the young woman shall bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel (God is with us). [Curdled milk and honey shall he eat, when he shall know to refuse the evil, and choose the good.] For before the child shall know to refuse the evil, and choose the good, the land before whose two kings thou tremblest shall be deserted.'

'Ask thee a sign.' Among the many explanations of this famous passage I select that of Professor Cheyne as being one of the least unlikely. 'Isaiah may have heard, or divined, that Ahaz (736–728 B.C.) is on the point of inviting the aid of Assyria. He makes one more desperate effort to stimulate Ahaz to that great spiritual effort already called *faith.* If he cannot believe Isaiah without some extraordinary *sign* as a confirmation of the

prophet's word, then (Isaiah makes this strange condescension) let him choose his own *sign*. Isaiah adds, *going deep to Sheol or high to heaven* (so literally), to give Ahaz the utmost range of choice. Ahaz refuses the offer. He does not doubt the wonder-working capacity of Isaiah, but he knows that the prophet demands, not only a change of policy, but a change of life. The sign' chosen by Isaiah 'is not in order to persuade Ahaz, but to save the honour of God's prophet. It is not therefore such a startling one as if it had been selected by the king. It consists simply in the name which mothers will before long, by a kind of inspiration, give to their newly born babes. Immanuel, or some similar name expressing the deliverership of Jehovah, shall become the common name of the children of that generation. Nothing is said of the *diet* of the children who are referred to.' The words in brackets are 'a very misleading gloss. Before such children have learned to distinguish between what is wholesome and harmful, especially in foods,' the deliverance, already apparent in its beginnings when the children were born and named, shall then have been fully accomplished. Ahaz, as we know from the Book of Kings, did not trust to Isaiah. He became the vassal of Assyria. Thus the prophecies in these sections were not literally fulfilled. Damascus was taken by the Assyrians in 732, Samaria not till 722. Isaiah seems to have anticipated a speedier ruin. Compare in § 16 the passage about the child called '*Swift of spoil, Hasty of prey*.' The Assyrian invasion of Judah was fulfilled in the reign of Hezekiah.

§ 16. *The coming invasion of Judah.*—Now follows a passage containing Isaianic fragments of the opposite kind to what has gone before. *There* Ahaz was comforted; *here* an invasion of the Assyrians into Judah is threatened. An editorial verse links the two passages together, and most of the latter portion of this fragment seems in style unlike and unworthy of Isaiah.

[The Lord shall bring upon thee, and upon thy people, and upon thy father's house, days such as have not been since the day that Ephraim departed from Judah.] And it shall come to pass in that day, that the Lord shall hiss for the fly [that is in the uttermost part of the canals of Egypt], and for the bee [that is in the land of Assyria], and they shall come, and shall settle all of them in the valleys of the steep hills, and in the holes of the rocks, and upon all the thorn-bushes, and upon all the pastures. In the same day shall the Lord shave with the razor hired beyond the river [by the king of

Assyria] the head and the hair of the feet: and it shall even sweep away the beard. [And it shall come to pass in that day, that a man shall nourish a young cow and two sheep; and it shall come to pass, for the abundance of milk that they shall give he shall eat curdled milk: for curdled milk and honey shall every one eat that is left in the land. And it shall come to pass in that day, that every place where there used to be a thousand vines at a thousand silverlings shall be all briars and thorns. With arrows and with bows only shall men come thither; because all the land shall become briars and thorns. And as for all the hills that were hoed with the mattock, none shall come thither for fear of the briars and thorns; but they shall be for the sending forth of oxen and for the treading of sheep.]

In the following section Isaiah is commissioned to repeat to the people the prediction of the overthrow of Ephraim and Syria by the Assyrians. On this there follows a prophecy of the invasion of Judah by the same people, but the concluding section implies that this invasion shall not be wholly successful. The date is the same as before, about 734 B.C.

And the Lord said unto me, Take thee a great tablet, and write in it with common characters, *Swift of spoil, Hasty of prey.* And take faithful witnesses to record, Uriah the priest, and Zechariah the son of Jeberechiah.

And the prophetess bare a son. Then said the Lord to me, Call his name *Swift of spoil, Hasty of prey.* For before the child shall have knowledge to cry, My father and my mother, the riches of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria shall be taken away before the king of Assyria.

The Lord spake also unto me again, saying,
Forasmuch as this people refuseth the waters of Shiloah
that go softly,
And despond because of Rezin and Remaliah's son;
Now therefore, behold, the Lord bringeth up upon them the
waters of the river, strong and many, [even the king of
Assyria, and all his glory]:
And it shall rise up over all its channels,
And flow over all its banks:
And it shall sweep on into Judah; it shall overflow and pass
over, reaching even to the neck . . .

And his outstretched wings shall fill the breadth of the land.
[For God is with us.]

Rage, O ye peoples, and be dismayed;
Give ear, all ye of far countries:
Gird yourselves, and be dismayed;
Gird yourselves, and be dismayed.
Purpose a plan, and it shall come to nought;
Speak the word, and it shall not stand. [For God is with us.]

'The waters of Shiloah.' This refers to the well which flowed into the Pool of Siloam, cf. Part I, p. 388. The water which, even before Hezekiah's excavations, trickled ('flowed softly') into a pool, symbolizes God who works in silent and continual power. 'The waters of the river,' i.e. the Euphrates symbolizing Assyria. 'It shall rise,' i.e. the Euphrates. 'His wings': a sudden change of metaphor. There is a gap in the prophecy. Whose wings are these? The wings of a protector or an enemy?

In the following passage, relating to the same period, the 'conspiracy' is the Syro-Ephraimitish alliance. If the Lord were truly 'feared,' this alliance would prove to Judah no danger. The second paragraph seems to be an epilogue to all that has gone before from the first meeting with Ahaz. The people as a whole is spiritually deaf and blind. Isaiah will leave his message among his disciples and trust in God. 'We have here perhaps,' says Dr. Skinner, 'the earliest anticipation of what became afterwards a fixed element of Isaiah's prophecy—the inviolability of Jerusalem, the earthly seat of Jehovah's throne.' That doctrine became in later days an evil; compare the words of Jeremiah in Part I, p. 407.

For the Lord spake thus to me while the Hand grasped me, and he warned me that I should not walk in the way of this people, saying, Call ye not conspiracy all that this people calleth conspiracy; neither fear ye their fear, nor be afraid. The Lord of hosts, him shall ye count holy, and let him be your fear, and let him be your dread. But he shall be for a stone of stumbling and for a rock of offence to both the houses of Israel, for a gin and for a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. And many among them shall stumble, and fall, and be broken, and be snared, and be taken.

I will bind up the testimony, and seal the instruction

among my disciples. And I will wait for the Lord, that hideth his face from the house of Jacob, and I will hope in him. Behold, I and the children whom the Lord hath given me are for signs and for omens in Israel from the Lord of hosts, who dwelleth on mount Zion.

'The Hand grasped me.' 'A figurative description of a prophetic ecstasy. The Divine Hand is specialized to indicate the compulsion of which the inspired prophet is conscious. It was perhaps only at great national crises that Isaiah passed through these ecstatic experiences in their most exalted form; the strain of existence at such times may have made him more liable to these abnormal states. There is a trace of his having had another ecstasy at the beginning of the crises of the invasion of Sennacherib; of course it was not his only one' (Cheyne).

'Stone of stumbling.' We have met the thought before. The methods of God's rule, the very nature of the divine laws, are a source of life and hope to the righteous, but prove to the wicked, so long as they persist in their wickedness, a source of danger and of ruin.

'The children.' Isaiah's own name means 'The Lord delivers,' while his two children's names 'embody leading ideas of his teaching.' 'Swift of spoil, Hasty of prey' symbolizes the ruin that shall befall the unrepentant and unbelieving majority; 'a remnant shall return' (*Shear-jashub*) symbolizes the doctrine that a select few shall believe and 'return' and be delivered.

The next section is very fragmentary and dreadfully obscure. The first paragraph contains a warning against necromancy. In the second the subject is apparently either the people or any individual Judaean, and the circumstance is the invasion of the Assyrians.

And when they say unto you, 'Consult the familiar spirits and the necromancers that chirp and mutter,' (then reply): 'Should not a people consult their God? For the living should they consult the dead?' 'To the law and to the testimony!' Surely thus shall they speak for whom there is no dawn. (??) . . .

And he shall pass through it, hardly bestead and hungry: and it shall be when he is hungry, he shall break out in anger, and curse his king and his God. And he shall look upward and look down upon the earth; and behold distress

and gloom and a veil of trouble, and he is driven into the darkness (??).

§ 17. *The great deliverance.*—Connected with the foregoing fragment by a misleading editorial link, there follows, concluding this smaller collection, another famous Messianic prophecy relating to Judah and her future king. As to the date of the prophecy opinions differ. Professor Duhm thinks it belongs to Isaiah's latest period; Professor Cheyne thinks that, if written by Isaiah, it had best be also reckoned among the prophecies under Ahaz, but that it is more probably the work of a post-exilic poet and seer. The perfect tense in which the verbs are put is known in Hebrew grammar as the 'prophetic perfect.' The prophet in his luminous vision sees his aspiration accomplished before him. Doubtless he anticipated (if the passage be indeed Isaiah's) that the coming of the hero, who should usher in the Messianic age, would not be long delayed; for the prophets, as we have often seen, did not realize that the mills of God grind so very slowly. They were always anticipating the end, when, in truth, of the higher human history there had as yet come only the preface and beginning. The booted foe is the Assyrian, but who is the royal child? That we know not; all that is absolutely certain is that the prophet had no thought of Hezekiah as the wonderful son. The hero is to be a warrior, but the aim of his wars is peace. The phrase 'divine hero' contains no mysterious thought. The hero is 'divine' because he is supremely heroic; he is also 'divine' because his great deeds are prompted and fulfilled by the Spirit of God that impels him.

[In the former time he brought disgrace upon the land of Zebulon and the land of Naphtali, but in the latter time he will bring honour on the way of the sea, on the other side of Jordan and on the circuit of the nations.]

The people that walked in darkness behold a great light;
They that dwell in the land of gloom, over them light hath shined.
Thou hast multiplied the exulting; thou hast increased the joy:
They joy before thee according to the joy of harvest, and as men exult when they divide the spoil.
For his burdensome yoke and the staff for his back,
The rod of his task-master, thou hast broken as in the day of Midian.

For every boot of him that trampeth noisily and every
garment drenched in blood,
Shall be for burning and fuel of fire.

For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given;
And the government shall be upon his shoulder;
And his name shall be called Wonder-Counsellor,
Divine Hero, Father of Glory, Prince of Peace.
For the increase of dominion and for peace without end,
Upon the throne of David and upon his kingdom,
To establish and to support it by justice and by righteousness,
From henceforth even for ever: the fervour of the Lord of
hosts will perform this.

§ 18. *A prophecy of doom upon the kingdom of Israel.*—The next minor collection extends from the middle of the ninth chapter to the end of the twelfth. Its first section is a fine prophecy arranged in strophes with a recurring refrain. If the fifth strophe is genuine, its opening is lost. The present conclusion of the sixth is editorial. It is apparently a verse of comfort, for the 'he' that 'roars' is seemingly not the Assyrian (who is 'roared over'), but God. On the other hand the refrain is *rightly* wanting in the last strophe, for the utmost calamity could have no successor. The whole prophecy has given rise to much dispute into which by lack of space I cannot enter. Does it refer to the future or the past? Is it a pure prediction, or is at least part of it a survey of past or present calamities? Professor Cheyne dates it at 735 (the accession of Ahaz): the first three strophes undoubtedly refer to Israel, and, as Professor Cheyne thinks, are a *retrospect* of the ills of the past, while the last strophe contains the prophecy of the final ruin. Does the fourth strophe refer to Judah? It would be an interruption if it were so, and Professor Duhm thinks that it also refers to the northern kingdom.

The Lord hath sent a word unto Jacob,
And it shall light upon Israel,
And all the people shall know it,
Even Ephraim and the inhabitant of Samaria.
They say in pride and stoutness of heart,
'Bricks are fallen down, but we will build with hewn
stones:
Sycomores are cut down, but we will replace them with
cedars.'

Therefore the Lord exalted their adversary against them,
And stirred up their enemies;
The Syrians on the east, and the Philistines on the west,
And they devoured Israel with open mouth.
For all this his anger is not turned away,
But his hand is stretched out still.

For the people turned not unto him that smote them,
Neither did they seek the Lord of hosts.
Therefore the Lord cut off from Israel head and tail,
Palm-branch and rush, in one day.
[The ancient and honourable, he is the head;
And the prophet that teacheth lies, he is the tail.]
For the leaders of this people have caused them to err;
And they that are led of them are destroyed.
Therefore the Lord doth not spare their young men,
Neither hath he mercy on their fatherless and widows:
For every one is impious and an evildoer,
And every mouth speaketh folly.
For all this his anger is not turned away,
But his hand is stretched out still.

For wickedness burneth as the fire:
It devoureth the briers and thorns,
And kindleth the thickets of the forest,
And they roll upward in a pillar of smoke.
Through the wrath of the Lord of hosts was the land burnt up,
And the people become as fuel of the fire.
And they snatched on the right hand, and were still hungry,
And devoured on the left hand, and were not satisfied:
No man spared his brother,
Every one consumed the flesh of his neighbour (?):
Manasseh against Ephraim, and Ephraim against Manasseh;
And both together against Judah.
For all this his anger is not turned away,
But his hand is stretched out still.

Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees,
And inscribe ordinances of oppression continually;
To turn aside the needy from judgement,

And to take away the right from the afflicted of my people,
That widows may be their prey,
And that they may rob the fatherless.
But what will ye do in the day of visitation,
And in the ruin which cometh from far?
To whom will ye flee for help?
And where will ye deposit your glory?
[Beltis boweth down, Osiris is broken;
They fall among the slain.]
For all this his anger is not turned away,
But his hand is stretched out still.

. . . Therefore was the anger of the Lord kindled against his people,
And he stretched forth his hand against them,
And hath smitten them, so that the hills trembled,
And their carcases were as offal in the midst of the streets.
For all this his anger is not turned away,
But his hand is stretched out still.

And he will lift up an ensign to a far off nation,
And will hiss unto it from the end of the earth:
And, behold, they shall come with speed swiftly:
None shall be weary nor stumble among them;
Neither shall the girdle of their loins be loosed,
Nor the latchet of their shoes be broken:
Their arrows are sharp, and all their bows bent,
Their horses' hoofs shall be counted like flint,
And their wheels like a whirlwind:
Their roaring shall be like a lion, they shall roar like young lions:
Yea, they shall roar, and lay hold of the prey,
And shall carry it away safe, and none shall deliver it.
[And in that day he shall roar over him like the roaring of the sea: and if one look unto the land, behold darkness of distress, and the light is darkened in its clouds (?).]

§ 19. *Prophecies against Assyria.*—The second section consists mainly of prophecies against Assyria. Professor Duhm assigns it to the reigns of Hezekiah and Sennacherib. Both he and Professor

Cheyne believe that fragmentary Isaianic material has been strung together and enlarged by the post-exilic editor. Here again I can only by brackets indicate the results arrived at by these two great scholars; I am unable to set forth their reasons. Late ideas, feeble rhythm or absence of rhythm, confused metaphors, inflated language, bad connexions, imitative echoes are among their arguments. An Isaianic passage towards the close describes in vivid language a supposed advance of an Assyrian army from the north into Judaea.

O Assyria, the rod of mine anger,
And the staff of mine indignation.
Against an impious nation I send him,
And against the people of my wrath I give him a charge,
To take spoil and to seize booty,
And to tread them down like the mire of the streets.
But he—not thus he planneth,
And his heart—not thus it reckoneth;
But to destroy is in his heart,
And to cut off nations not a few.
For he saith, 'Are not all my captains kings?
Is not Calno as Carchemish?
Is not Hamath as Arpad?
Is not Samaria as Damascus?'
['As my hand hath found the kingdoms of the idols, and yet their graven images did exceed them of Jerusalem and of Samaria—shall I not, as I have done unto Samaria and her idols, so do to Jerusalem and her images?']
[Wherefore it shall come to pass, that when the Lord hath completed his whole work upon mount Zion and on Jerusalem, he will punish the fruit of the stout heart of the king of Assyria, and the glory of his high looks.
For he saith,] 'By the strength of my hand I have done it,
And by my wisdom; for I am discerning:
And I have removed the bounds of the peoples,
And have robbed their treasures,
And I have brought down them that were enthroned.
And my hand hath found as a nest the riches of the peoples:
And as one gathereth eggs that are deserted, have I gathered all the earth;
And there was none that moved the wing, or opened the mouth, or chirped.'

Should the axe boast itself against him that heweth therewith?
Or should the saw magnify itself against him that wieldeth it?
As if the rod should wield him that lifteth it up,
Or as if the staff should lift up him who is not wood.
[Therefore shall the Lord, the Lord of hosts, send into his fat limbs leanness;
And under his glory there shall burn a burning like the burning of fire.
And the light of Israel shall be for a fire, and his Holy One for a flame:
And it shall burn and devour his thorns and his briers in one day;
And shall consume the glory of his forest, and of his garden land, both soul and body:
And it shall be as when a sick man pineth away.
And the rest of the trees of his forest shall be few, that a child may write them.]

[And it shall come to pass in that day that the remnant of Israel, and such as are escaped of the house of Jacob, shall no more again stay themselves upon him that smote them; but they shall stay themselves upon the Lord, the Holy One of Israel, in truth. A remnant shall turn, even the remnant of Jacob, unto God the mighty one. For though thy people, O Israel, be as the sand of the sea, only a remnant of them shall return; a consumption is decreed, overflowing with righteousness. For a consumption and a decisive work will the Lord God of hosts execute in the midst of the whole earth.]

[Therefore thus saith the Lord God of hosts, O my people that dwellest in Zion, be not afraid of the Assyrian, who smiteth thee with a rod, and lifteth up his staff against thee, after the manner of Egypt. For yet a very little while, and the indignation shall cease and mine anger shall turn to his destruction. And the Lord of hosts shall brandish over him a scourge, like the smiting of Midian at the rock Oreb; and as his rod was upon the sea, so shall he lift it up after the manner of Egypt. And it shall come to pass in that day, that his burden shall be taken away from off thy shoulder and his yoke from off thy neck.]

He is come to Aiath, he hath passed through Migron;
At Michmash he hath laid up his baggage.
They go through the pass; they make Geba their night encampment.
Ramah is afraid; Gibeah of Saul fleeth.
Shriek loudly, O daughter of Gallim;
Listen, O Laishah; answer her, O Anathoth.
Madmenah escapeth;
The inhabitants of Gebim take flight.
This very day he will halt at Nob;
He swingeth his hand against the mount of the daughter of Zion, the hill of Jerusalem.
[Behold, the Lord, the Lord of hosts, loppeth the bough with the axe,
And the high ones of stature are hewn down, and the lofty lie low.
And the thickets of the forest shall be cut down with the iron,
And the Lebanon shall fall by a mighty one.]

§ 20. *The reign of peace.*—The collection concludes, even as its predecessor concluded, with a Messianic prediction. The prediction divides itself into three parts, of which the second, different in tone and spirit from the first, and the third, which should more accurately be described as a 'liturgical appendix,' are clearly not Isaiah's. The countries whence the Jews are to return include lands where there were no Jewish exiles in Isaiah's day. Assyria here stands for the empire of Persia and one 'return' is already past. The union of Israel and Judah, and the emphasized feeling of enmity towards the neighbouring peoples—Edom and Moab and Ammon—are also signs of a late date. The first part—one of the most striking and famous passages in the entire book—has been already quoted in Part I, p. 606. Professor Cheyne thinks that it too is post-exilic; Professor Duhm assigns it, like the prophecy of the wonder-child and the 'mountain of the Lord,' to Isaiah's old age.

And there shall come forth a shoot out of the stock of Jesse,
And a branch of his roots shall bear fruit.
And the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him,
The spirit of wisdom and understanding,
The spirit of counsel and might,
The spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord.

And he shall not judge after the sight of his eyes,
Neither arbitrate after the hearing of his ears:
But with righteousness shall he judge the poor,
And arbitrate with equity for the afflicted of the land:
And he shall smite the tyrannous with the rod of his mouth,
And with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked.
And righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins,
And faithfulness the girdle of his reins.
And the wolf shall dwell with the lamb,
And the leopard shall lie down with the kid;
The calf and the young lion shall feed together;
And a little child shall lead them.
And the cow and the bear shall make friends;
Their young ones shall lie down together,
And the lion shall eat straw like the ox.
And the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp,
And the weaned child shall stretch out his hand to the serpent's eye.
None shall do evil or act corruptly in all my holy mountain;
For the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea.

[And it shall come to pass in that day, the root of Jesse who shall stand as a banner to the peoples—of him shall the nations inquire, and his resting-place shall be glorious. And it shall come to pass in that day, that the Lord shall lift up his hand the second time to redeem the remnant of his people, which shall be left, from Assyria, and from Egypt, and from Pathros, and from Cush, and from Elam, and from Shinar, and from Hamath, and from the islands of the sea. And he shall set up a banner for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth. The envy also of Ephraim shall depart, and the adversaries of Judah shall be cut off: Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not oppress Ephraim. But they shall swoop down upon the shoulders of the Philistines toward the west; they shall spoil the children of the east together: they shall lay their hand upon Edom and Moab; and the children of Ammon shall obey them. And the Lord shall dry up the tongue of the Egyptian sea; and he shall shake his hand over the River, and shall smite it into seven brooks, and

make men go over in sandals. And there shall be an highway for the remnant of his people, which shall be left, from Assyria; like as there was to Israel in the day that he came up out of the land of Egypt.]

[*And in that day thou shalt say,*
I will praise thee, O Lord,
For thou wast angry with me,
But thine anger is turned away,
And thou hast comforted me.
Behold the God of my salvation,
I will trust and not be afraid,
For the Lord is my strength and my song,
Yea, he hath become my salvation.
And ye shall draw water with rejoicing out of the wells of salvation.
And ye shall say in that day,
O give thanks unto the Lord, call upon his name,
Declare his doings among the peoples,
Make mention that his name is exalted.
Sing unto the Lord; for he hath done excellent things;
Let this be known in all the earth.
Exult and shout, thou inhabitant of Zion;
For great is the Holy One of Israel in the midst of thee.]

CHAPTER IV

ISAIAH XXVIII–XXXIII (with XXII. 1–14)

§ 1. *The fall of Samaria.*—The second group of consecutive prophecies from the 'Book of Isaiah' which I propose to quote is formed by chapters xxviii to xxxiii. This group appears to have existed at one time as a separate collection, the Isaianic portion of which may have been put together by Isaiah himself. It is now divided more or less accurately into six divisions, of which each begins with the interjection '*Hôi*,' which is commonly translated 'woe.' The Isaianic passages seem mainly to date from the later period of the prophet's career, after the accession of Sennacherib (704 B.C.).

The first short section of the group was written originally many years before. It was a prophecy of the imminent fall of Samaria, and was prefixed by Isaiah to his later prophecies dealing with the subsequent Assyrian invasion of Judah. To understand the metaphor one must remember that Samaria 'crowned the summit of a low hill, that rises in the middle of a fertile valley.' The 'mighty and strong one' is Assyria. The words in brackets are a post-exilic consolation.

Woe to the proud crown of the drunkards of Ephraim,
And to the fading flower of his glorious beauty
On the head of the fat valley of them that are smitten with wine!
Behold the Lord hath a mighty and a strong one,
Like a tempest of hail, a destroying storm;
Like a flood of mighty waters overflowing,
Which casteth down to the earth with violence.
With the feet shall be trodden down
The proud crown of the drunkards of Ephraim,

And the fading flower of his glorious beauty
On the head of the fat valley!
And it shall be like the early fig before the fruit harvest,
Which as soon as a man seeth it, while it is yet in his hand, he eateth it up.

[In that day shall the Lord of hosts be for a crown of glory,
And for a diadem of beauty, unto the residue of his people,
And for a spirit of judgement to him that sitteth in judgement,
And for valour to them that drive back the battle at the gate.]

§ 2. *The mocked-at prophet and his retort.*—The next section refers to Jerusalem. The revolt from Assyria (Part I, p. 378) is being prepared amid revels and debauchery. 'The magnates of Jerusalem and even the spiritual leaders of the people were following the lead of Samaria, both in their dissolute habits and in their foolish trust in an Egyptian alliance; Samaria is a mirror in which they may read their own character and their own doom.' 'The topers mock the excited utterance and wearisome iterations of the prophet's teaching.' 'The stammering lips and strange tongue' refers of course to the Assyrian invaders.

And *these* too reel with wine and stagger through strong drink;
Priest and prophet reel with strong drink,
They are confused by wine, they stagger through strong drink;
They reel in the vision, they stumble in judgement.

For all tables are full of vomit and filthiness, so that there is no place clean. 'Whom,' say they, 'would he teach knowledge? to whom would he interpret oracles? to them that are weaned from the milk and removed from the breast? For it is ever precept upon precept, rule upon rule; here a little, and there a little.'

Yea, indeed; for with stammering lips and a strange tongue will he speak to this people; he who said unto them, 'This is the (true) rest, give rest to the weary; this is the (true) refreshment'; yet they would not hear. Therefore the word of the Lord shall be unto them 'precept upon precept, and rule upon rule; here a little, there a little,' that they may go and stumble backwards and be broken and snared and taken.

§ 3. *The covenant with death and its destruction.*—The third section is of the same date as the second, but though there is also a close 'literary' connexion, 'the passage itself is probably a summary of an independent discourse.' It refers especially to the secret plottings and negotiations with Egypt, which had apparently been ratified by a superstitious 'compact with the dreaded powers of the under-world.' 'The foundation stone represents the one element in human history which is indestructible, the purpose of God, and that purpose as historically realized in the relation which he has established between himself and the people of Israel' (Skinner).

Therefore hear the word of the Lord, ye scoffing men,
Who rule this people which is in Jerusalem.
Because ye have said, 'We have concluded a treaty with Death,
And we have made a compact with Sheol;
When the overflowing scourge shall pass by, it shall not come unto us;
For we have made lies our refuge, and under falsehood have we hid ourselves:'
Therefore thus saith the Lord God,
Behold, I have laid in Zion a stone, a tried stone,
A precious corner stone of sure foundation:
He that believeth shall not be moved.
And I will make judgement the line and righteousness the plummet:
And the hail shall sweep away the refuge,
And the waters shall overflow the hiding-place.
And your treaty with Death shall be broken,
And your compact with Sheol shall not stand;
When the overflowing scourge shall pass along,
Ye shall be trodden down by it.
As often as it passeth along, it shall take you away;
For morning by morning shall it pass along, by day and by night,
And it shall be pure terror to interpret the oracles.
Truly the bed is shorter than that a man can stretch himself on it:
And the covering narrower than that he can wrap himself in it.
For the Lord will rise up as on mount Perazim,
He shall be wroth as in the vale of Gibeon;

That he may do his work—strange is his work!—
And accomplish his task—strange is his task!
Now therefore be ye not scoffers, lest your bands be made strong;
For consumption and strict decision have I heard from the Lord of hosts.

§ 4. *The parable of the ploughman and the thresher.*—The fourth section is quite disconnected with the foregoing. Professor Duhm thinks it is of earlier date; between 711 and 705. It is a parable from husbandry, or rather it contains two parables. (1) Ploughing is for the sake of sowing. Hence (it is implied) God's judgements are for an end beyond them. They are *disciplinal.* (2) Different seeds are variously threshed: the more valuable and tender seed is more delicately treated than the grosser kind. Jerusalem deserves a better treatment than Samaria. Professor Cheyne, for many reasons, regards the whole passage as post-exilic.

Give ye ear, and hear my voice;
Hearken, and hear my speech.
Doth the ploughman plough continually,
Opening and harrowing his ground?
When he hath made smooth the surface thereof,
Doth he not scatter the fitches, and sow the cummin,
And plant the wheat, and the barley,
And the spelt as their border?
It is the Lord who hath instructed him rightly,
His God hath trained him.

Fitches are not threshed with a sledge,
And the wagon wheel is not turned over the cummin.
But the fitches are beaten out with a staff,
And the cummin with a rod.
Is bread-corn crushed?
Nay, he doth not keep threshing it perpetually;
But when he hath rolled his wagon wheel over it,
He tosseth it about and doth not crush it.
This also cometh from the Lord;
Wonderful is his counsel, great his wisdom.

§ 5. *Jerusalem the altar-hearth.*—The fifth section contains the opening eight verses of the twenty-ninth chapter. It opens with a threat against Jerusalem, called by the prophet in this

place 'Arial,' 'altar-hearth.' At present careless amid her festivals, she will ere long be filled with moaning. But with threat there is strangely mixed up a promise of sudden deliverance. Professor Cheyne regards these promises as editorial; they are in form too, he holds, unsuggestive of Isaiah, being unrhythmical and phraseologically doubtful. (Jerusalem will become a veritable 'altar-hearth,' for her human victims in the war will be many.)

Woe to Arial, Arial, the city where David encamped.
Add ye year to year; let the feasts go round! . . .
And I will distress Arial, and there shall be moaning and bemoaning,
And thou shalt be unto me an altar-hearth indeed!
And I will encamp against thee, and enclose thee with mounds,
And raise siege works against thee.
And thou shalt be laid low, and shalt speak from the ground,
And thy speech shall come humbly from the dust.
[And the multitude of thy stranger-enemies shall become as small dust, and the multitude of the tyrants as chaff that passeth away.]
And suddenly, full suddenly, thou shalt be visited from the Lord of hosts
With thunder and with earthquake and great noise,
With whirlwind and tempest, and flame of devouring fire.
[And like as a dream, a vision of the night, so shall it be with the multitude of all the nations that fight against Arial, even all that fight against her and her ramparts and distress her. And as when a hungry man dreameth, and, behold, he eateth; but he awaketh, and his soul is empty: or as when a thirsty man dreameth, and, behold, he drinketh; but he awaketh, and, behold, he is faint, and his soul still craveth: so shall it be with the multitude of all the nations that fight against mount Zion.]

§ 6. *Spiritual blindness.*—The next (sixth) section is still from the same period—the opening of Sennacherib's reign, 703 B.C. It is the spiritual insensibility of the people and its leaders which Isaiah laments and denounces: they understand neither the revelation of God in history nor the oracles of his prophets. The striking simile of the book is in prose. Perhaps a corrupt and defaced poetical passage has been thus rewritten by the editor.

Note that Isaiah calls the entire outward religion of his contemporaries a 'commandment of men that is taught'—human ordinances learned by rote. The ceremonial law is human; only the moral law is in his eyes divine.

Be ye amazed and marvel;
  Blind yourselves, and be blind;
Be drunken, but not with wine;
  Stagger, but not with strong drink.
For the Lord hath poured out upon you a spirit of deep sleep,
  And hath closed your eyes and muffled your heads.
  And the whole vision hath become to you as the words of a book that is sealed, which if men deliver to a scholar, saying, 'Read this, I pray thee,' he saith, 'I cannot, for it is sealed'; and if the book be delivered to one that is not a scholar, saying, 'Read this, I pray thee,' he saith, 'I am no scholar.'
And the Lord said,
Forasmuch as this people draw near me with their mouth,
  And with their lips do honour me,
But their heart is removed far from me,
  And their fear of me hath become a commandment of men
    that is taught:
Therefore, behold, I will continue to deal wonderfully with
    this people.
  Yea, wonderfully and wondrously,
And the wisdom of their wise men shall perish,
  And the discernment of their prudent men shall be hid.

§ 7. *A rebuke of doubters and murmurers.*—In the following (seventh) section only the opening verse (relating to the secret Egyptian alliance) appears to be Isaiah's. The remainder, perhaps a substitution for an Isaianic passage which had become illegible (Duhm), is at bottom consolation rather than rebuke. The Jewish lack of faith in the final redemption from the foreign oppressor (? Persia) is condemned, but the redemption itself will surely come. To the writer the cause of God and righteousness was identified with the material prosperity and political independence of the Jews. In this he was wrong. But the doubters did not disbelieve in this erroneous identification; they disbelieved in the triumph of the cause of righteousness and of God. Therefore they were still more wrong. Interpreting the writer's words as a peal of faith in God and goodness in the midst of sorrow and suffering, we may still find in them a lesson and a hope.

Woe unto them that hide their plan deep from the Lord,
And their doings are in the dark,
And they say, Who seeth us? and who knoweth us?

[O your perverseness! Shall the potter be esteemed as the clay,
That the work should say of him that made it, He made me not;
Or the thing framed say of him that framed it, He hath no understanding?
Is it not yet a very little while, and Lebanon shall be turned into garden land,
And the garden land shall be esteemed as a forest?
And in that day shall the deaf hear the words of the book,
And the eyes of the blind shall see out of obscurity and out of darkness.
And the afflicted shall increase their joy in the Lord,
And the poor among men shall rejoice in the Holy One of Israel.
For the tyrant is brought to nought and the scorner is consumed,
And all that watch for iniquity are cut off:
That make a man guilty by a word,
And lay a snare for him that is an umpire in the gate,
And overcome the righteous with falsity.
Therefore thus saith the Lord, the God of the house of Jacob, who redeemed Abraham:
Jacob shall no longer be ashamed, neither shall his face wax pale.
For when he seeth the work of mine hands in his midst,
They shall sanctify my name,
And sanctify the Holy One of Jacob, and shall fear the God of Israel.
And they that erred in spirit shall come to understanding,
And they that murmured shall learn doctrine.]

§ 8. *The Egyptian alliance.*—The following section deals again with the Egyptian alliance. The second paragraph seems to be a summary of a separate discourse.

Woe to the rebellious children, saith the Lord,
Who carry out a plan, but not from me,
And make a treaty, but not with my spirit,

That they may add sin to sin!
That set forth to go down into Egypt,
  And have not asked at my mouth;
To flee unto the refuge of Pharaoh,
  And to hide in the shadow of Egypt.
Therefore shall the refuge be to you a shame,
  And the hiding shall be confusion.
For though his princes be in Zoan,
  And his messengers reach to Hanes,
Yet shall all come to shame from a people which cannot profit them,
  Which bringeth no help and no profit, but only shame and reproach.

  Through a land of distress and trouble,
Whence come the lioness and the lion,
  The viper and the flying dragon,
They carry their riches upon the shoulders of young asses,
  And their treasures upon the humps of camels,
Unto a people which cannot profit them,
  Whose help is empty and vain.

Egypt at this time was ruled by the Ethiopian Tirhakah. Zoan is in the north of Egypt at the mouth of the Nile, Hanes is south of Memphis. Zoan and Hanes thus mark the extreme limits of Lower Egypt, 'which in times of political confusion were the seats of independent kingdoms. The prophet says of Tirhakah that he ruled directly as far as Hanes, and indirectly even as far north as Zoan.'

§ 9. *The bulging wall and the final crash.*—The following (ninth) section seems to form the conclusion to a collection of Isaianic discourses from the beginning of the twenty-eighth chapter. Isaiah is to write down the prophecies, or a summary of them, connected with the Egyptian alliance and the relations with Assyria and Sennacherib. Perhaps subsequent Isaianic material to the close of the group (i.e. to the end of chapter xxxiii) was originally placed before the present section. The Egyptian alliance still figures prominently. Note the grand simile of the crack in the wall. 'The slight beginnings of transgression, its inevitable tendency to gravitate more and more from the moral perpendicular, till a critical point is reached, then the suddenness of the final catastrophe, are vividly expressed by this magnificent simile' (Skinner). It is an entire sermon in a single figure.

Now go in, write it down [before them on a tablet],
And inscribe it in a book,
That it may be for a future day,
For a witness for ever.
For it is a rebellious people, lying children,
Sons that will not hear the teaching of the Lord:
Who say to the seers, 'See not,'
And to the prophets, 'Prophesy not unto us right things;
Speak unto us smooth things, prophesy deceptions;
Get ye out of the way, turn aside out of the path,
Keep silence before us about the Holy One of Israel.'

Wherefore thus saith the Holy One of Israel: Because ye despise this word, and trust in perverseness and crookedness, and stay yourselves thereon; therefore this guilt shall be to you as a crack sinking and bulging out in a high wall, whose crash cometh suddenly and at an instant: and it shall be broken as the breaking of a potter's vessel, shiveringly, unsparingly, so that there will not be found among its fragments a sheard with which to take fire from the hearth or to draw water from the cistern.

For thus said the Lord God, the Holy One of Israel: By returning and rest shall ye be saved; in quietness and confidence shall be your strength. But ye would not, and ye said, 'No; for we will fly upon horses'—therefore, shall ye flee, 'and on swift coursers we will ride'—therefore, shall your pursuers be swift. At the menace of five shall ye flee; till ye be left as a flag-staff on the top of a mountain and as a banner on a hill.

§ 10. *The good time to come.*—The tenth section is once more a post-exilic interpolation, describing the destruction of the national enemies and the material and spiritual well-being of the delivered Jews. It is a sad fact of human nature, that in a certain stage of religious development the enemies of the community are ever regarded as the enemies of God, and their punishment, whether in this world or the next, is expected with equanimity and satisfaction. But it is untrue and unfair to make this general trait of all religions a special characteristic of the later Judaism. (Domestic idolatry still lingered down to the Maccabean period.)

[And therefore will the Lord be eager that he may be gracious unto you, and he lifteth himself up that he may

have mercy upon you: for the Lord is a God of judgement; happy are all they that wait for him.

For, O people in Zion that dwellest in Jerusalem, thou shalt not weep; he will surely be gracious unto thee at the voice of thy cry; as soon as he heareth thee, he answereth thee. And though the Lord gave thee the bread of adversity and the water of affliction, thy Teacher shall no longer hide himself, but thine eyes shall see thy Teacher: and thine ears shall hear a word behind thee, saying, This is the way, walk ye in it, whether ye turn to the right hand or to the left. And ye shall defile the covering of thy graven images of silver, and the overlaying of thy molten images of gold: thou shalt cast them away as an unclean thing: thou shalt say unto them, Get thee hence.

Then shall he give the rain for thy seed, that thou mayest sow the ground withal; and the bread of the produce of the ground shall be fat and plenteous. In that day shall thy cattle feed in large pastures, and the oxen and asses that till the ground shall eat salted provender, winnowed with the shovel and the fan. And there shall be upon every lofty mountain, and upon every high hill, rivulets and water-courses, in the day of the great slaughter, when the towers fall. And the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold, in the day that the Lord bindeth up the breach of his people, and healeth the stroke of their wound.]

'Thine eyes shall see thy Teacher.' The 'Teacher' is God. In the 'Messianic' age the regenerate people will realize his will and follow it; God will be near them and felt to be near. Such seems to be the meaning.

§ 11. *The destruction of Assyria.*—The eleventh section describes in poetic and metaphorical manner the final destruction of the Assyrians by the direct intervention of the Almighty. Professor Duhm thinks it was written during the actual invasion of Sennacherib. 'Jehovah's coming is like that of the thundercloud which appears on the distant horizon, no eye having observed the mysterious process by which it was formed. In what follows the figure of the storm is inseparably blended with an anthropomorphic representation of Jehovah' (as the God of tempest and thunder) (Skinner). It should be mentioned that Professor Cheyne from literary and theological reasons regards the section as an early post-exilic interpolation.

Behold, the name of the Lord cometh from far—
  Burning with his anger and with thick uplifting of smoke:
His lips are full of indignation,
  And his tongue as a devouring fire,
And his breath as an overflowing stream,
  That reacheth even unto the neck—
To sift nations in the sieve of ruin,
  And as a bridle that causeth to err (?) in the jaws of peoples.
Ye shall have a song,
  As in a night when a feast is hallowed;
And gladness of heart like his who marcheth with a flute
  That he may come up to the mountain of the Lord, to the Rock of Israel.
And the Lord shall cause his glorious voice to be heard,
  And shall shew the lighting down of his arm,
With furious anger and with the flame of a devouring fire,
  With a blast and rain storm and hailstones.
Through the voice of the Lord shall the Assyrian be panic-stricken,
  And every stroke of the staff shall be his chastisement;
  To the sound of tabrets and harps and with battles of shaking he shall fight them. (?)
For a pyre of burning is already laid out;
  Deep and broad is it prepared;
The pile thereof is fire and much wood;
  The breath of the Lord like a stream of brimstone doth kindle it.

§ 12. *Threat and promise strangely blended.*—The twelfth (or, according to Professor Duhm's divisions, the fourteenth) section of our group embraces the thirty-first chapter. It was certainly not written by Isaiah from end to end. It opens with a familiar attack upon the policy of the Egyptian alliance; then suddenly we get a prediction of the destruction of the Assyrians. Part is poetic and rhythmic; part conventional and prosaic. A grand Homeric simile of the lion roaring over his prey seems to halt in its application. It is not clear whether it is used to portray the divine warrior fighting for or against Jerusalem. Immediately following it is a second simile, which hangs together still more clumsily. Either its beginning or its end must belong to another than to the artist-prophet Isaiah. Professor Cheyne and Professor Duhm disagree as to the interpolations.

Woe to them that go down to Egypt for help;
  And rely on horses, and trust in chariots, because they are many;
And in horsemen because they are very strong;
  But they look not unto the Holy One of Israel, neither seek the Lord.
Yet he too is wise, and bringeth evil (?), and hath not recalled his words,
  And he will arise against the house of the evil-doers, and against the help of them that do iniquity.
And the Egyptians are men, and not God,
  And their horses flesh, and not spirit.
And the Lord shall stretch out his hand,
  And the helper shall stumble, and the holpen shall fall.

For thus hath the Lord spoken unto me: As the lion growleth, and the young lion over his prey, against whom the full band of shepherds hath been called out—he is not terrified by their cry, nor dismayed at their shouting—so shall the Lord of hosts come down to fight against mount Zion and against its hill. As flying birds,—

[so will the Lord of hosts defend Jerusalem; defending also he will deliver it, and passing over (?) he will rescue it.]

[Turn ye unto him from whom ye have deeply revolted, O children of Israel. For in that day every man shall cast away his nonentities of silver and his nonentities of gold, which your own hands have made unto you for a sin.]

[And Assyria shall fall by the sword of one that is no man, and the sword of one that is no mortal shall devour him. And he shall flee from the sword, and his young men shall become tributary, and he shall pass by his rock through terror (?), and his captains shall be frighted away from the flag. Such is the oracle of the Lord, who hath a fire in Zion and an oven in Jerusalem.]

'So shall the Lord of hosts come down,' &c. The *coming down* is no parallel to the growling. Hence Professor Duhm thinks the true Isaianic conclusion to the simile had become illegible, and in its place the inartistic editor supplies one of his own. But in that case we have to suppose that he uses the Hebrew preposition *'al* to mean 'upon' (i.e. in defence of), whereas its usual meaning would be 'against.'

'As birds flying,' &c. The helpless birds that hover, albeit protectingly, over their nests is a very inappropriate figure for the omnipotent deliverer. Hence Professor Duhm supposes that the true Isaianic figure was lost, and that the words 'as birds flying' belong to the editor; Professor Cheyne, on the other hand, supposes that the words 'as flying birds' are Isaiah's, and were originally followed by some such phrase as 'so shall the inhabitants of Zion flutter in terror.' This continuation 'had become illegible when the prophecy was edited after the exile,' and the editor supplies one of his own. To decide between these two authorities is difficult, but to believe that the verse as it stands is *all* Isaiah's is hardly easier.

From 'Turn ye' to the end of the section the brackets are put according to Professor Cheyne, who, with perhaps exaggerated scepticism, does not allow to Isaiah any (extant) prophecy of Assyria's destruction dating from the reign of Sennacherib, with the exception of one short fragment.

The most permanently important passage in the section is: 'For the Egyptians are men, and not God, and their horses flesh, and not spirit.' Duhm and, following him, Dr. Skinner are, I think, right in taking this utterance to imply Isaiah's conviction that all that was spiritual in the world was summed up in, or was the outflow and purpose of, the Holy One of Israel, the one existing God. 'That men could not stand against God, or flesh against spirit, Isaiah's contemporaries did not need to be taught; what separated him from his hearers was the conviction that there is but one Divine Person and one spiritual power in the universe, viz. Jehovah and his moral government as revealed in the consciousness of the prophet' (Skinner).

§ 13. *Impenitent Jerusalem.*—I interrupt the present sequence of these prophecies to insert here one or two fragments of Isaiah's oratory which were delivered or written during the Assyrian invasion. They now constitute the first fourteen verses of the twenty-second chapter. Too striking and sublime to be omitted from our selections, they are yet full of difficulties into which I cannot fully enter here.

The first and main difficulty is to what point or points of time during the Assyrian invasion these verses should rightly be assigned. A second difficulty is whether we have here two separate prophecies or only one.

The Biblical and Assyrian accounts of Sennacherib's invasion (compare Part I, pp. 378–384) lead us to believe that Jerusalem was blockaded for a time by a detachment of the Assyrian army, and that Hezekiah then submitted to the first demands of Sennacherib.

This escape from danger seems to have incited the populace of the capital to scenes of mirth and dissipation. Instead of humble and sincere gratitude to God, there was thoughtless festivity. So Isaiah 'in the rejoicings of the populace reads the evidence of their hopeless impenitence and insensibility, and he concludes his discourse by expressing the conviction that at last they have sinned beyond the possibility of pardon' (Skinner). We shall see, however, that many verses of this short 'discourse' cannot easily be explained on these lines.

What aileth thee, then, that thou art wholly gone up to the housetops, thou that art full of uproar, tumultuous city, jubilant town?

The citizens have gone up on the flat roofs to watch some spectacle, to make merry and keep holiday. Are they gazing on the retiring Assyrians? In sudden and lurid contrast to this crowd of light-hearted revellers, the prophet places a vision of the dread doom which, at that time, he foresaw and predicted for unrepentant Judah.

Thy slain are not slain by the sword, nor dead in battle. All thy chieftains have fled, thy mighty ones are taken captive; they fled afar. Therefore, I say, Look away from me; I will weep bitterly; press not to comfort me, because of the destruction of the daughter of my people.

For a day of tumult and trampling and confusion hath the Lord of hosts: in the valley of vision they are battering down the wall, and the battle cry riseth up the mountain!

At this point Professor Cheyne thinks the first fragment ceases. The next verse he regards as belonging to a fresh prophecy of the same period, of which the beginning is lost. He thinks it refers to the *past*, not to the future. But this is doubtful.

And Elam hath raised the quiver on chariots of horses, and Kir hath uncovered the shield. And thy choicest valleys are full of chariots and horses; they are set in array against the gate! . . .

Elam and Kir are serving as Assyrian mercenaries. Now once again there seems to be a gap or break in the text.

And he exposed the covering of Judah (?). And ye looked [on that day] at the armour of the forest house, and ye

examined the breaches of the city of David, for they were many, [and ye collected the waters of the lower pool, and ye numbered the houses of Jerusalem, and ye brake down the houses to fortify the wall, and ye made a reservoir between the two walls for the water of the old pool], but ye looked not to him who hath done It, and him who hath fashioned It from long ago ye did not regard.

Here we seemingly have still to do with a retrospect and not with prediction. When the Assyrians drew near Jerusalem and a siege was imminent, the citizens paid attention to the *material* defence of the town, but morally, religiously, spiritually, there was no heed or amendment. Of God who had prepared this danger and brought it about they thought but little, and that little was not to his liking. By 'It' Isaiah means all that was then happening. God is the true maker of history. The coming of the Assyrians is his work. Dr. Skinner says: 'The sin of the rulers of Jerusalem is that same indifference to the work of Jehovah with which the prophet had charged them many years before. To Isaiah, history is the evolution of a consistent, pre-determined plan of Jehovah; to the men of his day it was merely a confused struggle between opposing forces. Their failure to discern the hand of God in the events which had befallen them was the crowning proof of their spiritual insensibility; their ill-timed frivolity on this occasion seemed to the prophet to seal their fate.'

Now we come to the culmination of the prophecy. But the difficulties do not cease. Is the prophet alluding (1) to the time when the Assyrians were approaching, and is he blaming the people for drowning their fears in forced revelry and unseemly banquets, or is he alluding (2) to the period when the blockade was (at least temporarily) withdrawn (as it would seem he does at the opening of the section), or lastly, (3) may we, with Professor Cheyne, combine both periods and say that 'Isaiah here describes a state of things which *began* in the past, but *reaches* into the present'? God called the citizens to repent, and still calls them, but they rushed and rush still to mere revelry and debauch. It is very difficult to decide.

And [on that day] the Lord God of hosts called to weeping and to lamentation, to baldness and to girding with sackcloth: but, behold, joy and gladness, slaying oxen and killing sheep, eating flesh, and drinking wine! 'Eat and drink, for to-morrow we shall die.'

But the Lord of hosts has revealed himself in mine ears:
Surely this iniquity shall not be expiated for you till ye die.

'Behold, joy and gladness.' Huge sacrifices to *procure* God's deliverance passing over into mere merrymaking and debauchery (Duhm), or great sacrifices of thanksgiving for deliverance already *obtained* (Skinner)? Either is awkward. For if the former, the 'joy and gladness' are unnatural and forced, and yet this is scarcely indicated in the text; if the latter, the words 'for to-morrow we shall die' need the somewhat strained interpretation: 'the revellers may well have been conscious that their escape had only procured for them a precarious respite.'

'Eat and drink (in the Authorized Version, "let us eat and drink"), for to-morrow we shall die.' Perhaps this famous proverb of despair was already current in Isaiah's day, and is a quotation even to him. One thing is sure. The proverb, 'Eat and drink, for to-morrow we die,' is the advice of those who have cared for little more than eating or drinking their whole lives long. He who cares for higher things and labours in their service will not cease to labour, rather will he be braced to greater effort, because he knows that his time on earth is short. In one sense we all die 'to-morrow,' for if *when* we die is uncertain, *that* we die is sure. A few years less, a few years more: to one end we all must come. There is no good reason why our hands and hearts and minds should become slacker because in the fullness of youth and of strength we were told that we had but one year more to live. Rather should we seek to *make the most*, in the best sense of the words, of the few short months that were still allotted to us. If we were worth our salt *before* the solemn summons came, we should not lose courage after it. The summons would be a test of our true character. And another thing is also certain, that no one who trusts in God and realizes him in his daily life would, or could say, Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die. If reason and righteousness be the true principles by which the universe is governed (albeit that the facts of life often seem to belie our faith), the advice of the proverb is the advice of fools and knaves. Mr. Ruskin says truly: 'The shortness of life is not, to any rational person, a conclusive reason for wasting the space of it which may be granted him; nor does the anticipation of death, to-morrow, suggest, to any one but a drunkard, the expediency of drunkenness to-day.' Even a day spent in the service of goodness is worth having, if God be in the background. Years are but made up of days, and none realize better than the most devoted servants of duty and of God how small is the interval between

themselves and death. Life is not more worth living well because there are a few more years to live it in; it is not less worth living well because there are a few less. For, apart from all hope of personal immortality, it is a belief in the permanent reality of goodness and of truth, as conditioned and confirmed by the permanence and reality of God, which gives us the assurance that it is both abundantly worth while, as well as our privilege and duty, to labour in the service of goodness and of truth, whether our engagement is to be measured by months or by years.

§ 14. *The ideal ruler.*—We now return to the prophecies contained in chapters xxviii to xxxiii. If the whole, or the first part, of the thirteenth section be genuine, it is best to assign it to Isaiah's old age, and we need not suppose that it was added by himself to his own collection of prophecies in this particular group. It will then form one of those 'Messianic' vaticinations of the Golden Age which, as we have seen, Professor Duhm retains for Isaiah and Professor Cheyne rejects. So here the latter regards the whole section as post-exilic; the former 'brackets' only the second half, which he regards as a sort of commentary upon the ethical terms of the first. The beneficent purpose of the true ruler is finely conceived. Surely Ruskin must somewhere have quoted the words? They are wholly in his spirit, and in Plato's.

Behold, a king shall reign according to righteousness,
  And princes according to justice.
And each of them shall be as a hiding-place from the wind,
  As a covert from the tempest;
As rivers of water in a dry place,
  As the shadow of a great rock in a weary land.
And the eyes of them that see shall not be closed,
  And the ears of them that hear shall hearken.
And the heart of the hasty shall understand knowledge,
  And the tongue of the stammerers shall hasten to speak clearly.
The fool shall no more be called noble,
  Nor the intriguer said to be gentle.
[For the fool speaketh folly,
  And his heart deviseth iniquity,
To practise impiety,
  And to speak error against the Lord,
To make empty the soul of the hungry,
  And to cause the drink of the thirsty to fail.

And the intriguer, his tricks are wicked;
He planneth evil devices,
To destroy the poor with lying words,
Even when the needy speaketh what is right.
But the noble planneth noble things,
And in noble things doth he persist.]

§ 15. *A fertile soil and a righteous people.*—The fourteenth section is wholly disconnected with what precedes it, and it is itself composed of two separate parts only artificially connected with each other. The first of these is a 'threatening oration addressed to the women of Jerusalem.' If it is Isaiah's, it had best be assigned (with Professor Duhm) to his early period, when he anticipated, as he anticipates here, the complete destruction of the capital. Later on he realized that this utter overthrow was for his time at any rate mercifully cancelled, and so we get the later predictions of Zion's inviolability and of the Assyrian defeat. The second division is a fresh and brief delineation of the Messianic times of happiness, when through the grace and spirit of God righteousness and peace shall reign supreme. Fertility of the soil is co-ordinated (as a blessing from God) with the higher gifts of righteousness and justice. In form as well as in substance this division differs from the denunciation of the 'careless women,' and it would seem that some words are wanting at its commencement. An editorial link of a single word ('until') connects it, *tant bien que mal*, as the French would say, with its present environment. If Isaiah's, as Professor Duhm holds, it may have been written at about the same period as the passage concerning the 'righteous king' to which we have just listened. Professor Cheyne 'brackets' the whole section, regarding it as post-exilic.

Rise up, ye women that are at ease, hear my voice;
Ye careless daughters, give ear unto my speech.
For a year and a day shudder, ye careless women:
For the vintage hath failed, the fruit harvest cometh not.
Tremble, ye women that are at ease; shudder, ye careless ones:
Strip you, and make you bare;
Gird sackcloth upon your loins, and smite upon your breasts,
For the pleasant fields, the fruitful vine,
For the land of my people, which is filled with thorns and briers,
Yea, for all the houses of rejoicing in the exulting city.

For the palace is forsaken, the tumult of the city is a solitude;
The Hill and the Watch Tower are become bare spaces for ever,
A joy of wild asses, a pasture of flocks.
. . . [Until] there shall be poured out
A spirit upon us from on high,
And the wild pasture shall become garden land,
And the garden land shall be counted for forest.
And justice shall dwell in the pasture,
And righteousness shall inhabit the garden land.
And the work of righteousness shall be peace,
And the effect of righteousness quietness and confidence for ever.
And my people shall dwell in an habitation of peace,
And in dwellings of security.
Happy are ye who may sow beside all waters,
Who may send forth freely the foot of the ox and the ass.

§ 16. *Present trouble and future glory.*—The last section of our group is formed by what is now the thirty-third chapter of the book. It is a sort of prayer and prophecy in one, in all probability of post-exilic date, appended to the group to make it close with glad anticipations of peace and prosperity.

[Woe to thee, O Spoiler, that wast not spoiled,
And thou Robber, who wast not robbed;
When thou shalt cease to spoil, thou shalt be spoiled,
When thou shalt have made an end of robbing, thou shalt be robbed.
O Lord, be gracious unto us; we hope in thee;
Be thou our arm every morning,
Our salvation in the time of trouble.
At the sound of the tumult the peoples flee;
At the lifting up of thyself the nations are scattered;
And spoil is carried off like the carrying off of locusts,
As the running of locusts, they run upon it.
The Lord is exalted; for he dwelleth on high;
He hath filled Zion with judgement and righteousness.
And the stability of thy times shall be a store of salvation,
Wisdom and knowledge and the fear of the Lord (?).

Behold, the valiant ones (?) cry without,
The ambassadors of peace weep bitterly.

He hath broken the covenant, despised the witnesses,
He hath regarded no man.
The earth mourneth and languisheth;
Lebanon is ashamed and withereth away.
Sharon is become as the prairie;
Bashan and Carmel shake off their leaves.
'Now will I arise,' saith the Lord;
'Now will I be exalted; now will I lift myself up.
Ye conceive chaff, and bring forth stubble;
Your breath is a fire which devoureth you.
And peoples shall be burnt to lime;
Thorns cut up that kindle in the fire.
They that are far hear what I do;
They that are near acknowledge my might.'

The sinners in Zion are afraid;
Trembling seizeth the impious:
'Who among us can dwell with devouring fire?
Who amongst us can dwell with everlasting burnings?'
He that walketh in righteousness and speaketh uprightly;
He that despiseth the gain of oppressions, that shaketh his hands from holding of bribes,
That stoppeth his ears from hearing of bloodguiltiness, and shutteth his eyes from seeing evil—
He shall dwell on high, rock fortresses shall be his refuge;
His bread is appointed, his water assured.

Thine eyes shall see the king in his beauty; they shall behold a far stretching land. Thine heart shall muse on the terror: where is he that reckoned? where is he that weighed? where is he that counted the towers?

The insolent people thou shalt no longer see, the people whose speech is too deep to be understood, of a stammering tongue without meaning.

Thine eyes shall see Jerusalem a quiet habitation, a tent that shall not be moved, whose stakes shall never be pulled out, and whose cords shall not be broken. And there is unto us the stream of the Lord (?), instead of broad-armed rivers; no oared galley shall go thereon, no proud ship shall traverse it.

For the Lord is our judge, the Lord is our lawgiver, the Lord is our king; he will save us. Then is prey of spoil divided in abundance; the lame shall plunder. And the

inhabitant shall not say, I am sick: the people that dwell therein are forgiven their iniquity.]

Professor Cheyne describes the foregoing section in the following way: 'The language and ideas of this chapter are not those of Isaiah, but of a later writer, who has absorbed much besides Isaiah, and is a contemporary of the Psalmists, into whose style he frequently falls. The author imaginatively places himself in the time of Sennacherib's invasion, and endeavours to write as Isaiah would then have written, though it is probable that he is thinking of the sufferings endured by his people in post-exilic times, when Persian armies were not infrequent visitors in Palestine. His composition is strongly apocalyptic' (i. e. revealing). 'It discloses the fate of the assembled hostile nations, of which the later prophets speak, and of which the hosts of Sennacherib (705–681 B.C.) or of Ochus (359–338 B. C.) are forerunners. In form, it is the prayer or meditation of the later Jewish community which is in the main righteous, from a legal point of view, though it still includes *sinners* who are to be destroyed, and craves for a full visible assurance that its sins have been forgiven.' There is only a bare allusion to the Messianic king, 'who only appears sporadically in the later literature.'

There seems a strange mingling of outward and inward in these aspirations for the future. The material and the spiritual seem oddly combined. It is not merely that the combination of health and sinlessness sounds to us arbitrary. We remember that to antiquity disease (especially sudden or severe disease) was regarded as a sign of God's displeasure, and *therefore* of sin. This was one of the illegitimate deductions that hung as a heavy and depressing cloud upon the old Jewish religion. Against it, as against all false and cruel combinations of suffering and sin, the Book of Job, as we have seen, is a sublime and permanent protest. But there is something over and above the implied connexion between disease and sin which surprises us in this section. It is the combination in the desired future of goodness and plunder. As to this combination we have again to remember what has already been often said as to the peculiar connexion among the later Jews of their religion and their patriotism.

To some extent that connexion improved both, for it made both intensely real and vivid and living, enabling the Jews to go through the Maccabean martyrdoms, for example, with heroic courage and constancy. But to some extent it also corrupted both, for patriotism when fired by the flame of religion tends to become fanatical and virulent, while religion when it becomes

a phase of patriotism easily grows narrow, and acquires not unfrequently external and material elements.

So here we see the desire for vengeance upon the national oppressor (be it the Persians under Artaxerxes Ochus or the 'Greeks' under Antiochus Epiphanes and his successors) falsely dignified by a religious veneer. At the same time within the writer's own community there is no reason to suppose that the moral ideal for days of peace was not what he so finely describes in the words which follow the question, 'who amongst us can dwell with everlasting burnings?'

It is an immense satisfaction that Judaism is now severed from national limits; our religion and our country are not conterminous; there are millions of our religious brotherhood who are not of our nation; there are millions of our nation who are not of our religious brotherhood. Hence we Jews are peculiarly well situated; we need never allow our religion to harm our patriotism or our patriotism to harm our religion. We have only to notice the evil results of an identification of nation with religion in the case of Russia to be the more stimulated to take the utmost pains to get all the benefits we can from our own position of vantage. Even in countries further west than Russia we see tendencies of a narrowing and dehumanizing identification of religion with country. We Jews should be the purest universalists. No German, for instance, is better able than a German Jew to have a true patriotism for Germany untainted by any narrowing jealousy of the foreigner. No German is better able than a German Jew to bear a true love to his own religious brotherhood untainted by any prejudice against his fellow-citizens of other creeds. In all countries none are better able than Jews to seek to succour the oppressed and to help the downtrodden, not because they belong to this religion or to that, not because they belong to this nation or to that, but for a reason far higher: because they are human, because they too are children of God, be their race or religion what it may.

There are many individual difficulties in this last section, but I have not space to touch on more than one or two of them. The *first* paragraph describes the day of retribution upon Israel's enemies; they who carry off the spoil are the Jews. In the *second* paragraph the 'valiant ones' are the Jewish warriors. 'If the writer dramatically assumes the position of Isaiah, we may explain' the words, 'He hath broken the covenant,' &c., by a reference to Part I, p. 380. 'Hezekiah's tribute has been paid, but Sennacherib perfidiously continues his ravages.' The term *Ariels* 'probably alludes' to the opening of § 5. The writer reads *Ariel* for *Arial*, and

'interprets the term to mean *God's lion*, a designation which would, of course, be equally suitable for a fortified city and for a warrior' (Cheyne). The 'everlasting burnings' in the *third* paragraph seem to refer to the 'supernatural phenomena of the judgement, which terrify the guilty consciences of faithless Israelites. The writer supposes the everlasting fire of God to have become visible for the protection of the good, and for the destruction of the wicked.' In the *fourth* paragraph, the king in his beauty is the Messiah. In his days there is no longer tribute or impost. The *fifth* paragraph implies the popular idea that the foreigner's speech is really what it seems: gibberish without meaning. The *sixth* paragraph is difficult. As here translated (with an emended text) it means that the stream of Zion is no great river for warships to sail on. It is the stream of the city of peace. The opening of the *seventh* and last paragraph gave the suggestion (I suppose) for our familiar Sabbath hymn: '*Ain kaylohainu*, there is none like our God.'

CHAPTER V

ISAIAH XXIV–XXVII

§ 1. *The final judgement.*—The last selection from the Book of Isaiah which I propose to give comprises its 24th, 25th, 26th and 27th chapters. These chapters form a separate booklet or group, and are of late post-exilic origin, as is now universally allowed. The exact date is doubtful, because the allusions are dark and vague, and the writer, whose theme, the last judgement and the final deliverance of Israel, is now already familiar to us, speaks for the most part in vague, though often poetic generalities. It will be better to say something as to a possible date when we have heard the whole.

The first section is the twenty-fourth chapter. This in Dr. Skinner's words 'is mainly an announcement of the last judgement, but partly also a gloomy survey of the actual state of the world' (and more especially of the author's own little world, Judaea). 'The writer feels that he is living in the last days, and in the universal wretchedness and confusions of the age he seems to discern the beginning of the end. His thoughts glide almost imperceptibly from the one point of view to the other, now describing the distress and depression which exist, and now the more terrible visitation which is imminent.'

Behold, the Lord maketh the earth empty, and maketh it waste, and turneth it upside down, and scattereth abroad the inhabitants thereof. And it shall be, as with the people, so with the priest; as with the servant, so with his master; as with the maid, so with her mistress; as with the buyer, so with the seller; as with the lender, so with the borrower; as with the taker of usury, so with the giver of usury to him. The earth shall be utterly emptied and utterly spoiled; for the Lord hath spoken this word.

The earth mourneth and fadeth away,
The world languisheth and fadeth away,
The noblest of the people of the earth do languish. (?)
For the earth is profaned under the inhabitants thereof;
Because they have transgressed the laws, violated the ordinance,
Broken the everlasting covenant.
Therefore a curse devoureth the earth,
And they that dwell therein are accounted guilty:
Therefore the inhabitants of the earth burn,
And few men are left.

The new wine mourneth, the vine languisheth,
All the merryhearted do sigh.
The mirth of pipes ceaseth,
The noise of them that rejoice endeth,
The joy of the harp ceaseth.
They shall not drink wine with a song;
Strong drink shall be bitter to them that drink it.

The desolate city is broken down;
Every house is shut up, that no man may come in.
There is a crying because of the wine in the streets;
All joy is darkened, the mirth of the land is gone.
In the city is left desolation,
And the gate is smitten unto ruins.
For so shall it be in the midst of the earth among the peoples, as at the beating of an olive tree, as the after gleaning when the vintage is done.

But these lift up their voice, they shout;
For the majesty of the Lord they cry aloud from the sea,
'Therefore glorify ye the Lord in the coastlands,
Even the name of the Lord God of Israel in the coastlands of the sea.'
From the border of the earth we have heard songs of praise:
Glory is come for the righteous!

But I say, I am sick, I am sick, woe unto me!
The treacherous dealers have dealt treacherously;
Yea, the treacherous dealers have dealt very treacherously.

Fear and the pit and the snare are upon thee, O inhabitant
of the earth.
And he who fleeth from the fear shall fall into the pit;
And he that cometh out of the pit shall be taken in the
snare:
For the windows on high are opened,
And the foundations of the earth tremble.
The earth is utterly broken;
The earth is shivered into splinters;
The earth staggereth exceedingly.
The earth will reel to and fro like a drunkard,
And shall sway to and fro like a hammock:
Its transgression shall be heavy upon it,
And it shall fall, and not rise again.

And it shall come to pass in that day, that the Lord shall visit the host of the high ones on high, and the kings of the earth upon the earth. And they shall be gathered together, as prisoners are gathered in the dungeon, and shall be shut up in the prison, and after many days they shall be visited. Then the moon shall blush and the sun shall pale, for the Lord of hosts shall be king on mount Zion and in Jerusalem, and before his elders shall be glory.

The second paragraph is noteworthy for its conception of a general and fundamental covenant of God with the human race as a whole. We may compare the covenant of Noah in the later story of the Deluge (Part I, p. 580). The sin committed is doubtless murder. The desolate city is Jerusalem: at what period is uncertain: perhaps the events during the reign of Artaxerxes Ochus are referred to. Before the new birth of the world, its inhabitants must be decimated by divine stroke. This is a standing feature in these late writers; the least inspired, the most conventional feature. 'The night is darkest just before the dawn.' Hence if you prophesy the dawn, you must intensify the darkness of the night. Some of the writer's contemporaries are rejoicing. Whereat? We can but guess; the writer holds these rejoicings to be premature.

§ 2. *A song of praise.*—The Revelation or Apocalypse, which the present group may appropriately be called, is here interrupted by an outburst of song. The song is apparently an interpolation; written perhaps on the margin, it has been brought by later

copyists into the text. It celebrates the fall of a hostile city; whether in close connexion with the incidents alluded to in the apocalyptic prophecy, it is impossible to say.

O Lord, thou art my God;
I will exalt thee, I will praise thy name;
For thou hast done wonderful things,
Purposes planned long ago in faithfulness and fidelity.
For thou hast made the fortress a heap,
The defenced city to be a ruin,
The palace of the proud to be desolate;
It shall never be built again.
Therefore the strong people, the city of nations, shall honour thee;
The tyrants shall tremble before thee.
For thou hast been a stronghold to the poor,
A stronghold to the needy in his distress,
A refuge from the storm,
A shadow from the heat.
Thou bringest low the glory of the proud;
As the heat by the shadow of clouds, the chant of the tyrants is humbled. (?)

§ 3. *The annihilation of death*.—Now the original prophecy is resumed. The following words are both noble and famous. The writer represents the admission of all surviving peoples to 'communion with the one true God' under the figure of 'a coronation festival which inaugurates the reign of Jehovah on Mount Zion.' Sorrow and death are abolished for ever, and the 'nations' share with the Jews in the beatitudes of the Golden Age.

And on this mountain shall the Lord of hosts make unto all peoples a feast of fat things, a feast of wines on the lees, of fat things full of marrow, of wines on the lees well refined. And he will destroy on this mountain the veil that veileth all the peoples, and the covering that covereth all the nations. He destroyeth death for ever; and the Lord God will wipe away tears from off all faces; and the reproach of his people shall he remove from all the earth: for the Lord hath spoken it.

I quote some of Dr. Skinner's admirable notes. 'The fat parts of the animal, which in ordinary sacrifice were reserved for the

Deity, were regarded in the East as the choicest delicacy. The same image is used in Ps. xxxvi. 8, lxiii. 5, of the highest spiritual enjoyment in fellowship with God.'

'Wine on the lees,' 'i.e. wine that has been left to stand long on its sediment, in order that its strength, flavour, *bouquet*, &c., might be enhanced by repeated fermentation. Such old wines had to be strained before being used; hence the expression "well-refined."'

'The veil is not, as might be supposed, a symbol of spiritual blindness, but of sorrow; the figure being taken from the practice of covering the head in token of mourning.'

The annihilation of death does not apparently refer to a life after death. It means that those who live on to the 'Messianic' age shall never die. What the life after death is to us, that life on earth during the everlasting Golden Age of the future was to the writer and to many of the later Jews. But as it seemed hard that the just who were dead should not share in the glory of the New Age, the idea grew up that God would devise for them a special resurrection. This idea is expressed in a later section of our present group. As Professor Duhm points out, when God removes the veil, he sees the tears, and wipes them away. 'Perhaps no words,' says Dr. Skinner, 'that ever were uttered have sunk deeper into the aching heart of humanity than this exquisite image of the divine tenderness.'

§ 4. *The ruin of Moab.*— In violent contrast to the generous universalism of the preceding passage, we now have another interpolated song celebrating the humiliation of Moab—whether of the actual Moab or of Israel's enemies typified under that name. The song is vigorous, but its imagery is coarse.

And it shall be said in that day: Behold our God for whom we waited that he would save us; we will be glad and rejoice in his salvation. For on this mountain shall the hand of the Lord rest; but Moab shall be trodden down in his place, as straw is trodden down in the water of the dunghill. And if he spread forth his hands in it, as he that swimmeth spreadeth forth his hands to swim, his striving shall be pressed down, despite the wiles of his hands (?).

§ 5. *A prayer and a retrospect.*—There now follows yet another interruption of the original Apocalypse, in the shape of a long and very artificial liturgical poem. The great day is coming surely, but it is not yet come. Therefore the heading for the song is inaccurate: it is a song for the present, not for the future.

(In that day shall this song be sung in the land of Judah.)

We have a strong city: for our salvation God will set up walls and moat. Open ye the gates, that the righteous nation which keepeth faithfulness may enter in. A steadfast mind thou keepest in constant peace, for he trusteth in thee (??). Trust in the Lord for ever; for in the Lord Jehovah is an everlasting rock. For he hath brought down them that dwell on high, the lofty city; he laid it low even to the ground, he brought it even to the dust. The foot of the poor trode it down, the steps of the needy.

The way of the righteous is straightness; the path of the righteous thou makest plain. Yea, in the way of thy judgements, O Lord, we wait for thee; the desire of our soul is to thy name and thy memorial. With my soul I desire thee; yea, with my spirit within me I yearn for thee. When thy judgements are in the earth, the inhabitants of the world learn righteousness. Let favour be shewn to the wicked, yet will he not learn righteousness; even in the land of uprightness he will deal unjustly, and he doth not behold the majesty of the Lord.

O Lord, thy hand was lifted up, yet they see not; let them see and be ashamed. Thy zeal for thy people and the fire for thine enemies—may these devour them! Lord, do thou ordain peace for us; for even our whole work thou hast wrought for us. O Lord, our God, other lords besides thee have had dominion over us, but through thee only do we celebrate thy name (?). The dead shall not live, the Shades shall not rise; therefore hast thou visited and destroyed them, and made all their memory to perish.

Thou hast increased the nation, O Lord, thou hast glorified thyself; thou hast extended far all the borders of the land. In their trouble, O Lord, they sought thee; they poured out a prayer when thy chastening was upon them (??). We have not wrought deliverance in the land, neither have inhabitants of the world been born. Thy dead shall arise; they that dwell in the dust shall awake and sing; for thy dew is a dew of lights, and the land shall bring to life the Shades.

The historical allusions are again doubtful. Some victories or advantages have been won, but distress is still predominant;

while even for what has been achieved the community as a whole is not sufficiently grateful to God.

The unfortunate combination of religion and politics in the minds of these later writers is clearly seen in the statement that the cause of righteousness is only to be advanced by the sword and by severity. 'Judgements': this is the only way. The religious sense is vitiated by the lower nationalism. Judgements and violence are not the true methods of the Servant: not only is the effect of righteousness peace, but the effect of peace is righteousness. Like many other nations, ancient and modern, the Jews desired the annihilation of their foes. But to desire the annihilation of foes is not religion, and their foes were not God's foes. Herein consisted their mistake.

There is no inconsistency in the denial and the affirmation of the Resurrection. The denial concerns certain enemies, whom the writer declares to be dead for good and all; the affirmation concerns the Jews, or more especially the pious among them. The passage is of very great interest and importance in the history and growth of the idea of immortality. For here, albeit in a limited and material form, we do find, for the first time perhaps in the chronological order, a distinct conviction that the shadowy and valueless life of Sheol is not all to which we may trustingly look forward.

§ 6. *The divine indignation.*—Once more for a short interval the original prophecy or Apocalypse seems to speak to us again. There is a very fair connexion with what we last heard from it in paragraph three. The Judgement Day is still being described.

Go, my people, enter thou into thy chambers, and shut thy doors behind thee: hide thyself for a little moment, until the indignation be overpast. For, behold, the Lord cometh out of his place to visit the inhabitants of the earth for their iniquity; and the earth shall disclose her blood, and shall no more cover her slain. In that day the Lord with his hard and great and strong sword shall visit Leviathan the fleet serpent, and Leviathan the coiled serpent; and he shall slay the dragon that is in the sea.

'The judgement on the ungodly powers of this world is represented symbolically as the destruction of these living monsters by the sword of Jehovah.' To which empires the three monsters refer is uncertain, and depends on the date of the prophecy.

§ 7. *A song of a vineyard.*—A brief and obscure song now follows. The text is very doubtful. The vineyard is of course Israel; the briars are its enemies. We may profitably compare and contrast the vineyard song of Isaiah.

In that day (shall they say): Pleasant vineyard! sing ye unto it. I the Lord am its keeper; every moment I water it, that its leaf fail not (?); night and day I keep it, wrath have I none.

O that I might meet briars and thorns! With war would I march against them (?), I would burn them together. Else must he take hold of my protection, make peace with me (?).

[In days to come Jacob shall take root; Israel shall blossom and bud, and fill the face of the world with fruit.]

§ 8. *The desolation of Jerusalem.*—Now comes a passage which may possibly belong to the main prophecy, but may also be a further, though not a lyrical interpolation. It is not clearly connected with what preceded. The text has suffered a good deal, and the whole passage is obscure. Some untranslatable or meaningless words I have indicated by dots.

Hath he smitten him as he smiteth those that smote him? Hath he been slain according to the slaughter of those that slew him? . . . Therefore on this condition let the iniquity of Israel be expiated, and let this be the fruit of the removal of his sins: that he make all altar-stones as chalk-stones that are beaten in sunder; the Asherim and sun-pillars shall not remain standing.

For the defenced city is solitary, an habitation deserted and forsaken like a wilderness: there shall the calf feed, and . . . For it is a people of no understanding; therefore he that made them can not have mercy on them, and he that formed them can shew them no favour.

The section, as Dr. Skinner says, 'seems to be a summons to national repentance and reformation.' God has treated Israel more tenderly than he has treated or will treat Israel's oppressors. Therefore Israel may expect complete forgiveness and renewed prosperity when by a resolute effort it erases 'all monuments and relics of idolatry in the land.' Let that be the condition and result of sin's forgiveness. A mention of Asherim and pillars and altar-stones

in this post-exilic passage is rather surprising, but there is other evidence to show that even at a late period there were still some idolatrous remnants or superstitious excrescences and recrudescences existing among the community. The city is Jerusalem: her condition is the same as was described above in the first paragraph. The last words seem to mean that deliverance, redemption and the advent of the Golden Age are compulsorily delayed through the folly and impenitence of the people.

§ 9. *The last ingathering.*—A final short description of the Judgement on its redemptive side for Israel concludes the prophecy. It joins on very well with paragraph six.

And it shall come to pass in that day, that the Lord will thresh out ears of wheat from the River unto the Brook of Egypt, and ye shall be gathered one by one, O ye children of Israel. And it shall come to pass in that day, that a great trumpet shall be blown, and the lost in the land of Assyria, and the outcasts in the land of Egypt, shall come and shall worship the Lord on the holy mountain at Jerusalem.

The River is the Euphrates: the Brook is now known as the *Wadi el Arish.* What lies between constitutes 'the ideal territory of Israel. The meaning is that within this territory Jehovah will carefully separate the corn from the chaff and straw—the true Israelites from heathens and apostates. The last sentence describes, under another figure, the ingathering of those who were exiled beyond these limits' (Skinner).

As regards the general date for the entire group of prophecy and songs, it is enough to mention here the hypothesis of Professor Cheyne, who assigns it to the era of Alexander the Great, or more precisely to 332 B.C. The desolations and disasters will then allude to the misfortunes (not yet after some fifteen or twenty years fully repaired) which Jerusalem and Judah and Syria underwent in the reign of Artaxerxes Ochus, of which I have often spoken before. The growing weakness and dissolution of the Persian Empire between Ochus and Alexander would probably only have increased the daring of local oppressors. 'The premature songs of triumph referred to in chapter xxiv. 16' (the sixth paragraph of the first section) 'are supposed to have been called forth by rumours of the expedition of Alexander the Great, whilst the interspersed lyrical passages celebrate the Jewish deliverance achieved by the Macedonian victories. Perhaps the least convincing part of the hypothesis is the identification of the conquered city (in the first paragraph of sections 2 and 5) with Tyre or Gaza

destroyed by Alexander; but, in spite of that, Cheyne's view is probably the one which best harmonizes the varied indications of the prophecy' (Skinner).

With all their nationalist limitations, these four chapters are a striking production: the Book of Isaiah would be the poorer if they were not there. Our hope of immortality is not founded on any allusion or statement in any particular book: it is grounded and founded on our faith in God, and all which that faith implies. The idea of a heavenly or supernatural dew—a 'dew of lights,' in accordance with the customary association of 'light' and 'life'—which, falling upon the tombs of the dead, makes them awake and arise in fresh and fairer bodily form upon a glorified earth, has passed away for ever. Nevertheless we are grateful to those among our Hebrew forefathers who first conceived and expressed the larger hope; even if his form or fashion of the hope was other than ours, we are grateful to the man who wrote those simple and beautiful words:

He destroyeth death for ever; and the Lord God will wipe away tears from off all faces.

CHAPTER VI

THE BOOK OF JOEL

§ 1. *The age and character of the Book of Joel.*—The book of Joel, which is to form the contents of the present short chapter, was at one time regarded as the earliest of the written prophets, but is now almost universally held to be post-exilic. Its precise date is uncertain; but happily the knowledge of the date would add little to our understanding of the prophecy. Whether it was written about 400 B.C., as seems most probable, or whether it was somewhat earlier or somewhat later, makes no difference to its readers of to-day.

Of Joel as a person we know nothing whatever. His book seems to be intact and uninterpolated. Its occasion was the incursion of an enormous army of locusts into Judah. With the locusts or after them there came also a terrible drought. Joel thought he saw in these locusts and in the ravage and ruin they wrought the first signs of the coming of the Lord's day—the day of judgement. This day is for him, as for other post-exilic writers, primarily a day of judgement upon the nations around, the enemies and oppressors of the Jews. Joel is in this respect no better and no worse than the majority of his contemporaries and successors, to whom national hatreds had, alas! become part and parcel of religious faith. But with this fierce attitude to the 'nations,' Joel also combines something of the earlier and pre-exilic manner. He believes that the locusts, God's army, will return again a second time in even greater numbers and strength, but he urges the Jews to avert the anger of God by true repentance. Thus the *present* condition of the people did not deserve the glories of the Golden Age even as compared with the lower religious and moral standard of the nations. Before that age could arrive, the Jews must either be sifted by the judgement or truly repent. 'Rend your heart, and not your garments,' says Joel in words well worthy of Amos and Jeremiah.

To the prophet's inward vision his call to repentance seems successful. He therefore foretells that God will remove the scourge and confine the judgement to Judah's enemies. Judah shall be blessed materially as well as spiritually, while its enemies will be destroyed.

§ 2. *The idea of the judgement and its value to-day.*—Joel's conception of the judgement has no value for us to-day. His fundamental presupposition that the destruction of the nations is a proof of divine justice seems to us merely one more mournful instance of how national pride and national hatreds can obscure even a good man's notion of goodness and of God. Professor Driver is perfectly right when he says that 'the contrast between Israel and the nations' is only fruitful for us to-day, if we regard it as 'typical of the great contrast between good and evil, between truth and falsehood.' Joel could only think of that great and constant contrast in this limited and erroneous form. Moreover, as we have so frequently had occasion to observe, God's punishments are not for ever, for they are, *ex hypothesi*, punishments inflicted by *goodness;* they are not sent by God for his own sake or for the sake of Israel, but for the sake of the punished; they are not done on the principle of tit for tat; they are disciplinal. At the same time Professor Driver is scarcely less right when he says that 'Joel, in striking imagery, sets forth some of the eternal principles of divine righteousness and human duty, and draws pictures of the ideal blessedness, spiritual and material, which, if man would but adequately respond, God would confer upon the human race.' Let us therefore read his book attentively, and seek to get out of it all the profit we can.

§ 3. *The invasion of the locusts.*—The first section depicts poetically the actual ravages of the locusts which have already taken place. It would seem from the many reports of travellers both from the east and the west that the picture is hardly, if at all, exaggerated: so terrible is the plague. In this very year the harvests of the Jewish colonists in Argentina have almost wholly been destroyed by an overwhelming swarm of irresistible locusts (1896–97).

The word of the Lord that came to Joel the son of Pethuel.
Hear this, ye old men,
And give ear, all ye inhabitants of the land.
Hath this been in your days,
Or in the days of your fathers?

Tell ye your children of it,
And let your children tell their children,
And their children another generation.
That which the shearer hath left the swarmer hath eaten;
And that which the swarmer hath left the lapper hath eaten;
And that which the lapper hath left the consumer hath eaten.

Awake, ye drunkards, and weep;
And howl, all ye drinkers of wine,
Because of the sweet wine; for it is cut off from your mouth.
For a nation is come up upon my land,
Strong, and without number,
Whose teeth are the teeth of a lion,
And he hath the cheek teeth of a lioness.
He hath made my vine into a waste,
And my fig tree into splinters;
He hath made it clean bare, and cast it away;
The branches thereof are made white.

Lament like a virgin girded with sackcloth for the husband of her youth.
The meal offering and the drink offering is cut off from the house of the Lord;
The priests, the Lord's ministers, mourn.
The field is wasted, the ground mourneth;
For the corn is wasted: the new wine is ashamed, the fresh oil languisheth.

Be ye ashamed, O ye husbandmen;
Howl, O ye vinedressers, for the wheat and for the barley;
Because the harvest of the field is perished.
The vine is ashamed, and the fig tree languisheth;
The pomegranate tree, the palm tree also, and the apple tree, even all the trees of the field, are withered:
Yea, joy is ashamed and hideth herself from the sons of men.

Gird yourselves, and wail, ye priests:
Howl, ye ministers of the altar:

Come, lie all night in sackcloth, ye ministers of my God:
For the meal offering and the drink offering is withholden
from the house of your God.

Sanctify ye a fast, call a solemn assembly,
Gather the elders and all the inhabitants of the land
Into the house of the Lord your God, and cry unto the
Lord.
Alas for the day! for the Day of the Lord is at hand,
And as a ruin from the Almighty shall it come.
Is not the food cut off before our eyes,
Yea, joy and gladness from the house of our God?

The grains shrivel under their spades;
The garners are laid desolate, the barns are broken down;
For the corn is ashamed.
How do the beasts groan; the herds of cattle are perplexed,
Because they have no pasture;
Yea, the flocks of sheep are accounted guilty.
O Lord, to thee will I cry:
For the fire hath devoured the pastures of the prairie,
And the flame hath burned all the trees of the field.
Yea, the beasts of the field pant unto thee:
For the channels of waters are dried up,
And the fire hath devoured the pastures of the prairie.

'Lapper,' 'shearer,' etc., are various kinds of locusts. The translation is Professor Driver's. 'To be ashamed' in this passage means 'to be disconcerted,' to 'show or express disappointment' (Driver).

§ 4. *Fresh ruin foretold.*—In the next section Joel predicts a fresh scourge of locusts, the precursors of the judgement day. He, therefore, summons his people to urgent and sincere repentance.

Blow ye the horn in Zion,
And sound an alarm in my holy mountain:
Let all the inhabitants of the land tremble:
For the Day of the Lord cometh, for it is nigh at hand;
A day of darkness and of gloom,
A day of clouds and of thick darkness,
As the dawn spread upon the mountains:

A great people and a strong;
There hath not been ever the like,
Neither shall be any more after it, even to the years of many generations.
A fire devoureth before them,
And behind them a flame burneth:
The land is as the garden of Eden before them,
And behind them a desolate wilderness;
Yea, and nothing escapeth them.

The appearance of them is as the appearance of horses;
And as horsemen, so do they run.
Like the noise of chariots on the tops of mountains do they leap,
Like the noise of a flame of fire that devoureth the stubble,
As a strong people set in battle array.
At their presence the peoples are in anguish:
All faces grow pale.

They run like heroes;
They climb the wall like men of war;
And they march every one on his ways,
And they entangle not their paths:
None pusheth the other;
They walk every one in his path:
Though they fall upon weapons, their course is unbroken. (?)
They rush upon the city;
They run upon the wall,
They climb up into the houses;
They enter in at the windows like a thief.
The earth trembleth before them;
The heavens quake:
The sun and the moon are darkened,
And the stars withdraw their shining:
And the Lord uttereth his voice before his army:
For his camp is very great:
For he is strong that executeth his word:
For the Day of the Lord is great and very terrible;
And who can abide it?
Therefore also now, saith the Lord,
Turn ye even to me with all your heart,
And with fasting, and with weeping, and with wailing:

And rend your heart, and not your garments,
And turn unto the Lord your God:
For he is gracious and merciful,
Slow to anger, and of great lovingkindness, and repenteth him of the evil.
Who knoweth if he will return and repent,
And leave a blessing behind him;
Even a meal offering and a drink offering unto the Lord your God?
Blow the horn in Zion,
Sanctify a fast, call a solemn assembly:
Gather the people, sanctify the meeting,
Assemble the elders, gather the children, and those that suck the breasts:
Let the bridegroom go forth of his chamber,
And the bride out of her pavilion.

Let the priests, the ministers of the Lord, weep between the porch and the altar, and let them say, 'Spare thy people, O Lord, and give not thine heritage to reproach, that the nations should use them as a byeword; wherefore should they say among the peoples, Where is their God?'

§ 5. *Outward and inward redemption.*—There is now an assumed interval, during which we have to suppose that the 'prophet's call to repentance has been obeyed.' (Of course it is not a *real* interval; nor has the call been really made or really obeyed, for the Book of Joel is a literary unity, and simply expresses Joel's view of what will happen under certain, partly contingent, conditions.)

The following section describes, in 'prophetic perfects,' how God will answer the cry of his people, and how he will endow it with all material and spiritual welfare. The locusts will be driven away. A well-known problem in this section is the expression 'Northerner.' By it must be understood the locusts, and yet these creatures were not wont to enter Judah from the north, but rather from the south or south-east. And even if this particular plague came from the north, it is a very odd way of referring to them. It is partly this strange word which has made some persons think that under the figure of the locusts human enemies are really alluded to, for these did usually approach from the north. But there is little to favour this interpretation, and it is now generally rejected.

Then was the Lord jealous for his land, and had pity upon his people. And the Lord answered and said unto his people, 'Behold, I will send you the corn, and the new wine, and the fresh oil, and ye shall be satisfied therewith: and I will no more make you a reproach among the nations: but I will remove far off from you the Northerner, and will drive him into a dry land and a waste, and will cast his van into the east sea, and his rear into the western sea, that his foulness may come up, because he hath done proudly.'

Fear not, O land; be glad and rejoice:
For the Lord hath done great things.
Be not afraid, ye beasts of the field:
For the pastures of the prairie do spring,
For the tree beareth her fruit,
The fig tree and the vine do yield their strength.
Be glad then, ye children of Zion,
And rejoice in the Lord your God:
For he hath given you the former rain according to righteousness,
And he hath caused to come down for you the winter rain, and the latter rain.
And the floors shall be full of wheat,
And the vats shall overflow with new wine and fresh oil.
And I will restore to you the years that the locust hath eaten,
The lapper, and the consumer, and the shearer,
My great army which I sent among you.
And ye shall eat in plenty, and be satisfied,
And praise the name of the Lord your God, that hath dealt wondrously with you:
And my people shall never be ashamed.
And ye shall know that I am in the midst of Israel,
And that I am the Lord your God, and that there is none else:
And my people shall never be ashamed.

And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions: and even upon the servants and upon the handmaids in those days will I pour out my spirit. And I will show portents in the heavens and in the

earth, blood and fire and pillars of smoke. The sun shall be turned into darkness and the moon into blood, before the great and the terrible day of the Lord come. And it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be delivered: for in mount Zion and in Jerusalem shall be they that escape, as the Lord hath said, and among the fugitives shall be those whom the Lord shall call.

'Upon all flesh:' the context shows that only Israelites are referred to. Professor Driver has a good note on the divine 'spirit.' The writers of the Hebrew Scriptures mean by it, he says, 'the conscious vital force peculiar to God, which, as proceeding from him, is the power which creates and sustains the life of created beings, and to the operation of which are attributed extraordinary faculties and activities of man, as well as supernatural spiritual gifts.' When Joel says 'your sons shall prophesy' he means, as Professor Driver well says, that 'they will have insight into divine truth, and will be moved to express it, in the manner which is at present confined to such as specially bear the name of prophets. The term is of course not to be misunderstood as if it referred merely to predictions relating to the future: the reference is in general to inspired instruction in moral and religious truth.'

§ 6. *The doom of Judah's foes.*—The final section describes the varying results of the Day of Judgement upon Judah's foes and upon Judah. Desolation and ruin are predicted for the former; glory and prosperity to the latter.

The last sentence in the book means that 'by the desolation of Egypt and Edom (chosen as typical examples of countries hostile to Israel) Jehovah will show openly that the murdered Judahites had suffered innocently. So long, namely, as he permitted their blood to remain unavenged, it might be supposed that they had not been slain unjustly: but by the punishment of the murderers (i.e. here, by the desolation of their country) Jehovah declares (implicitly), what he had not declared before, that their blood was innocent, and had been unjustly shed' (Driver).

For, behold, in those days, and in that time, when I shall bring again the captivity of Judah and Jerusalem, I will gather all nations, and will bring them down into the valley of Jehoshaphat, and will contend with them there in judgement for my people and for my heritage Israel, whom they have

scattered among the nations, and parted my land and cast lots for my people.

And what are ye to me, O Tyre, and Zidon, and all the coasts of Palestine? will ye repay a deed of mine or will ye do aught unto me? Swiftly and speedily will I return your deed upon your own head; because ye have taken my silver and my gold, and have carried into your temples my goodly pleasant things: the children also of Judah and the children of Jerusalem have ye sold unto the Grecians, that ye might remove them far from their border. Behold, I will stir them up out of the place whither ye have sold them, and will return your deed upon your own head: and I will sell your sons and your daughters into the hand of the children of Judah, and they shall sell them to the men of Sheba, to a people far off: for the Lord hath spoken it.

Proclaim ye this among the nations; Consecrate a war, arouse the warriors, let all the men of war draw near; let them come up: beat your ploughshares into swords, and your pruninghooks into lances: let the weak say, I am a warrior. Hasten and come, all ye nations round about, and gather yourselves together: thither cause thy warriors to come down, O Lord. Let the nations be stirred up, and come up to the valley of Jehoshaphat: for there will I sit to judge all the nations round about. Put ye in the sickle, for the harvest is ripe: come, get you down; for the press is full, the vats overflow; for their wickedness is great. Multitudes, multitudes in the valley of decision: for the Day of the Lord is near. The sun and the moon are darkened, and the stars withdraw their shining. And the Lord shall roar from Zion, and utter his voice from Jerusalem; and the heavens and the earth shall quake: but the Lord will be a refuge unto his people, and a stronghold to the children of Israel. And ye shall know that I am the Lord your God dwelling in Zion, my holy mountain: and Jerusalem shall be holy, and there shall no strangers pass through her any more.

And it shall come to pass in that day, that the mountains shall drop down sweet wine, and the hills shall flow with milk, and all the water-courses of Judah shall flow with waters, and a fountain shall come forth of the house of the Lord, and shall water the valley of Shittim. Egypt shall be a desolation, and Edom shall be a desolate wilderness,

for the violence against the children of Judah, because they have shed innocent blood in their land. But Judah shall be inhabited for ever, and Jerusalem from generation to generation. And I will hold as innocent their blood which I have not held as innocent: for the Lord dwelleth in Zion.

It is pleasant to think that so far from Egypt becoming or remaining a waste, our own people are helping to work out its material and moral regeneration at the present time. The strange and striking prophecy from the Book of Isaiah, quoted in Part I, p. 605, seems happily to be growing more true than the vaticinations of Joel. 'And the Lord shall smite Egypt: he shall smite and heal it: and they shall return even to the Lord, and he shall be intreated of them, and shall heal them.'

§ 7. *Last extracts from the prophets.*—The chapters of the present volume which have been devoted to Amos, Hosea, Isaiah and Joel, taken together with the extracts from Jeremiah, Micah, Ezekiel, the second Isaiah, Haggai and Zechariah in Part I, have, I think, put before the reader the greatest and most permanently valuable sections of the entire prophetical literature. At the same time it must not be supposed that there are not many fine and striking things in what remains over. From Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Obadiah and Malachi I have made no selections whatever. I have only quoted a single short extract from Micah; but eight chapters from Ezekiel out of a total of forty-eight; and even from Isaiah and Jeremiah and Zechariah I have omitted a good deal.

In these omissions there are to be found many sentences which are familiar to us.

So, for instance, we have the famous invocation to God in the Book of Habakkuk:

Art thou not from everlasting, O Lord,
My God, mine Holy One? we shall not die.
. . . . . .
Thou art of purer eyes than to behold evil,
And canst not look upon iniquity:
Wherefore lookest thou upon them that deal ruthlessly,
And holdest thy peace when the wicked swalloweth up
the man that is more righteous than he?

It is in Habakkuk that we also find a passage with two well-known sayings which runs as follows:—

I will stand upon my watch, and take my place upon the tower, and will look forth to see what he will speak unto me, and what he will answer to my plea. And the Lord answered me, and said,

Write the vision, and make it plain upon tables,
That he may run who readeth it.
For the vision waiteth yet for the appointed time,
But it hasteth towards the goal, and will not lie:
Though it tarry, wait for it;
For it will surely come, it will not fail.
Behold the wicked, his soul is not upright within him,
But the righteous shall live through his faithfulness.

In the Authorized Version the last line is less accurately translated: 'The just shall live by his faith.'

In the anonymous prophetical *brochure* which goes by the name of 'Malachi,' and is contemporary with Nehemiah, the author denounces the dissensions then prevalent among the Jews. He employs the memorable words:

Have we not all one Father? hath not one God created us?

It is curious that these words, which in 'Malachi' refer to the Jews only, are constantly used to-day in a universal sense. Nor is there any reason why we should not give an enlarged meaning to Biblical sayings, if we remember that the *historical* and literal meaning is one thing, the homiletic and applied meaning another. When *we* quote the verse, we mean by it that God is the Creator of all men; all races of men are linked together as sons of one Father. Malachi only meant by it that all the *Jews* are so related; but we may reasonably charge his words with wider and holier significance.

It is 'Malachi' also who, speaking in a figure of the Messianic glory, says:

Unto you that fear my name shall the Sun of Righteousness arise with healing in his wings.

And it is 'Malachi' who gives the ideal conception of the true Priest and as he ought to be in reality.

My covenant was with him; life and peace I gave unto him, and reverence that he might fear me, and have awe

before my name. True teaching was in his mouth, and fraud was not found in his lips: he walked with me in truth and equity; and he turned away many from iniquity. For the priest's lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek direction at his mouth; for he is the Messenger of the Lord of hosts.

Lastly, it is 'Malachi,' as it seems, who, in spite of his intense 'nationalism,' which nowhere makes itself more conspicuously apparent than in a fierce hatred of Edom which he is rash enough to put into the mouth of God, yet in one single verse of his short book lays down the remarkable doctrine that the worship of the heathen is in truth an unconscious worship of the true God. For they too make sacrifice to the highest or supreme God, and who is he but Jehovah?

From the rising of the sun even unto the going down thereof my name is great among the nations; and in every place incense is offered unto my name, and a pure offering: for my name is great among the nations, saith the Lord.

Of this extraordinary passage Professor Wellhausen says what those who understand German may here read for themselves:

Es wird hier nicht wie sonst von der Zukunft gehofft, dass die Heiden sich zu dem Gott in Jerusalem bekehren werden, sondern es wird von der Gegenwart ausgesagt, dass die Anbetung des einen und wahren Gottes allerorten *auf Erden verbreitet sei. Das lässt sich nur so erklären, dass der Verfasser den Monotheismus in den heidnischen Religionen anerkennt. Es war die Zeit, wo bei Phöniziern, Samariern und Juden gleichmässig die Bezeichnung 'der höchste Gott' aufkam. Merkwürdig nimmt sich diese Weitherzigkeit hier aus, neben der Befriedigung darüber, dass Jahve den Juden zu Gefallen die Edomiter zu Grunde gerichtet habe. Aber so widerspruchsvoll war das Judenthum, in Folge seiner geschichtlichen Belastung.*

Of other Messianic passages in the prophets which I have not quoted, one in the small Book of Zephaniah contains the fine verse:

Then will I turn to the peoples a pure lip, that they may all call upon the name of the Lord, to serve him with one consent.

And the Book of Micah closes with the well-known verses, of uncertain date.

Who is a God like unto thee, that pardoneth iniquity and passeth by the transgression of the remnants of his heritage? He retaineth not his anger for ever, because he delighteth in mercy. He will again have compassion upon us; he will subdue our iniquities; and thou wilt cast all our sins into the depths of the sea. Thou wilt shew faithfulness to Jacob, and lovingkindness to Abraham, as thou hast sworn unto our fathers from the days of old.

The tender beauty of this promise is equalled by a single verse in the last chapter of the Book of Isaiah.

As one whom his mother comforteth, so will I comfort you; and ye shall be comforted in Jerusalem.

Lastly, let me quote a famous verse in the 'Messianic' description of a very late writer, whose writings are now appended to the Book of Zechariah. He is not a writer with whom elsewhere we have much sympathy. His hope is usually too narrow; there is too much of national hates and local aspirations mixed up with his religious zeal to satisfy us to-day, when religion has become dissociated from race. Yet one famous verse we can still use for the expression of our own hope—the hope that the pure worship of the one God may ultimately prevail throughout the world.

And the Lord shall be king over all the earth; in that day the Lord shall be One and his name One.

SECTION III

RELIGIOUS TALES

CHAPTER I

THE BOOK OF ESTHER

§ 1. *Esther and Jonah.*—The third section of this volume will be far shorter than the first or second. It will only include two short books in strange and striking contrast to each other.

Both are tales; and both are tales with a purpose, but the purpose of the one is very different from that of the other. The moral and religious worth of the second is vastly superior to that of the first. Just at that very point where, as we have often seen, the religion of the Jews was apt to be most deficient, the first of our two 'booklets' fails most strikingly; it is a conspicuous illustration of that weakness and deficiency. On the other hand, it is also at that very point where the excellence of the second shines forth most brightly. Hence the two may profitably be studied together as a lesson and a contrast.

I, then, group them together, but in the actual Hebrew Bible they are placed in two wholly separate divisions. Moreover, their respective settings and frameworks are very different. The first (the Book of Esther) would claim to be a record of an historical event, the story of a great deliverance which befell the Jews in the days of Xerxes. The second (the Book of Jonah) is the story of a sentence of doom and of its subsequent withdrawal. But neither tale is historical; both are probably in almost every point entirely fictitious. The second, at any rate, was never even intended to be taken historically; it is merely a religious lesson or sermon dressed up in an historical and prophetic guise: the dress enabled it to succeed the better, and ultimately gave it a place in the canon among the prophets, to rank with whom its original author would have made no claim. As to the first of our two

booklets, it was written in order to explain the origin of a certain popular festival, perhaps to give it (in the eyes of the writer) a more worthy historical setting than it had hitherto received. How far the author may have used current stories for the basis of his story, or how far it is of his own weaving, it is impossible to say.

The dates of our two stories are also totally unknown, but it is probable that the one which I put first was *written* second. Many scholars think it the latest book in the Bible, an illustration of the fact that the latest thing is not always the best thing. The second tale may perhaps belong to the age of Nehemiah, but it may also be considerably later.

§ 2. *The Book of Esther and its critics.*—Our first story is the Book of Esther, and the festival of which it tells the origin is called Purim. Among the thousands and thousands of Jews who have celebrated and still celebrate that festival, it is likely that very few have paid or pay any heed to the moral and religious worth of the book on which the festival now depends. The festival is celebrated in all innocence and simplicity. But when we come to examine, to weigh and to test, then, just as the great and noble things of the Bible grow greater and nobler still, so the human weaknesses inherent in every human work become also clearly revealed. In the case of the Bible, as well as in the case of every other book, our duty is to do homage to the God of truth and of goodness. We must 'nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice.' As regards the Book of Esther, both errors have been committed. On the one hand, its religious and moral deficiencies have been ignored or explained away; on the other, they have been exaggerated and falsely labelled. Just because of these very deficiencies it has been called by enemies of the Jews and of the Jewish religion the most specifically Jewish book of the Hebrew Bible, and it is still so called to this day. But this is both inaccurate and unjust.

The excellences of Judaism are in a far higher degree characteristic of it than its defects. At any rate it is monstrous to single out the defects, and to say that in these, and only in these, lie the characteristics of our faith. Suppose a person with certain peculiar excellences and certain peculiar faults. How shamefully unfair it would be to call his faults his characteristics, and to ignore his virtues! Let us further assume that on one particular day his peculiar faults resulted in some specially objectionable deed. How grossly unjust it would be to say that that particular day was the most characteristic day of his life! Yet this is precisely what some non-Jewish critics do as regards Judaism and

the Book of Esther. It is all the more shamefully unfair, inasmuch as, in spite of the continued observance of the festival of Purim, the religious errors and deficiencies which characterize the Book of Esther have in modern Judaism been entirely overcome.

§ 3. *Nation and religion co-extensive with each other.*—The particular weakness to which allusion has been made is the attitude of the old Jewish religion to those outside its pale. Religion and nation coincided; a most unfortunate coincidence. National hates were augmented by religious differences; national oppression produced religious intolerance. Instead of the desire becoming general that the religion of Israel should be the religion of all, so that religiously there should be no difference between him who was by race a Jew and him who was not, there were many periods of Jewish history in which the main desire was that the enemies of Israel should be destroyed. Pity and compassion were the accredited attributes of God in his relation to Israel, anger and severity in his relation to the world beyond. For the enemies of the nation were the enemies of the nation's religion, and the enemies of the religion were necessarily the enemies of God. Now for a nation to have enemies may be unavoidable, but it is an awful perversion of religion to think that God has enemies as well. It is bad enough for men to hate their enemies; it is far worse to think that God hates them too.

But it has to be remembered that these national and religious hatreds were caused and fostered from without. It is exceedingly probable that the hatred and the cruelty which are so conspicuous in the Book of Esther were the direct issue of the intolerable persecutions under Antiochus Epiphanes, of which we have yet to hear. And another thing has to be remembered too. God suffers good and evil to be strangely mingled together. This religious hatred was the sad and terrible defect of a wonderful religious fidelity—a fidelity which won triumphs the most noble and sublime over the most varied and refined cruelties that centuries of vile intolerance and relentless persecution could possibly devise and inflict. In Western Europe active persecution has largely ceased. Would that the same could be said of hatred and intolerance. But Judaism has risen superior to its environment. It has divested and rid itself of any national narrowness, or of any irreligious belief in the moral partiality of God. That is good. But let us look to it that with the defect we do not also cast away the quality. Let us look to it that the fidelity remains—unchilled, uninjured. Can we not keep the gold if the dross be purged away? To love God warmly and abidingly,

must we have enemies to hate? Is it only the vices of our neighbours that can make us faithful to our religion?

§ 4. *The plot of Esther.*—Returning now to the Book of Esther, we find that it tells how, during the reign of King Ahasuerus (the Hebrew consonants and other reasons make it probable that Ahasuerus = Xerxes), an attempted plot to massacre all the Jews in the king's dominions was defeated by the counter-device of the king's Jewish queen and her uncle, and how the Jews, instead of being themselves slain, slew many thousands of their foes. Xerxes reigned from 486 to 465 B.C., so the date of the story would be some thirty or twenty years before the journey of Ezra. But, as we shall see, the tale is a tissue of improbabilities from start to finish. Its great object is to glorify the Jews, and to that object historical probability is freely sacrificed. But making allowance for these exaggerations, the tale is compiled with skill and power, and gives a graphic picture of the court of an oriental 'Grande Monarque.' The sumptuous, long drawn-out festivities, the irascible despot and his fawning courtiers, the inevitable favourite and his precarious tenure of favour, the elaborate system of ministering to the royal pleasures, are all depicted with a dramatic force that places the Book of Esther in the front rank of well-told romances.

§ 5. *How Esther becomes Queen.*—There is one strange omission in the book which has always secured the attention of every reader. The name of God is never mentioned. The cause of this omission is unknown. Many explanations have been given, but all are equally forced and unnatural. That the writer was a strong believer in God and his providential rule is obvious. He probably had some special motive in avoiding all reference to the Deity and to prayer, but what that motive may have been, no man can now discover. We may now listen to the first portion of the story.

Now it came to pass in the days of Ahasuerus, (this is Ahasuerus who reigned, from India even unto Ethiopia, over an hundred and seven and twenty provinces,) that in those days, when the king Ahasuerus sat on his royal throne in Shushan the fortress, in the third year of his reign, he made a feast unto all his princes and his servants; the officers of the army of Persia and Media, the nobles and princes of the provinces, being before him: when he shewed the riches of his glorious kingdom and the excellent

honour of his greatness many days, even an hundred and fourscore days. And when these days were expired, the king made a feast unto all the people that were present in Shushan the fortress, both unto great and small, seven days, in the court of the garden of the king's palace; where were hangings of white and blue cotton, fastened with cords of fine linen and purple to silver rings and pillars of marble: couches of gold and silver, upon a pavement of alabaster and white and black marble. And they gave them drink in vessels of gold, (the vessels being diverse one from another,) and royal wine in abundance, as befits the king. And the drinking was according to the law that none should compel: for so the king had appointed to all the officers of his house, that each man should do according to his pleasure.

Also Vashti the queen made a feast for the women in the royal house which belonged to king Ahasuerus. On the seventh day, when the heart of the king was merry with wine, he commanded Mehuman, Biztha, Harbona, Bigtha, and Abagtha, Zethar, and Carcas, the seven chamberlains that served in the presence of Ahasuerus the king, to bring Vashti the queen before the king with the crown royal, to shew the people and the princes her beauty: for she was fair to look on. But the queen Vashti refused to come at the king's commandment by his chamberlains: therefore was the king very wroth, and his anger burned in him.

Then the king said to the wise men, who knew the times, (for so is every word of the king laid before all that know law and judgement: and the next unto him were Carshena, Shethar, Admatha, Tarshish, Meres, Marsena, and Memucan, the seven princes of Persia and Media, who saw the king's face, and sat the first in the kingdom): 'What shall we do unto the queen Vashti according to law, because she hath not performed the commandment of the king Ahasuerus by the chamberlains?' And Memucan answered before the king and the princes, 'Vashti the queen hath not done wrong to the king only, but also to all the princes, and to all the peoples that are in all the provinces of the king Ahasuerus. For this deed of the queen shall come abroad unto all women, so that they shall despise their husbands in their eyes, when it shall be reported, The king Ahasuerus com-

manded Vashti the queen to be brought in before him, but she came not. Likewise shall the princesses of Persia and Media, who have heard of the queen's matter, tell it this day unto all the king's princes, and there will be contempt and vexation in abundance. If it please the king, let there go a royal commandment from him, and let it be written among the laws of the Persians and the Medes, that it be not altered, That Vashti come no more before king Ahasuerus; and let the king give her royal estate unto another that is better than she. And when the king's decree which he shall make shall be published throughout all his empire, (for it is great,) all the wives shall give to their husbands honour, from the greatest unto the least.' And the saying pleased the king and the princes; and the king did according to the word of Memucan: for he sent letters into all the king's provinces, into every province according to the writing thereof, and to every people after their language, that every man should bear rule in his own house, and . . . . . .

After these things, when the wrath of king Ahasuerus was appeased, he remembered Vashti, and what she had done, and what was decreed against her. Then said the king's servants that ministered unto him, 'Let there be fair young virgins sought for the king: and let the king appoint officers in all the provinces of his kingdom, that they may gather together all the fair young virgins unto Shushan the fortress, to the house of the women, unto the custody of Hegai the king's chamberlain, keeper of the women; and let their things for purification be given them: and let the maiden which pleaseth the king be queen instead of Vashti.' And the thing pleased the king; and he did so.

Now in Shushan the fortress there was a certain Jew, whose name was Mordecai, the son of Jair, the son of Shimei, the son of Kish, a Benjamite; who had been carried away from Jerusalem with the captivity which had been carried away with Jeconiah king of Judah, whom Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon had carried away. And he brought up Hadassah, that is, Esther, his uncle's daughter: for she had neither father nor mother. And the maid was fair and beautiful, and Mordecai, when her father and mother were dead, took her for his own daughter.

And it came to pass, when the king's commandment and

his decree was proclaimed, and when many maidens were gathered together unto Shushan the fortress, to the custody of Hegai, that Esther was brought also unto the king's house, to the custody of Hegai, keeper of the women. And the maiden pleased him, and she obtained kindness of him; and he speedily gave her her things for purification and her proper food, and the seven maidens who were meet to be given her out of the king's house: and he lodged her and her maids in the best rooms of the house of the women. Esther had not told her people nor her kindred: for Mordecai had charged her that she should not tell it. And Mordecai walked every day before the court of the women's house, to know how Esther did, and what should become of her.

Now when every maid's turn was come to go in to king Ahasuerus, after that she had been prepared twelve months according to the custom, (for so were the days of their purification accomplished, to wit, six months with oil of myrrh, and six months with sweet odours, and with other things for the purifying of the women;) when every maiden came thus unto the king, whatsoever she desired was given her to go with her out of the house of the women unto the king's house. In the evening she went, and on the morrow she returned into the second house of the women, to the custody of Shaashgaz, the king's chamberlain: she came unto the king no more, except the king delighted in her, and that she were called by name.

Now when the turn of Esther, the daughter of Abihail the uncle of Mordecai, who had taken her for his daughter, was come to go unto the king, she required nothing but what Hegai the king's chamberlain, the keeper of the women, appointed. And Esther obtained favour in the sight of all them that looked upon her. So Esther was taken unto king Ahasuerus into his house royal in the tenth month, which is the month Tebeth, in the seventh year of his reign. And the king loved Esther above all the women, and she obtained grace and favour in his sight more than all the virgins; so that he set the royal crown upon her head, and made her queen instead of Vashti. Then the king made a great feast unto all his princes and his servants, even Esther's feast; and he granted a holiday (?) to the provinces, and gave gifts, according to the state of the king.

And Esther did not tell her kindred nor her people, even as Mordecai had bidden her: for Esther did the commandment of Mordecai, like as when she was brought up with him.

And in those days, while Mordecai sat in the king's gate, two of the king's chamberlains, Bigthan and Teresh, of those who kept the door, were wroth, and sought to lay hand on the king Ahasuerus. And the thing became known to Mordecai, who told it unto Esther the queen; and Esther certified the king thereof in Mordecai's name. And when inquisition was made of the matter, it was found out; therefore they were both hanged on a tree: and it was written in the book of the chronicles before the king.

It is hardly necessary to point out that we are reading romance, not history. Would the king have taken a wife whose antecedents and race remained unknown? Moreover, she is taken from Mordecai's house, who is known to be a Jew, and Mordecai sends messages to her freely, and yet nobody knows that Esther is a Jewess! Mordecai saves the king's life, but even this passes unnoticed and unrewarded! The motive for this somewhat clumsily introduced incident we shall see hereafter. History knows nothing of any queen called Esther or Vashti. The true name of Xerxes' queen was Amestris.

§ 6. *The craft of Haman.*—After these things did king Ahasuerus promote Haman the son of Hammedatha the Agagite, and advanced him, and set his seat above all the princes that were with him. And all the king's servants, that were in the king's gate, bent the knee, and did reverence unto Haman: for the king had so commanded concerning him. But Mordecai bent not the knee, nor did him reverence. Then the king's servants, who were in the king's gate, said unto Mordecai, 'Why transgressest thou the king's commandment?' Now it came to pass, when they spake daily unto him, and he hearkened not unto them, that they told Haman, to see whether Mordecai's explanation would stand: for he had told them that he was a Jew. And when Haman saw that Mordecai bent not the knee, nor did him reverence, then was Haman full of wrath. And he thought scorn to lay hands on Mordecai alone; for they had told him the people of Mordecai: wherefore Haman sought to destroy all the Jews that were throughout the whole kingdom of Ahasuerus,

even the people of Mordecai. In the first month, that is, the month Nisan, in the twelfth year of king Ahasuerus, they cast the Pur, that is, the lot, before Haman from day to day, and from month to month, and the lot fell on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, that is, the month Adar.

And Haman said unto king Ahasuerus, 'There is a certain people scattered abroad and dispersed among the peoples in all the provinces of thy kingdom; and their laws are diverse from all peoples; neither keep they the king's laws: therefore it is not meet for the king to suffer them. If it please the king, let it be written that they may be destroyed: and I will pay ten thousand talents of silver to the hands of those that have the charge of the business, to bring it into the king's treasuries.' Then the king took his ring from his hand, and gave it unto Haman the son of Hammedatha the Agagite, the Jews' enemy. And the king said unto Haman, 'The silver is given to thee, the people also, to do with them as it seemeth good to thee.'

Then were the king's scribes called on the thirteenth day of the first month, and there was written according to all that Haman had commanded unto the king's satraps, and to the governors that were over every province, and to the rulers of every people, to every province according to the writing thereof, and to every people after their language; in the name of king Ahasuerus was it written, and sealed with the king's ring. And the letters were sent by posts into all the king's provinces, to destroy, to kill, and to cause to perish, all Jews, both young and old, little children and women, in one day, even upon the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which is the month Adar, and to take the spoil of them for a prey. The wording of the decree was to the effect that a law should be published in every province, that it might be known unto all peoples, that they should be ready against that day. The posts went out in haste at the king's commandment, and the decree was given in Shushan the fortress. And the king and Haman sat down to drink; but the city of Shushan was astounded.

Haman is made an Agagite, as if he were the descendant of Agag, the king of the Amalekite, the old enemies of the Jews. His very name is therefore typical. Mordecai refuses to do Haman reverence, because there was a religious element involved. The high official was in this respect given royal honour, and the

obeisance to the king, as Artabanus explains to Themistocles, partook of the nature of religious worship. And because Mordecai refuses reverence *qud* Jew, and not from mere personal irritation, it was fitting that his whole people should be destroyed with him. The incident of Haman's casting the lots is in itself exceedingly improbable. Moreover, this subordinate episode could hardly have given its name to the festival. Lastly, the word Pur in Persian does not mean 'lot.' Professor Jensen thinks that *Pur* is of Babylonian origin. *Puru* or *buru* means *stone* in Assyrian, and the Hebrew *goral* (lot), like the Greek *psêphos*, had the same etymological meaning.

Haman does not definitely state to the king that the people with the peculiar laws are the Jews. But in any case the royal decree is very incredible. As Professor Kuenen rightly says: 'Is it conceivable that even a tyrant like Xerxes would immediately have given his consent to the destruction of a whole people, and that the decree of massacre should not have been dispatched privately to the governors, but made known publicly to all and sundry?' Judaea itself is of course included in the 'provinces' of the Persian empire.

§ 7. *Mordecai's appeal to Esther.*—When Mordecai perceived all that was done, Mordecai rent his clothes, and put on sackcloth with ashes, and went out into the midst of the city, and cried with a loud and a bitter cry, and came even before the king's gate: for none might enter into the king's gate clothed with sackcloth. And in every province, whithersoever the king's commandment and his decree came, there was great mourning among the Jews, and fasting, and weeping, and wailing; and the most of them lay in sackcloth and ashes.

So Esther's maids and her chamberlains came and told it her. Then was the queen exceedingly grieved; and she sent raiment to clothe Mordecai, and to take away his sackcloth from him: but he received it not. Then called Esther for Hatach, one of the king's chamberlains, whom he had appointed to attend upon her, and bade him inquire of Mordecai, to know what it was, and why it was. So Hatach went forth to Mordecai unto the broad place of the city, which was before the king's gate. And Mordecai told him of all that had happened unto him, and of the sum of money that Haman had promised to pay to the king's treasuries for the Jews, to destroy them. Also he gave

him the copy of the writing of the decree that was given at Shushan to destroy them, to shew it unto Esther, and to declare it unto her, and to charge her that she should go in unto the king, to make supplication unto him, and to make request before him for her people. And Hatach came and told Esther the words of Mordecai.

Then Esther spake again unto Hatach, and bade him say unto Mordecai as follows: 'All the king's servants, and the peoples of the king's provinces, do know, that whosoever, whether man or woman, shall come unto the king into the inner court, who is not called, there is but one law for such, that they be put to death, except those to whom the king shall hold out the golden sceptre, that they may live. And I have not been called to come in unto the king these thirty days.' And they told to Mordecai Esther's words. Then Mordecai bade answer Esther, 'Think not with thyself that thou alone shalt escape of all the Jews because thou art in the king's house. For if thou altogether holdest thy peace at this time, then shall enlargement and deliverance arise to the Jews from another place; but thou and thy father's house shall be destroyed: and who knoweth whether thou hast not come to the kingdom for such a time as this?'

Then Esther bade them return Mordecai this answer, 'Go, gather all the Jews that are present in Shushan, and fast ye for me, and neither eat nor drink three days, night or day: I also and my maidens will fast likewise; and so will I go in unto the king, although it be not according to the law: and if I perish, I perish.' Then Mordecai went his way, and did according to all that Esther had bidden him

Esther learns of Mordecai's mourning, but is strangely ignorant of its cause. And yet the decree is in everybody's mouth.

Mordecai's final argument to Esther shows the religious intent of the writer. 'From another place' probably means 'from heaven,' and Mordecai wishes Esther to believe that her election as queen may have been providentially determined by God in order that she might save her people.

Esther's resolution shows true courage and heroism. The words 'If I perish, I perish' are justly famous. They are at once strong and pathetic. Esther realizes that she has not become a queen for her own mere personal glory, but for the sake of her people. Whatever fault we may have to find in her subsequent

conduct, her bold sinking of self in the cause of her nation is wholly admirable.

§ 8. *Mordecai and the King.*—Now it came to pass on the third day, that Esther put on her royal apparel, and stood in the inner court of the king's house, over against the king's house: and the king sat upon his royal throne in the royal house, over against the gate of the house. And it was so, when the king saw Esther the queen standing in the court, that she obtained favour in his sight: and the king held out to Esther the golden sceptre that was in his hand. So Esther drew near, and touched the top of the sceptre. Then said the king unto her, 'What wilt thou, queen Esther? and what is thy request? it shall be given thee even to the half of the kingdom.' And Esther answered, 'If it seem good unto the king, let the king and Haman come this day unto the banquet that I have prepared for him.' Then the king said, 'Cause Haman to make haste, that he may do as Esther hath said.' So the king and Haman came to the banquet that Esther had prepared.

And the king said unto Esther at the banquet of wine, 'What is thy petition? and it shall be granted thee: and what is thy request? even to the half of the kingdom it shall be performed.' Then answered Esther, and said, 'My petition and my request is: if I have found favour in the sight of the king, and if it please the king to grant my petition, and to perform my request, let the king and Haman come to the banquet that I shall prepare for them, and I will do to morrow as the king hath said.'

Then went Haman forth that day joyful and with a glad heart. But when Haman saw Mordecai in the king's gate, that he stood not up, nor moved for him, he was full of indignation against Mordecai. Nevertheless Haman refrained himself: and when he came home, he sent and called for his friends, and Zeresh his wife. And Haman told them of the glory of his riches, and the multitude of his children, and all the things wherein the king had promoted him, and how he had advanced him above the princes and servants of the king. Haman said moreover, 'Yea, Esther the queen did let no man come with the king unto the banquet that she had prepared but myself; and to morrow also am

I invited by her with the king. Yet all this availeth me nothing, so long as I see Mordecai the Jew sitting at the king's gate.' Then said Zeresh his wife and all his friends unto him, 'Let a gallows be made of fifty cubits high, and to morrow speak thou unto the king that Mordecai may be hanged thereon: then go thou in merrily with the king unto the banquet.' And the thing pleased Haman; and he caused the gallows to be made.

XI On that night could not the king sleep, and he commanded to bring the book of records of the chronicles; and they were read before the king. And it was found written, that Mordecai had told of Bigthana and Teresh, two of the king's chamberlains, the keepers of the door, who sought to lay hand on the king Ahasuerus. And the king said, 'What honour and dignity hath been done to Mordecai for this?' Then said the king's servants that ministered unto him, 'There is nothing done for him.'

And the king said, 'Who is in the court?' Now Haman was come into the outer court of the king's house, to speak unto the king to hang Mordecai on the gallows that he had prepared for him. And the king's servants said unto him, 'Behold, Haman standeth in the court.' And the king said, 'Let him come in.' So Haman came in. And the king said unto him, 'What shall be done unto the man whom the king desireth to honour?' Now Haman thought in his heart, Whom would the king desire to honour more than myself? And Haman answered the king, 'For the man whom the king desireth to honour, let the royal apparel be brought which the king useth to wear, and the horse that the king rideth upon, and upon the head of which a royal crown is set: and let this apparel and horse be delivered to the hand of one of the king's most noble princes, that they may array the man withal whom the king delighteth to honour, and bring him on horseback through the public place of the city, and proclaim before him, Thus is it done to the man whom the king desireth to honour.' Then the king said to Haman, 'Make haste, and take the apparel and the horse, as thou hast said, and do even so to Mordecai the Jew, that sitteth at the king's gate: let nothing fail of all that thou hast spoken.' Then took Haman the apparel and the horse, and arrayed Mordecai, and brought him on horseback through the public place of the city, and proclaimed before him,

'Thus is it done unto the man whom the king desireth to honour.'

And Mordecai came again to the king's gate. But Haman hasted to his house mourning, and having his head covered. And Haman told Zeresh his wife and all his friends every thing that had befallen him. Then said his wise men and Zeresh his wife unto him, 'If Mordecai, before whom thou hast begun to fall, be of the seed of the Jews, thou shalt not prevail against him, but shalt surely fall before him.' And while they were yet talking with him, came the king's chamberlains, and hasted to bring Haman unto the banquet that Esther had prepared.

Haman, like the king, is strangely ignorant of Esther's ancestry. Everybody about the court knows of her acquaintance with Mordecai; the Jews of the city fast at her order; but Haman and his friends are wholly in the dark! Xerxes has just sanctioned the extermination of the Jews, but he makes no allusion to this when he orders sudden and special honour to be given to Mordecai, whom he himself names 'Mordecai the Jew'! How inapposite also is the saying of Haman's friends: 'If Mordecai be a Jew.' All the world knew that he was.

VII

§ 9. *The deliverance of the Jews.*—So the king and Haman came to banquet with Esther the queen. And the king said again unto Esther on the second day at the banquet of wine, 'What is thy petition, queen Esther? and it shall be granted thee: and what is thy request? and it shall be performed, even to the half of the kingdom.' Then Esther the queen answered and said, 'If I have found favour in thy sight, O king, and if it please the king, let my life be given me through my petition, and my people through my request: for we are sold, I and my people, to be destroyed, to be slain, and to perish.'

Then the king Ahasuerus answered and said unto Esther the queen, 'Who is he, and where is he, that durst presume in his heart to do so?' And Esther said, 'The adversary and enemy is this wicked Haman.' Then Haman was afraid before the king and the queen.

And the king arising from the banquet of wine in his wrath went into the palace garden: and Haman stood up to make request for his life to Esther the queen; for he saw that evil was surely determined against him by the king.

Then the king returned out of the palace garden into the place of the banquet of wine; and Haman was fallen upon the couch whereon Esther was. Then said the king, 'Will he do violence unto the queen before me in the house?' As the word went out of the king's mouth, they covered Haman's face. And Harbonah, one of the chamberlains, who stood before the king, said, 'Behold, the gallows fifty cubits high, which Haman hath made for Mordecai, who hath spoken good for the king, already standeth in the house of Haman.' Then the king said, 'Hang him thereon.' So they hanged Haman on the gallows that he had prepared for Mordecai. Then was the king's wrath pacified.

VIII. On that day did the king Ahasuerus give the house of Haman the Jews' enemy unto Esther the queen. And Mordecai came before the king; for Esther had told what he was unto her. And the king took off his ring, which he had taken from Haman, and gave it unto Mordecai. And Esther set Mordecai over the house of Haman.

And Esther spake yet again before the king, and fell down at his feet, and besought him with tears to cancel the mischief of Haman the Agagite, and his device that he had devised against the Jews. Then the king held out the golden sceptre toward Esther. So Esther arose, and stood before the king, and said, 'If it please the king, and if I have found favour in his sight, and the thing seem right before the king, and I be pleasing in his eyes, let it be written to reverse the letters devised by Haman the son of Hammedatha the Agagite, which he wrote to destroy the Jews who are in all the king's provinces: for how can I endure to see the evil that shall come unto my people? or how can I endure to see the destruction of my kindred?' Then the king Ahasuerus said unto Esther the queen and to Mordecai the Jew, 'Behold, I have given Esther the house of Haman, and him they have hanged upon the gallows, because he laid his hand upon the Jews. Write ye also as regards the Jews, as it liketh you, in the king's name, and seal it with the king's ring: for a writing which is written in the king's name, and sealed with the king's ring, may no man reverse.' Then were the king's scribes called at that time in the third month, that is, the month Sivan, on the three and twentieth day thereof; and it was written according to all that Mordecai commanded unto the

Jews, and to the satraps, and the governors and rulers of the provinces which are from India unto Ethiopia, an hundred twenty and seven provinces, unto every province according to the writing thereof, and unto every people after their language, and to the Jews according to their writing and according to their language. And he wrote in the king Ahasuerus' name, and sealed it with the king's ring, and sent letters by posts on horseback, and riders on the swift and royal steeds, wherein the king granted the Jews who were in every city to gather themselves together, and to stand for their life, to destroy, to slay, and to cause to perish, all the forces of the people and province that would assault them, both little ones and women, and to take the spoil of them for a prey, upon one day in all the provinces of king Ahasuerus, namely, upon the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which is the month Adar. The wording of the decree was to the effect that it should be published as a law that it might be known unto all the peoples, and that the Jews should be ready against that day to avenge themselves on their enemies. So the posts that rode upon the swift and royal steeds went out in hot haste, at the king's commandment. And the decree was given at Shushan the fortress.

And Mordecai went out from the presence of the king in royal apparel of blue and white, and with a great crown of gold, and with a mantle of fine linen and purple; and the city of Shushan rejoiced and was glad. The Jews had light and gladness and joy and honour. And in every province and in every city, whithersoever the king's commandment and his decree came, the Jews had joy and gladness, a feast and holiday. And many of the people of the land became Jews; for the fear of the Jews fell upon them.

IX Now in the twelfth month, that is, the month Adar, on the thirteenth day of the same, when the king's commandment and his decree drew near to be put in execution, on the day that the enemies of the Jews hoped to have power over them, (though it was turned to the contrary, that the Jews had rule over them that hated them;) the Jews gathered themselves together in their cities throughout all the provinces of the king Ahasuerus, to lay hand on such as sought their hurt: and no man could withstand them;

for the fear of them fell upon all peoples. And all the rulers of the provinces, and the satraps and the governors and officers of the king, helped the Jews; because the fear of Mordecai had fallen upon them. For Mordecai was great in the king's house, and his fame went out throughout all the provinces: for this man Mordecai waxed greater and greater. Thus the Jews smote all their enemies with the stroke of the sword and slaughter and destruction, and did what they would unto those that hated them. And in Shushan the fortress the Jews slew and destroyed five hundred men. And Parshandatha, and Dalphon, and Aspatha, and Poratha, and Adalia, and Aridatha, and Parmashta, and Arisai, and Aridai, and Vajezatha, the ten sons of Haman the son of Hammedatha, the enemy of the Jews, slew they; but on the spoil laid they not their hand.

On that day the number of those that were slain in Shushan the fortress was brought before the king. And the king said unto Esther the queen, 'The Jews have slain and destroyed five hundred men in Shushan the fortress, and the ten sons of Haman; and what may they not have done in the rest of the king's provinces! yet what is thy petition? and it shall be granted thee: or what is thy request further? and it shall be done.' Then said Esther, 'If it please the king, let it be granted to the Jews who are in Shushan to do to morrow also according unto this day's decree, and let Haman's ten sons be hanged upon the gallows.' And the king commanded it so to be done: and the decree was given at Shushan; and they hanged Haman's ten sons. And the Jews that were in Shushan gathered themselves together on the fourteenth day also of the month Adar, and slew three hundred men at Shushan; but on the prey they laid not their hand.

And the other Jews that were in the king's provinces gathered themselves also together, and stood for their lives, and slew of their foes seventy and five thousand, but they laid not their hands on the prey, on the thirteenth day of the month Adar; and on the fourteenth day of the same rested they, and made it a day of feasting and gladness. But the Jews that were at Shushan had gathered themselves together both on the thirteenth day thereof and on the fourteenth thereof; so they rested on the fifteenth day, and made it a day of feasting and gladness. But the Jews of

the villages, that dwelt in the unwalled towns, made the fourteenth day of the month Adar a day of gladness and feasting, and of holiday, and of sending portions one to another.

And Mordecai wrote these things down, and he sent letters unto all the Jews that were in all the provinces of the king Ahasuerus, both nigh and far, to establish this among them, that they should keep the fourteenth day of the month Adar, and the fifteenth day of the same, yearly, (according to the days wherein the Jews rested from their enemies, and according to the month which was turned unto them from sorrow to joy, and from mourning into a good day,) that they should make them days of feasting and joy, and of sending portions one to another, and gifts to the poor. And the Jews made that which they had begun to do, and what Mordecai had written unto them, a standing ordinance.

For Haman the son of Hammedátha, the Agagite, the enemy of all the Jews, had plotted against the Jews to destroy them, and had cast the Pur, that is, the lot, to discomfit them and to destroy them; but when Esther came before the king, he commanded by letters that his wicked device, which he devised against the Jews, should return upon his own head, and they hanged him and his sons on the gallows. Wherefore they called these days Purim after the name of Pur.

And therefore for all the words of this letter, and for that which they had seen themselves concerning this matter, and which had come unto them, the Jews ordained, and took upon them, and upon their seed, and upon all such as joined themselves unto them, so as it should not fail, that they would keep these two days according to the letter about them, and according to their appointed time every year; and that these days should be remembered and kept throughout every generation, every family, every province, and every city; and that these days of Purim should not fail from among the Jews, nor the memorial of them perish from their seed.

Then Esther the queen, the daughter of Abihail, and Mordecai the Jew, wrote again with all authority, to establish as an ordinance a second letter about Purim. And he sent letters unto all the Jews, to the hundred twenty and seven

provinces of the kingdom of Ahasuerus, with words of peace and truth, to establish these days of Purim in their times appointed, according as Mordecai the Jew and Esther the queen had enjoined them, and as they had established for themselves and for their seed in respect to the fastings and their lamentation. And the decree of Esther established these matters of Purim; and it was written in a book.

And the king Ahasuerus laid a tribute upon the land, and upon the coasts of the sea. And all the acts of his power and of his might, and the declaration of the greatness of Mordecai, whereunto the king advanced him, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Media and Persia? For Mordecai the Jew was next unto king Ahasuerus, and great among the Jews, and accepted of the multitude of his brethren, seeking the welfare of his people, and speaking peace to all his seed.

The second or counter-decree is no less incredible than the first. In fact it is very difficult to realize what the writer had on his mind. Apparently he wants to show that the tables were completely turned. All the Jews were to have been slaughtered on a single day, but by the intervention of heaven it was not the Jews but their enemies who fell by the sword. We can hardly dignify or extenuate the operations of the Jews by saying that they were done in self-defence. For we are told that all the officials helped the Jews, and that none durst withstand them. Moreover, the slain apparently included both women and children. There is no fighting, but just as there was to have been a massacre of unresisting Jews, so now there is a massacre of unresisting Gentiles. But in truth, as the slaughter is purely a paper one, we need not imagine the writer to have been so bloodthirsty as he seems at first sight. The more numerous the slain, and the more awe-struck the victims, the greater the glory for his people. A stroke of the pen did not hurt a single human being, and yet it was so tempting to increase the numbers! And possibly or even probably the author in compiling his book had a very definite scene before his mind. He was thinking of the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes, and he was dreaming of revenge. That might be the explanation of the fact that whereas it says that the Jews laid hands only 'on those who sought their hurt,' or 'on those that hated them,' no overt act of popular hostility against them had been mentioned at all. The former decree was purely due to Haman. And the city of Shushan was horrorstruck by its issue and rejoiced at its abrogation. Yet in Shushan alone 800 persons

fall by the sword. The worst feature of all is undoubtedly contributed by Esther herself, who, not content with one day's free licence for slaughter, actually begs of the king the gift of a second.

The last portion of the book seems in some disorder. Some scholars believe that the passage from 'And Mordecai wrote these things down' up to the conclusion of the penultimate paragraph is a later insertion. The 'second letter' constitutes a difficulty, with its vague allusions to 'lamentation and fasting.' At a later period the thirteenth day of Adar was turned into a fast, and called the Fast of Esther, while the Feast of Purim was kept on the fourteenth day of the month. Some very observant Jews keep this fast even at the present time, but it is gradually falling into desuetude, and even Purim itself is losing its hold. Men's eyes are opening to its lack of historic foundation and of religious worth.

The true origin of the festival, even as the true signification of its name, are still wrapped in much obscurity. It would appear most probable that Purim was originally a Persian or Babylonian festival, which was adopted by the Jews and ultimately provided with an historical basis and setting. The tale to which the festival was wedded rested perhaps on some semi-historical foundation. There may have been some palace plot against the Jews, which was discovered and defeated by a Jewish inmate of the royal harem. Further than this it is impossible to go. There is no trace of the festival being observed or of the Esther story being known till more than three hundred years after the death of Xerxes. For a pseudo- or quasi-historical setting being given to an already existing festival there are many parallels in the history of religion. The story provided by the new literary setting is soon believed to have been the veritable cause and origin of the festival, while its original meaning is utterly forgotten.

§ 10. *The moral and religious value of Esther.*—Having now heard the Book of Esther from beginning to end, what should be our final verdict upon its worth?

It must, I think, be allowed that if a book is rightly called inspired or divine, not because it happens to be included within a particular collection of books, but mainly because it contains great, true and original thoughts or teachings about goodness and God, then the Book of Esther can make little claim to either adjective. I do not say this because of its mere omission to mention the name of God or any religious act. The writer may have had good grounds for this omission with which we are unacquainted, and the whole tenor of his story shows that he believed in the

overruling providence of God. But the true reasons why we cannot regard the Book of Esther as divine or inspired are, first, because of its spirit of cruelty and of revenge, so that it is not too strong to say with Dr. Adeney that 'its last pages reek with blood'; and, secondly, because there is little compensation for this grave defect in any grandeur or beauty of teaching elsewhere. Dr. Adeney, who shows great impartiality in discussing the moral and religious value of the book, bids us remember that if 'the Jews indulged in a wholesale bloodshed, not even sparing women and children, exactly the same doom had been hanging over their own heads, and their own wives and daughters had been included in its ferocious sentence.' We may also note that the Jewish revenge was not sordid. 'On the spoil they laid not their hand.' But though these reflections may supply some partial excuse, such 'savage retaliation,' as Dr. Adeney elsewhere calls it, shows no elements of divinity or inspiration. And a writer who tells or invents conduct of such a kind with obvious satisfaction has little claim to be regarded as an ethical teacher of mankind. Nor is it possible for us to be content to regard any book of the Bible as a mere romance. We are bound to consider it in the light of ethics and of religion.

Taking all these things into consideration, I am inclined to say that if the Bible had not included the Book of Esther, it would have rather gained than lost in religious value and moral worth. It may be asked, Why, then, have I included it in my own Bible for Home Reading? My reply is that the book is too well known, and the festival of Purim is still too widely celebrated, for such an omission. I have given it in its entirety, and if I have been too severe in my criticisms, the reader has the same material as I for forming a better judgement.

§ 11. *The festival of Purim.*—One further question remains. We have heard and criticized the book: what about the festival which depends on it?

Let us note that Dr. Adeney is again in the right when he says that 'the Book of Esther was valued on national rather than on religious grounds. The feast of Purim was a social and national occasion of rejoicing, not a solemn religious ceremony like the Passover. . . . Esther is mainly patriotic rather than religious; its purpose is to stir the soul of national enthusiasm through the long ages of the oppression of Israel.'

The festival may thus have had its value and its justification. I again quote Dr. Adeney: 'The worthiness of the festival will vary according to the ideas and feelings that are encouraged in connexion with it. When it has been used as an opportunity

for cultivating pride of race, hatred, contempt, and gleeful vengeance over humiliated foes, its effect must have been injurious and degrading. When, however, it has been celebrated in the midst of grievous oppressions, though it has embittered the spirit of animosity towards the oppressor, it has been of real service in cheering a cruelly afflicted people. Even when it has been carried through with no seriousness of intention, merely as a holiday devoted to music, and dancing, and games, and all sorts of merrymaking, its social effect in bringing a gleam of light into lives that were as a rule dismally sordid may have been decidedly healthy.'

On the other hand, in lands of liberty the observance of Purim may justifiably be neglected.

For, first, modern Judaism does not and should not desire to celebrate any exclusively national festival. We Jews are a religious community and not a nation, and our greatest religious institutions—the Sabbath and the Day of Atonement—are precisely those which are fitted for men of every race to observe. Secondly, there is no need of Purim in order to celebrate a festival of liberty and of emancipation. For these ideas are pre-eminently associated with the Passover, which supplies us with all, and more than all, that Purim, even if it were historical, can possibly offer. Thirdly, there is no good reason for keeping up the observance of a narrow and national festival which rests on what is in all probability a wholly unhistorical foundation. Fourthly, directly our eyes are opened to the moral and religious defects of the Book of Esther, it becomes increasingly difficult to maintain the festival. For religious and moral difficulties are then superadded to the three other objections already mentioned.

§ 12. *Purim and charity.*—There is, however, one feature connected with the observance of Purim which it is a real pity to forgo. I refer to the practical charity which has always been associated with it. It is a day, according to the words of the story, 'for sending portions one to another, and gifts to the poor.' The Rabbinic law declared these 'gifts' to be a necessary and integral portion of the festival's right observance. As codified by the great philosopher Maimonides, the law runs thus: 'Everybody must send two portions of meat or of vegetables, or of other kinds of food, to a neighbour, even as it is said, "sending portions one to the other, and gifts to the poor." And whoever increases the portion is praiseworthy. And if any have not enough to send, let two men exchange their dinners with each other, to fulfil the words, "sending portions one to the other." Moreover, one is bound on Purim to send gifts to the poor. One must not give to less than two, and to each must

be given a money gift together with portions of some kind of food; for it says, "gifts to the poor," i. e. not less than two persons and two gifts. Moreover, at Purim you must not closely inquire (into the applicants), but you must give to all who ask. It is better to increase one's gifts to the poor than one's own Purim banquet, or the portions to one's neighbours, for there is no greater or nobler joy than to rejoice the heart of the needy, the orphan, the widow, or the stranger, since they who make the heart of the mourner to rejoice resemble God, as it is said, I revive the spirit of the humble and the heart of the contrite.'

If any of us, for the reasons I have already given, neglect the observance of Purim, let us at any rate not neglect the charity connected with it. Let us make in this respect a Purim of Passover or of that festival of Chanukah, of which we shall presently hear. Most of those who now celebrate Purim celebrate it without an unkindly or uncharitable thought to any man. They celebrate it in simple gratitude to God for a great deliverance; they use it as an opportunity for welldoing.

If fuller knowledge and a more awakened and critical habit of mind make such pious and simple celebrations impossible, no knowledge need make our love of God less ardent, just as no criticism can prevent charity and benevolence being still the best service of God to which man can attain. Only if the free and spontaneous charity of those who neglect Purim equal and even excel the charity of those pure and pious souls who still observe it, may we regard the passing away of its observance without compunction or pang.

CHAPTER II

THE BOOK OF JONAH

§ 1. *Date and origin of the story of Jonah.*—We now turn with a certain feeling of relief from the story of Esther to the story of Jonah. I have already given an extract from the Book of Jonah in speaking about the Dây of Atonement.

The date of Jonah, as was mentioned in the previous chapter, is uncertain, but it may perhaps be roughly assigned to the 'age of Nehemiah.' It is a story or parable about a prophet, and therefore it has found a place in the collection of prophetical writings, but it was not meant by its author to be regarded either as history or as prophecy. In the Book of Kings there is a single allusion to a prophet called Jonah, who lived and prophesied in the reign of Jeroboam II of Israel. Our author adopted the name; but beyond the name the tale is all his own. There may have been stories about this prophet in existence akin to the story which our author tells. Or there may have been current strange tales of strange deliverances, which were adapted and adopted by the writer; but it is also possible that for the framework, as for the purpose of the story, he may be entirely responsible. The question is subsidiary and unimportant.

§ 2. *Outline of the plot.*—The outline of the tale can here be reproduced in Professor Driver's words. 'Jonah, commissioned to preach at Nineveh God's judgement against the great city, seeks to avoid the necessity of obeying the command, fearing that God might in the end be moved to have mercy upon the Ninevites, so that his predictions of judgement would be frustrated. Accordingly he takes ship at Joppa, with the view of escaping to Tartessus in Spain. A violent storm overtakes the ship; the sailors, deeming that one of those on board is the cause of it, cast lots to discover who it is; the lot falls upon Jonah, who consents to be cast into the sea. Thereupon the sea becomes calm. Jonah is swallowed by a

great fish, which, after three days, casts him forth, uninjured, upon the land. Again the prophet receives the commission to preach at Nineveh. This time he proceeds thither; but at his preaching the Ninevites repent, and God rescinds the decree which he had passed against them. Displeased at the seeming failure of his mission, Jonah sits down outside the city, and asks to be allowed to die; but a gourd quickly springing up and sheltering him from the sun, and as quickly dying and leaving him exposed to its rays, by exciting his sympathy, is made the means of justifying in his eyes God's merciful change of purpose with respect to Nineveh.'

Such is the story. Before we ask what is its meaning and moral, it will be best to listen to the words of it from the beginning to the end.

§ 3. *The tale of Jonah.*—Now the word of the Lord came unto Jonah the son of Amittai, saying, 'Arise, go to Nineveh, that great city, and cry against it; for their wickedness is come up before me.' But Jonah rose up to flee unto Tarshish away from the Lord, and went down to Joppa; and he found a ship going to Tarshish: so he paid the fare thereof, and went down into it, to go with them unto Tarshish away from the Lord.

But the Lord cast a great wind upon the sea, so that a mighty tempest arose on the sea, and the ship was like to be broken. Then the mariners were afraid, and cried every man unto his god, and cast forth the vessels that were in the ship into the sea, to win them ease. But Jonah was gone down into the lowest part of the ship; and he lay, and was fast asleep. So the shipmaster came to him, and said unto him, 'What meanest thou, O sleeper? arise, call upon thy God, if so be that God will think upon us, that we perish not.' And they said every one to his fellow, 'Come, and let us cast lots, that we may know for whose cause this evil is upon us.' So they cast lots, and the lot fell upon Jonah. Then said they unto him, 'Tell us, we pray thee, what is thine occupation? and whence comest thou? what is thy country? and of what people art thou?' And he said unto them, 'I am an Hebrew; and I fear the Lord, the God of heaven, who hath made the sea and the dry land.' Then were the men exceedingly afraid, and said unto him, 'What is this which thou hast done?' For the men knew that he had fled from before the Lord, because he had told them.

And they said unto him, 'What shall we do unto thee, that the sea may be calm unto us?' for the sea grew more and more tempestuous. And he said unto them, 'Take me up, and cast me forth into the sea; so shall the sea be calm unto you: for I know that for my sake this great tempest is upon you.' Nevertheless the men strove hard to bring the ship to the land; but they could not: for the sea grew more and more tempestuous against them. Wherefore they cried unto the Lord, and said, 'We beseech thee, O Lord, we beseech thee, let us not perish for this man's life, and lay not upon us innocent blood: for thou, O Lord, hast done as it pleased thee.' Then they took up Jonah, and cast him forth into the sea: and the sea ceased from her raging. But the men feared the Lord exceedingly, and offered a sacrifice unto the Lord, and made vows.

And the Lord appointed a great fish to swallow up Jonah. And Jonah was in the belly of the fish three days and three nights.

Then Jonah prayed unto the Lord his God out of the fish's belly, and he said,

'I cried by reason of mine affliction unto the Lord, and he heard me;
Out of the heart of Sheol cried I, and thou heardest my voice.
For thou didst cast me into the deep, in the midst of the seas; and the floods compassed me about:
All thy billows and thy waves passed over me.
Then I said, I am cast out of thy sight;
How shall I look again toward thy holy temple?
The waters compassed me about, even to the soul:
The depth closed me round about,
The weeds were wrapped about my head.
I went down to the foundations of the mountains;
The bars of the earth were about me for ever;
Yet thou hast brought up my life from the pit, O Lord my God.
When my soul despaired within me I remembered the Lord:
And my prayer came in unto thee, into thine holy temple.
They that observe lying vanities
Forsake their . . . (?)

But I will sacrifice unto thee with the voice of thanksgiving;
I will pay that that I have vowed.
Salvation is of the Lord.'

And the Lord spake unto the fish, and it vomited out Jonah upon the dry land.

And the word of the Lord came unto Jonah the second time, saying, 'Arise, go unto Nineveh, that great city, and preach against it the preaching that I bid thee.' So Jonah arose, and went unto Nineveh, according to the word of the Lord. Now Nineveh was a great city before God of three days' journey to pass through. And Jonah began to enter one day's journey into the city, and he cried, and said, 'Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown.' And the people of Nineveh believed God, and proclaimed a fast, and put on sackcloth, from the greatest of them even to the least of them. And the matter came unto the king of Nineveh, and he arose from his throne, and he laid his robe from him, and covered him with sackcloth, and sat in ashes. And he caused it to be proclaimed and published through Nineveh by the decree of the king and his nobles, saying, 'Let neither man nor beast, herd nor flock, taste any thing: let them not feed, nor drink water: but let man and beast be covered with sackcloth, and cry mightily unto God: yea, let them turn every one from his evil way, and from the violence that is in their hands. Who can tell if God will turn and repent, and turn away from his fierce anger, that we perish not?' And God saw their works, that they turned from their evil way; and God repented of the evil, that he had said that he would do unto them; and he did it not.

But it displeased Jonah exceedingly, and he was very angry. And he prayed unto the Lord, and said, 'I pray thee, O Lord, was not this my thought, when I was yet in my country? Therefore I hasted to flee unto Tarshish: for I knew that thou art a gracious God, and merciful, slow to anger, and of great lovingkindness, and repentest thee of the evil. Therefore now, O Lord, take, I beseech thee, my life from me; for it is better for me to die than to live.' Then said the Lord, 'Doest thou well to be angry?'

So Jonah went out of the city, and sat on the east side of the city, and there made him a booth, and sat under it, till he might see what would become of the city. And the

Lord God appointed a gourd to come up over Jonah, that it might be a shadow over his head, to save him from his pain. So Jonah was exceeding glad of the gourd. But God appointed a worm when the morning rose the next day, and it smote the gourd that it withered. And it came to pass, when the sun did arise, that God prepared a sultry east wind; and the sun beat upon the head of Jonah, that he fainted, and wished that he might die, and said, 'It is better for me to die than to live.'

And God said to Jonah, 'Doest thou well to be angry because of the gourd?' And he said, 'I do well to be angry, even unto death.' Then said the Lord, 'Thou hast pity on the gourd, for the which thou hast not laboured, neither madest it grow; which came up in a night, and perished in a night: and should not I have pity on Nineveh, that great city, wherein are more than sixscore thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand; and also much cattle?'

§ 4. *Explanation of certain difficulties.*—Still postponing what I have to say on the moral and purpose of this exquisite tale, I will first attempt to explain certain difficulties in various places of the narrative.

(1) 'Their wickedness is come up before me.' The wickedness is purely moral. It is no question of idolatry. For the tale is written for the Jews, with whom, in the days of the author, idolatry was no longer a present sin. For the author's purpose the wickedness of the Ninevites might have been as unhistorical as their repentance. The city itself, when he wrote, was no longer great and populous. In describing it he uses the past tense.

(2) 'Jonah rose up to flee.' At the time when Jonah was written, there was no longer any localized conception of God. Jonah simply seeks to get as far away as possible from the discharge of the duty and mission which God had laid upon him. His duty was to travel to the far east; he therefore flies westward, as far as a ship's sails can take him. The actual words, 'to flee away from before, or from the presence of, the Lord,' imply a past when the activity of God, or the operation and energy of the Divine Spirit, were believed to be concentrated within a favoured earthly area, but in the mouth of our author they are a mere metaphor. To him God is not nearer to Palestine than to Assyria.

What is the motive of Jonah's flight? He himself reveals it later on. He was afraid that God might have pity on Nineveh, even after the doom had been uttered and the fiat gone forth. As Dr. G. A. Smith says: 'Jonah never doubts that his word came from Jehovah, nor dreads that other men will doubt. There is absolutely no hint of anxiety as to his professional reputation.' Jonah is the type of that section of Israel who longed for the destruction of its foes. So 'it was not the length of the road, nor the danger of declaring Nineveh's sin to her face, which turned him, but the instinct that God intended by him something else than Nineveh's destruction; and this instinct sprang from his knowledge of God himself. Jonah interpreted the word which came to him by the character which he knew to be behind the word. He had the foreboding that Nineveh would be spared.'

An old Jewish explanation is quaint and suggestive. Jonah, it is said, foresaw by his prophetic inspiration that Assyria would overthrow the kingdom of Israel. He foresaw, moreover, as he himself explains, that Nineveh would repent and be spared, and that he would therefore be a sort of agent in Israel's ruin. Anxious for the honour of the son, but careless for the honour of the Father, he sought to escape his charge. For Israel the son would be dishonoured by defeat and captivity, but God the Father would be honoured by Nineveh's repentance.

(3) 'The lot fell upon Jonah.' The author need not be supposed to favour the casting of lots. He merely tells a story. The issue of the lot may usually be the issue of chance: in this case God makes his will known through a heathen device.

(4) 'Then were the men exceedingly afraid.' They are impressed by Jonah's manner. The lot seems to have told the truth. His immediate confession of a great and simple faith thrills them with a holy awe. The next words are rather confused. If the text be right, Jonah must be supposed to explain to the mariners that he is seeking to escape from this world Creator; they then question him as to what he has done in order to necessitate so perilous a flight. Jonah's answer is not given. Wellhausen, however, supposes that the words, 'because he had told them,' are a gloss, and he translates what proceeds thus: 'What is this which thou hast done? For they realized that he was fleeing from before the Lord,' i.e. When he told them who he was, whence he came, and whom he served, they, applying this information to the facts of the case—the storm and the answer of the lots—realized that his journey upon their ship could have only one reason. It must betoken a flight from his God.

(5) 'And made vows.' What were these vows? One old Jewish

commentator says that they would become proselytes to Judaism, another that they would give alms to the poor.

(6) 'And the Lord appointed a great fish.' The fish is probably an adaptation of an old mythological monster, well known to the Hebrews and kindred races. Thus a prophecy now appended to the Book of Jeremiah speaks of Nebuchadnezzar as swallowing up Israel like a dragon, and foretells that God 'will bring forth out of his mouth that which he had swallowed up.' If Jonah is the type of Israel, the introduction of the fish monster, albeit to save and not to destroy, is the more appropriate. It is of course idle, and more than idle, to inquire what sort of whale this wonder fish could have been. For the writer did not mean us to take his fish seriously. It is a mere incident of the story. God punishes Jonah for his want of faith and his dereliction of duty, but in the extremity of peril he delivers him.

(7) 'Then Jonah prayed unto the Lord.' Jonah's prayer strikes us at first as inappropriate for the occasion. It is not a prayer for deliverance, but a thanksgiving for rescue. Did our author, finding this psalm (for a psalm it is) elsewhere, and thinking that some of its epithets and phrases suited his hero at this strange crisis of his fate, adopt it himself, or did a later writer from the same cause insert it on his own responsibility? It recalls many a prayerful poem in the psalter, where the speaker is a personification of Israel, or the faithful in Israel, as a whole. And if Jonah was intended as a type of Israel, the use of the psalm was not inapposite. Its phrases about the 'depth and the billows and the weeds' were originally metaphorical. Waves and waters are a frequent Hebrew image for troubles and calamity. But as placed in the mouth of Jonah, these phrases are a sort of poetic equivalent for the prophet's actual situation. And Dr. George Adam Smith points out that 'whether the original author found the psalm ready to his hand or made it, there is a great deal to be said for the opinion of the earlier critics, that he himself inserted it, and just where it now stands. For, from the standpoint of the writer, Jonah was already saved when he was taken up by the fish—saved from the deep into which he had been cast by the sailors, and the dangers of which the psalm so vividly describes.'

(8) 'And the people of Nineveh believed God.' The religious differences between Jonah and the Ninevites are ignored. This is intentional. It is in fine agreement with the universalism which our author desires to teach. All men are God's children, and whether they know it or not, he is God for all of them alike. The sin of the citizens of Nineveh was not religious in the

narrower sense of the word, but moral. In matters of religious belief mortal men are largly dependent on their education and environment, and therefore errors are not culpable; but the sins of the Ninevites were within their own control, either to maintain or to abandon.

(9) 'And God saw their works.' I have already quoted this passage in speaking about the Day of Atonement. The saying of the Rabbis, to which I have there alluded, occurs in the Mishnah, where that law book is describing the customary procedure on the occasion of a public fast. I will cite the passage in full. 'What is the order of the celebration of the fast? The ark (with the scrolls of the Law) is brought into the public place, and ashes are strewn upon it. And ashes are likewise strewn upon the head of the *Nasi* (the Prince) and on the Chief Rabbi, and all other persons do likewise. And the eldest man among them all speaks words of contrition in their midst: "My brethren, it is not said of the men of Nineveh, God saw their sackcloth and their fasting, but *God saw their works, that they turned from their evil way*; and elsewhere it says, Rend your heart, and not your garments."'

(10) 'And God appointed a gourd.' This is usually supposed to be the castor-oil plant or *Ricinus communis*, also called *Palma Christi*. Its rapid growth and no less rapid decay may have suggested this incident of our story. It seemed, however, desirable to retain the now familiar 'gourd.'

(11) 'Thou hast pity on the gourd.' At first sight the argument does not seem quite in order. For Jonah was not angry for the gourd's sake, but for his own, and indeed his feelings were not those of compassion, but of wrath. The word 'pity' is applied by the author to Jonah and the gourd because it is the true and appropriate word for God and the Ninevites. The parallelism is a little forced, but it is quite possible, as Professor Driver has had the great kindness to suggest to me in a private letter, that a sort of *a fortiori* argument was *intended* by the author. Jonah is allowed by God to have felt some pity for the gourd, although that pity was born of selfishness. He regretted its loss for its own sake as well as for himself. Now not only were the Ninevites incomparably more worthy to be spared than the gourd, but God was incomparably more ready to feel pity than Jonah, for not only was he their Creator and Sustainer, but pity in his case is an ever-present attitude of his nature, neither evoked by selfish considerations of personal advantage, nor assumed as the fair-seeming counterfeit of personal annoyance. God, the shepherd of man, is, as Plato would say, a true shepherd. His

end or aim is the wellbeing of his flock, and only that. Nor does it matter to him whether the sheep are light or dark, Aryan or Semitic. The touching allusion to the children and the dumb animals fitly concludes this great paean of the divine mercy, unlimited by race or creed. The author is a true artist and sparing of words. No more is needed for his readers to understand his purpose; therefore no more is said.

It is worth noting that the seeming lack of parallelism between Jonah's solicitude for the gourd and God's solicitude for Nineveh did not escape the notice of David Kimchi, an acute Jewish commentator of the Middle Ages. He explains it by saying that if Jonah had pity upon the gourd because of his own distress, so God had pity upon Nineveh because of his own glory; for his creatures are his glory, as it is written, 'the whole earth is full of his glory,' and how much more is man his glory, of whom it is written, 'for my glory have I created him.'

§ 5. *The moral of Jonah.*—What, then, is the purpose of Jonah? To our author's contemporaries it must, I think, have been wholly clear; for they surely knew (to use a homely phrase) where their shoe pinched. They must have known the weak spot in their religious creed. Nor is it difficult for us to understand this purpose. It shines through the whole. There is indeed no reason, as Professor Driver says, why, together with his main purpose, the author should not have incidentally taught other religious lessons as well. The moral which the Rabbis drew from the forgiveness of the Ninevites the author doubtless had intended his readers to draw. It may also be that the author intended Jonah's reluctance to execute God's bidding to symbolize Israel's refusal to take up its mission as 'the light of the nations,' which had been assigned to it by the Second Isaiah. 'Israel, as a nation, was entrusted with a prophetical commission to be a witness and upholder of divine truth; but Israel shrank from executing this commission, and often apostatized; it was, in consequence, "swallowed up" by the world-power Babylon, as Jonah was swallowed up by the fish; in exile, however, like Jonah, it sought its Lord, and then was afterwards disgorged uninjured; after the return from exile, there were many who were disappointed that the judgements uttered by the prophets did not at once take effect, and that the cities of the nations still stood secure, just as Jonah was disappointed that the judgement pronounced against Nineveh had been averted.' According to this view the purpose of the book, in the fine words of Dr. G. A. Smith, would be 'to illustrate God's grace to the heathen in face of his people's refusal to fulfil their mission to

them. The author was led to achieve this purpose by a parable, through which the prophet Jonah moves as the symbol of his recusant, exiled, redeemed and still hardened people. It is the drama of Israel's career, as the servant of God, in the most pathetic moments of that career. A nation is stumbling on the highest road nation was ever called on to tread. "Who is blind, but my servant? Or deaf, as my messenger whom I sent?" He that would read this drama aright must remember what lies behind the great refusal which forms its tragedy. The cause of Israel's recusancy was not only wilfulness or cowardly sloth, but the horror of a whole world given over to idolatry, the paralyzing sense of its irresistible force, of its cruel persecutions endured for centuries, and of the long famine of Heaven's justice. These it was which had filled Israel's eyes too full of fear to see her duty. Only when we feel, as the writer himself felt, all this tragic background to his story, are we able to appreciate the exquisite gleams which he flashes across it: the generous magnanimity of the heathen sailors, the repentance of the heathen city, and, lighting from above, God's pity upon the dumb heathen multitudes.'

But the primary and main object of the book was surely, as Professor Driver says, 'to teach, in opposition to the narrow, exclusive view, which was too apt to be popular with the Jews, that God's purposes of grace are not limited to Israel alone, but that they are open to the heathen as well, if only they abandon their sinful courses, and turn to him in true penitence. It is true, the great prophets had often taught the future reception of the heathen into the kingdom of God: but their predominant theme had been the denunciation of judgement; and the Israelites themselves had suffered so much at the hands of foreign oppressors that they came to look upon the heathen as their natural foes, and were impatient when they saw the judgements uttered against them unfulfilled. Jonah appears as the representative of the popular Israelitish creed. He resists at the outset the commission to preach to Nineveh at all; and when his preaching there had been successful in a way which he did not anticipate, he murmurs because the sentence which he had been commanded to pronounce is revoked. That repentance might avert punishment had often been taught with reference to Israel; and Jeremiah lays down the same truth with reference to the nations generally (Part I, p. 416). The aim of the book is thus to supply a practical illustration of Jeremiah's teaching; and in the rebuke with which the book closes, the exclusive spirit of the author's own contemporaries stands condemned.'

We can see how this exclusive spirit was generated and what were its excuses. The Jews were conscious of possessing a religion better, purer and truer than the religion of all the nations around them. They had been taught that God had chosen them and favoured them specially, and it was only the greatest spirits among them who realized that this choice was rather for the sake of others than for themselves, and that this favour was rather the grace of purification through adversity than the petting of a pampered child. God had elected them. And yet God was impartial, and the common father of all. That they failed to understand. Surely their enemies, Babylon and Persia and Greece, must also be the enemies of their God. Surely the cruelties which their foes inflicted upon them would be avenged by their divine Protector. Two propositions needed reconcilement. God is good and just; the 'nations' are God's enemies and will suffer punishment. The reconcilement was effected by the theory that the 'nations' were wicked, wicked because they were Israel's oppressors, and did not worship the one and only God. National antipathies, sharpened by wrongs and persecutions, were kindled into a flame by false religious fanaticism. If the foe repented and were pardoned, where would be his deserved punishment, where the luxury of revenge? The mind was darkened by suffering, the heart was hardened by hatred. Men did not ask themselves the question: Does God create in order to destroy? They could not realize that for Jew and for Gentile alike, the statement and the bidding must hold: 'I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth; wherefore turn yourselves and live.' They could not perceive that if for man's unaided power this turning be all too hard, then for Gentile no less than for Jew must hold the promise: 'A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you.'

Marvellously did the Jews maintain their courage under all adversity by a pure religious devotion, and an unequalled religious ardour. They loved God deeply, and for him and for his commandments they were willing to suffer and die. But mingling with these higher aspirations and this purer fidelity, they also maintained their courage by the unquenchable hope that before long (when the night was at its blackest) the tables would turn, and the great day of divine vengeance would dawn. They were impatient of the endless delay. Babylon was captured by Persia, and Persia by Greece, yet for *them* all these changes made little difference. When would all nations alike be conquered and smitten down by God? Against this yearning desire for vengeance, which we saw reflected and illustrated by the story of Esther, the Book of Jonah utters its inspired and memorable protest. God, being God,

adopts the same methods of divine government towards Assyrians as towards Jews. His whole Godhead is directed towards all with equal impartiality. Jonah, even from the first, while hating the fact, knows it to be true. Therefore he hastens to flee to Tartessus, because in his inmost heart he knows that, be the nation what it may, the God who rules and fashions us all is a gracious God and merciful, slow to anger and of great lovingkindness. David Kimchi realized this truth as well as we. He raises the question, Why is the Book of Jonah included in the Scripture, inasmuch as it has nothing to do with Israel? His answers are, first, that it is a warning example to Israel, because it tells that a heathen nation repented at once, and at the first call, whereas Israel had a series of prophets, and yet was constantly rebellious; secondly, the purpose of Jonah is to show that God has pity on the repentant sinner whatever his race, and that the more numerous the sinners the greater is his compassion.

This book, then, of Jonah is the triumph of Judaism. It is unfair to call the Book of Esther Jewish, but to say that the tendency of the Book of Jonah is un-Jewish. This unfairness is rightly rebuked by that model of religious impartiality, Dr. Kalisch. 'He who in the Book of Jonah illustrates the beautiful doctrines of repentance, mercy and toleration, was no less an Israelite than the prophet Jonah whom he rebukes and corrects.' But more than this. The preaching of Jonah is consistent with the highest and most fundamental doctrines of the Jewish religion. Esther contradicts them. Judaism teaches one God, the sustainer of all, the 'lover of souls,' a God of goodness, of justice, of righteousness, of love. Sooner or later, then, the idea of a single and equal humanity (though with branches differently endowed and called to different missions) was bound to follow from the idea of the one good God. There might be difficulties in the way; human prejudices and adverse circumstances might hinder it for many ages; persecution and violence might cut off its early shoots and cause a recrudescence of narrow inconsistencies; but sooner or later this doctrine of the brotherhood of man, as rooted in the idea of God, was bound to become, as it is now in fact, an integral dogma of our faith. If there be one God, he is the spirit of life for all mankind; if God be good, he is good everywhere and always: if everywhere and always good, then is he no less the father of the Gentile than the father of the Jew.

Therefore it is that I call the Book of Jonah the triumph of Judaism, for this necessary complement to the doctrine of the one good God it was more difficult for the Jews to preach and to realize than the very doctrine on which it depends. It is delightful

to think that on the Day of Atonement, at once the greatest day in the Jewish Calendar, and also the most catholic and the most human, we read in accordance with time-honoured custom this Book of Jonah, in which the universalism, inherent in the very roots of our faith, finds full and indubitable expression. So the author of Jonah takes rank with the Second Isaiah as a master-builder of Judaism. The one teaches the doctrine of absolute monotheism, the other the doctrine of human brotherhood to which the divine unity leads us on. The one lays down the nature of Israel's mission, the other illustrates it. Service and not privilege, or rather, the privilege of service; that is the reason of Israel's continued separateness and that is its justification. The one good God of Israel is the one good God of all mankind. Still may Israel help towards a better and wider knowledge of him, and a more discerning love.

§ 6. *Tyndale's version of Jonah.*—The Book of Jonah is great enough to be read with profit and delight in more than one version. I have therefore thought it might be of interest to my readers if I were to print for them the translation of that great Englishman and reformer, William Tyndale. Those who have dabbled at all in that fascinating story of the English Bible, as told for instance in the delightful books of Mr. Eadie and Bishop Westcott, will remember that of the Old Testament Tyndale translated the Pentateuch and the Historical Books. Of these, only the Pentateuch was published in his lifetime. His imprisonment and his martyrdom in 1536 prevented the completion of his great work. But in 1531, owing to its peculiar suitability, as he believed, to the circumstances of his time in England, he translated and published the Book of Jonah, prefixing to it a long and characteristic prologue. This translation was, however, not reprinted, and soon disappeared. It was not till 1861 that a copy—which is still unique—was accidentally discovered, bound up in a volume of old tracts, by Lord Arthur Hervey, Bishop of Bath and Wells, in his own library at Ickworth. It was reproduced in facsimile by the indefatigable Biblical scholar, Mr. Charles Fry, and it is his reprint that I copy here. But I have modernized the spelling. It will at once be seen how largely the Authorized Version (which, with very few alterations, has already been read) is dependent upon William Tyndale.

The word of the Lord came unto the prophet Jonas, the son of Amithai, saying: Rise, and get thee to Ninive, that great city, and preach unto them how that their wickedness is come up before me.

And Jonas made him ready to flee to Tharsis from the presence

of the Lord, and gat him down to Joppe, and found there a ship ready to go to Tharsis, and payed his fare, and went aborde, to go with them to Tharsis from the presence of the Lord.

But the Lord hurled a great wind into the sea, so that there was a mighty tempest in the sea: in so much that the ship was like to go in pieces. And the mariners were afraid, and cried every man unto his god, and cast out the goods that were in the ship into the sea to lighten it of them. But Jonas gat him under the hatches, and laid him down and slumbered. And the master of the ship came to him, and said unto him, Why slumberest thou? Up, and call unto thy god, that God may think on us, that we perish not.

And they said one to another, Come, and let us cast lots to know for whose cause we are thus troubled. And they cast lots. And the lot fell upon Jonas.

Then they said unto him, Tell us for whose cause we are thus troubled. What is thine occupation? whence comest thou? how is thy country called? and of what nation art thou?

And he answered them, I am an Hebrew; and the Lord God of heaven, which made both sea and dry land, I fear. Then were the men exceedingly afraid, and said unto him, Why diddest thou so? For they knew that he was fled from the presence of the Lord, because he had told them.

Then they said unto him, What shall we do unto thee that the sea may cease from troubling us? For the sea wrought, and was troublous. And he answered them, Take me and cast me into the sea, and so shall it let you be in rest; for I wot it is for my sake that this great tempest is come upon you. Nevertheless the men assayed with rowing to bring the ship to land, but it would not be, because the sea so wrought and was so troublous against them. Wherefore they cried unto the Lord, and said, O Lord, let us not perish for this man's death, neither lay innocent blood unto our charge; for thou, Lord, even as thy pleasure was, so thou hast done.

And then they took Jonas, and cast him into the sea, and the sea left raging. And the men feared the Lord exceedingly, and sacrificed sacrifice unto the Lord, and vowed vows.

But the Lord prepared a great fish to swallow up Jonas. And so was Jonas in the bowels of the fish three days and three nights. And Jonas prayed unto the Lord his God out of the bowels of the fish.

And he said, In my tribulation I called unto the Lord, and he answered me; out of the belly of hell I cried, and thou heardest my voice. For thou hadst cast me down deep in the midst

of the sea, and the flood compassed me about, and all thy waves and rowles of water went over me; and I thought that I had been cast away out of thy sight. But I will yet again look towards thy holy temple. The waters compassed me even unto the very soul of me; the deep lay about me, and the weeds were wrapped about mine head.

And I went down unto the bottom of the hills, and was barred in with earth on every side for ever. And yet thou Lord my God broughtest up my life again out of corruption. When my soul fainted in me, I thought on the Lord, and my prayer came in unto thee, even into thy holy temple. They that observe vain vanities have forsaken him that was merciful unto them. But I will sacrifice unto thee with the voice of thanksgiving, and will pay that I have vowed, that saving cometh of the Lord.

And the Lord spake unto the fish, and it cast out Jonas again upon the dry land.

Then came the word of the Lord unto Jonas again, saying, Up and get thee to Ninive, that great city, and preach unto them the preaching which I bade thee. And he arose and went to Ninive at the Lord's commandment. Ninive was a great city unto God, containing three days' journey.

And Jonas went to and entered into the city, even a day's journey, and cried, saying, There shall not pass forty days, but Ninive shall be overthrown.

And the people of Ninive believed God, and proclaimed fasting, and arrayed themselves in sackcloth, as well the great as the small of them.

And the tidings came unto the king of Ninive, which arose out of his seat, and did his apparel off, and put on sackcloth, and sat him down in ashes. And it was cried and commanded in Ninive by the authority of the king and of his lords, saying, See that neither man or beast, ox or sheep, taste aught at all, and that they neither feed or drink water.

And they put on sackcloth, both man and beast, and cried unto God mightily, and turned every man from his wicked way, and from doing wrong in which they were accustomed, saying, Who can tell whether God will turn and repent, and cease from his fierce wrath, that we perish not? And when God saw their works, how they turned from their wicked ways, he repented on the evil which he said he would do unto them, and did it not.

Wherefore Jonas was sore discontent and angry. And he prayed unto the Lord, and said, O Lord, was not this my saying when I was yet in my country? And therefore I hasted rather to flee to Tharsis; for I knew well enough that thou wast a

merciful God, full of compassion, long ere thou be angry, and of great mercy, and repentest when thou art come to take punishment. Now therefore take my life from me, for I had liever die than live. And the Lord said unto Jonas, Art thou so angry?

And Jonas gat him out of the city, and sat him down on the east side thereof, and made him there a booth, and sat thereunder in the shadow till he might see what should chance unto the city.

And the Lord prepared as it were a wild vine, which sprang up over Jonas, that he might have shadow over his head to deliver him out of his pain. And Jonas was exceeding glad of the wild vine.

And the Lord ordained a worm against the spring of the morrow morning, which smote the wild vine that it withered away. And as soon as the sun was up, God prepared a fervent east wind, so that the sun beat over the head of Jonas, that he fainted again, and wished unto his soul that he might die, and said, It is better for me to die than to live.

And God said unto Jonas, Art thou so angry for thy wild vine? And he said, I am angry a good, even on to the death. And the Lord said, Thou hast compassion on a wild vine, whereon thou bestowedest no labour, nor madest it grow, which sprang up in one night, and perished in another; and should not I have compassion on Ninive, that great city, wherein there is a multitude of people, even above an hundred thousand, that know not their right hand from the left, besides much cattle?

SECTION IV

THE BOOK OF PSALMS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

§ 1. *The origin of the Psalter.*—Another and a very different form of literature will come before us in the present section: a fresh example of the great variety of religious writings contained in that wonderful collection of books which we call the Bible. For this section is to be dedicated to the Psalms. And the Psalms present us with a phase of religious thought and expression unlike the utterances of sage and prophet and story-teller to which we have already listened. A few Psalms have already been given at the end of Part I and in the story of David; these will now find their proper place among their fellows, and be gladly read again by all who read them before.

The Book of Psalms has been most succinctly defined as 'a collection of religious and devotional poetry. It is made up mainly of prayers and songs of praise, with a certain number of didactic pieces.' The total number of Psalms is 150. The Hebrew name for the book is *Tehillim*, and means 'Praises' or 'Songs of Praise.' And the name expresses the purpose for which the three or four collections that now compose the Psalter were originally made. After the reforms of Ezra, the services of the Temple of Jerusalem became more and more carefully and elaborately organized. These services comprised not only sacrifice, but song. And gradually the songs were almost as systematically arranged for as the sacrifices. Before the Babylonian captivity, it would seem that such singing as took place in the Temple worship was not officially organized. Various references in pre-exilic literature, as well as the total lack of any allusion to Psalms or to trained choirs, make it highly probable that such music as accompanied the sacrifices did not proceed from 'officers of the Temple, but rather from the worshippers at large,' while what we hear of the singing

'suggests the untrained efforts of the congregation rather than the disciplined music of a temple choir.' But after the return, or more accurately after Ezra, the Temple music was no longer left to the uncertain outbursts of the worshipping throng. Guilds of singers were established and trained, and the musical part of the services became as important, and perhaps as elaborate, as in a modern cathedral.

These singers needed songs—hymns, as we should now call them. The services of the Temple were, in one sense, the expression of the national life, and it was natural that the songs should vary with the changing feelings of the nation and its leader. In days of sorrow and affliction, hymns of petition and penitence were in place; in days of gladness and prosperity, hymns of rejoicing and gratitude. And on all days praises, praises of God whose loving-kindness, though sometimes seemingly veiled, was yet abiding and certain.

Who wrote these varying hymns? We cannot tell. Some the singers doubtless wrote themselves; others were written for them. Others, again, and these perhaps the oldest, had been written by this private person or that, as an expression of his own longings and piety, or more often as the vocal utterance of a heart which beat in unison with the highest aspirations and deepest sorrows of Israel. Such existing hymns might be adopted and even adapted for Temple usage.

Collections were made, added to and added together. Psalms were inserted in these collections, not all of which perhaps were used or capable of use in the Temple services. In these collections they were given a place of refuge and of preservation. As Professor Wellhausen succinctly puts it: 'The Psalms are a collection of hymns for use in public worship. Only a small proportion, however, were composed expressly for this use. Some are of a secular nature (e.g. Ps. xlv), some give lyrical expression to the thoughts of an individual (e.g. Pss. iii and iv); but all were received into the collection to promote the edification of the congregation. The Psalter is the hymn-book of the second Temple.' My only criticism on this statement would be to delete the word 'small.'

§ 2. *The collections which make up the Psalter.*—Our present Book of Psalms contains three main 'collections.' The first collection is the oldest and contains the oldest Psalms, though it is very doubtful whether even any of these are older than the Exile. It extends from Ps. i to Ps. xli. Some much later Psalms may have been inserted by later editors or copyists into this earliest collection.

The second collection extends from Ps. xlii to Ps. lxxxix. It is itself made up of at least two minor collections with a supplement. Into the details I have no space to enter.

The third collection begins at Ps. xc and goes down to the end of the book. On the whole, the Psalms of this the latest collection are 'marked by a liturgical character more predominant than in the other books.'

At a later period the whole number of Psalms was divided up afresh to form five books or divisions corresponding with the five books or divisions of the Pentateuch. The first book corresponds with the limits of the original first collection (i–xli). The second collection was split up to form the second and third books (xlii–lxxii; lxxiii-lxxxix). Similarly the third collection forms the fourth and fifth books (xc-cvi; cvii–cl).

We do not precisely know when the last collection was made. But we can be tolerably certain that *its* date and the date when it was added on to the first and second collections were not separated by many years, and that both dates lie far on in the post-exilic period. For, if on the one hand, it is doubtful whether any of our present Psalms in their present form reach *back* to before the Exile, it is, on the other hand, almost certain that the latest of them reach *forward* to the second century before the Christian era, and more particularly to the epoch of the Maccabees. In the 300 years which extend from the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah to the Maccabean revolt by far the greater portion of the Psalter was written. Let me add here that the Greek-speaking Jews called the poems with which we are here concerned *Psalmoi*, or songs; hence our word Psalms. *Psalmos* meant originally the music to which a song was set: secondarily it was used for a song set or sung to music. And as the Greek *Psalterion*, properly a stringed instrument, was used 'metaphorically for a collection of such songs or poems,' so our word Psalter is used as an equivalent for the Book of Psalms.

§ 3. *King David and the Psalter.*—Nearly half of our 150 Psalms have in Hebrew the superscription *Mizmor le-David*, which is commonly translated a Psalm of David (*Mizmor*, like *Psalmos*, is supposed to mean a song set or sung to music). It is not certain that this translation is accurate. Except in this and similar superscriptions the Hebrew preposition 'le' is never used to indicate the author or maker of anything. Perhaps originally the phrase *Mizmor le-David* had a musical or liturgical meaning which was gradually forgotten. So thinks Professor Cornill. But even in Biblical times—for example, in the age of the man who

wrote the Books of Chronicles—the words *Mizmor le-David* were taken to mean a Psalm written by David.

These Davidic Psalms occur mainly in the first and second collections. In the first collection every Psalm but four bears the Davidic superscription; in the second collection, out of twenty-two consecutive Psalms, eighteen are so superscribed. In the supplement of that second collection there is one. In the third collection, out of a total of sixty-one Psalms, seventeen are Davidic; but these do not form a group by themselves, and are perhaps the most indisputably post-Davidic of all the seventy-three. In their case, as Professor Robertson-Smith said, 'the only possible question for the critic is whether all these titles rest on editorial conjecture, or whether some of the Psalms exemplify the habit, so common in later Jewish literature, of writing in the name of ancient worthies.'

The Davidic Psalms in the first and second collections of the Psalter are in a somewhat different position. They were probably from the first collected together as Davidic Psalms, and perhaps the superscription which each one now bears separately formed originally a title for the whole group. But even in their case the value of the superscription is small. External and internal evidences of various kinds combine to make it excessively unlikely, either that David could have written such poems as these, or that these poems go back anything like as far as the Davidic age. I have briefly indicated in Part I (chapter x) how David's character and work became idealized in later ages, and how, known and celebrated in his own times as a famous singer and musician, he became regarded as the founder and framer of the national psalmody, just as Moses became regarded as the founder and framer of the national laws. Originally the words *Mizmor le-David* had probably a far closer reference to David as a musician than to David as a poet. Professor Robertson-Smith says rightly that 'though the old histories do not speak of David as a Psalm-writer, they dwell on his musical skill, and we are told how he danced and played before the ark as it was brought up with joy to Jerusalem. Dancing, music and song were in early times the united expression of lyrical inspiration, and the sacred melodies were still conjoined with dances at the time of the latest Psalms. We have every right, therefore, to conclude that the talents of Israel's most gifted singer were not withheld from the service of Jehovah, which king David placed high above all considerations of royal dignity. On the other hand, a curious passage of the Book of Amos, "They devise for themselves instruments of music like David," makes

David the chosen model of the dilettanti nobles of Samaria, who lay stretched on beds of ivory, anointed with the choicest perfumes, and mingling music with their cups in the familiar fashion of Oriental luxury. These two views of David as a musician are not irreconcilable if we remember that in old Israel' ('old' is inaccurate and unnecessary in this connexion, for in 'new' Israel it has ever been the same) 'religion was not separated from ordinary life, and that the gladness of the believing heart found natural utterance in sportful forms of unconstrained mirth. At a much later date chants for the Temple service were borrowed from the joyous songs of the vintage, and so it was possible that David should give the pattern alike for the melodies of the sanctuary and for the worldly airs of the nobles of Samaria. The sacred music of Israel was of popular origin, and long retained its popular type, and of this music David was taken to be father and great master. The oldest psalmody of the second Temple was still based on the ancient popular and Davidic model, and this seems to be the real reason why the oldest Psalm-book came to be known as "David's." The same name was afterwards extended to the other lay collection of "Prayers of David," while the collections that were formed from the first for use in the Temple were simply named from the Levitical choirs, or in later times bore no distinctive title.' The reference in this last sentence is to the fact that in the second collection eleven Psalms are superscribed 'Psalms for the sons of Korah,' and twelve as 'Psalms of Asaph.' The Korahites and Asaphites seem to have been two hereditary choir guilds, who traced their origin to their two Levitical ancestors. Further details on the subject can be read by the curious in Professor Robertson-Smith's delightful book, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church* (p. 204, &c.). The only doubtful point in Professor Robertson-Smith's statements seems to be his description of the Davidic collections as emanating from laymen. I should be far more inclined to think that they too were formed by the superintendents and executants of the musical services at the Temple.

§ 4. *Character and contents of the Psalter.*—The titles and even the precise dates of the Psalms have only a minor interest from a religious point of view. From that point of view what interests us most and chiefly is the contents of the Psalter, those wonderful contents that have made it, as Dean Church has rightly said, the one unique book of sacred poetry, 'which has nothing like it or second to it.' 'It expresses,' he goes on to say, 'the ideas and feelings of a religion of which the central

and absorbing object of faith is One who is believed to be the absolute, universal, Living God, the one God of the world and all things, Almighty, All-Holy, Supreme. It not only expresses this religion, but, as a matter of fact, it has been one of the most certain means of maintaining unbroken the tradition or fullest conviction of it. From age to age this book has been its companion and its minister. And there is this to be observed about it. It has been equally and in equal measure the prayer-book of public and common worship, and the chosen treasury of meditation, guidance, comfort to the individual soul. To each of these two purposes, in many respects widely different, it has lent itself with equal suitableness; and it has been to men of the most widely different times and ideas [and races] what no other book has been. Whenever the Book of Psalms began to be put together, and whenever it was completed, from that time in the history of the world the religious affections and the religious emotions, the object of which was the one living God of all, found their final, their deepest, their unsurpassed expression. From that time to this there never has been a momentary pause, when somewhere or other the praises of His glory and the prayers of His worshippers have not been rehearsed in its words.' What the late Dean of St. Paul's has so well said at the opening of his fascinating lecture on the Psalms is true both of the Christian Church and of the Jewish Synagogue. The Jews have ever deeply loved and cherished their own great hymn-book, and they have found in it the adequate response and the satisfying expression for every spiritual aspiration and need, whether in times of sadness or in times of joy, whether as individuals or as a community.

Nor can this intimate familiarity and abiding affection surprise us. What may more justly be called surprising is the wealth and variety of the hymnal itself. For in the Psalter we find almost every mood satisfied and cared for. Do we want to express our gratitude to God for deliverance and prosperity; do we want to pour forth our prayers to him in days of darkness and gloom; do we seek to strengthen our faith in his goodness, our conviction of his final and unquestionable wisdom; do we desire to praise him as the Lord of nature, to extol him as the Ruler of man; do we wish to utter aspirations for the coming of his kingdom upon earth, when all men shall know him as he on earth may best and most truly by us men be known;—where can we find another hymnal in which our would-be prayers, praises and aspirations are more movingly expressed, and on the whole more adequately satisfied, than in the Book of Psalms? National in one sense as the Psalms may be, they nevertheless respond to the fundamental spiritual needs and yearnings of the human heart and soul; and even if the speaker in

every Psalm were proved to be a personification of Israel or the community of believers, these very Psalms would be none the less suitable for individual worshippers and for their own separate relation to the divine Father of all.

It is pleasant too to be able to believe that the Psalter was composed by many hands. It is a truly national book; with its strength and its weakness (for, like all things human, it is not perfect), a genuinely popular product. Here we find a great and notable result from the long teaching of the prophets and the law-givers. Surely Jeremiah did not live and die in vain! For in the Psalter we find the community possessed by that complete faith in one supreme, spiritual God, all-holy, all-righteous, for which prophet and law-giver had laboured so earnestly and so long. And it is not the mere assertion that such a God exists which the Psalter contains; it is no mere cold intellectual belief which pervades it. This faith in the God of righteousness and mercy is a trust and a joy; it dominates life and gives to it its meaning. It sustains in trouble; it adds significance to prosperity. For even in trouble there may be peace if it is believed that God has sent it, and prosperity is spiritualized if God be the giver. In the Psalter communion with God is described in brief touches of wonderful felicity. And this communion with its rapture is the response of the community to the prophetic teaching. As a great scholar has finely said, if the highest words of the prophets are the revelation of God to man, the Psalter, with its prayer and praises, with its spiritual faith and spiritual joy, is the answer of man to God. And in the words of another distinguished scholar: In the Psalms the community answers to the demands imposed upon it by God in the Law, and confesses its faith in his promises. Thus the Psalms are the echoing response of the community to the Law and to the Prophets. To the divine command, 'Thou shalt,' it answers, 'Lord, I will, I have pleasure in thy statutes;' to the divine promises, it replies, 'Lord, I wait for thee.'

Prophet and lawgiver had denounced idolatry; they had enjoined a belief in the one true God. The writers of the Psalter do not merely believe in God—that were but little—but to believe in him is their joy, to praise him is their privilege. With them the law is graven on their hearts. Within their limits they all 'know the Lord,' and to serve him is their delight. Nor are the highest aspirations of the prophets without their echo in the Psalter. All nations shall praise God, even as Israel praises him. As we have already heard in that pure lyric of universalism: 'Concerning Zion, it shall be said, each and every one was born in her.'

§ 5. *Arrangement of the present section.*—We have seen that the Psalter, with its 150 separate Psalms, is made up of three distinct collections. Within each of these collections the order of the individual Psalms appears, as Professor Driver says, 'to have been often determined by accidental causes,' though sometimes 'the juxtaposition of two Psalms seems to be due to community of subject, and sometimes also to the occurrence in them of some more or less noticeable expression.' There are even certain small groups of consecutive Psalms in the three collections which can be more or less clearly distinguished through similarity of contents or subject-matter. Moreover, the three main collections themselves have upon the whole certain predominant characteristics of their own. I do not, however, propose in the selections which I shall give from the Psalter in this volume to follow the existing order, or to go through each of the original collections separately. I shall treat the Psalter as a whole, but group the Psalms according to a rough division of subjects. Only one group will be kept as it now exists: it is the group known as Songs of Degrees or Ascents, pilgrimage songs, probably written for worshippers who came up to Jerusalem at the great festivals or on other special occasions. Of the 150 Psalms I shall give about 120. But I shall not *always* quote *all* these Psalms in their entirety. I have said that the Psalter, as a great national and communal hymn-book, reflects not only what was best and greatest in the national and communal religion, but sometimes also its weaknesses and errors. Now we know that one weakness of the Jewish religion in this post-exilic period was its occasional narrowness of vision towards those who were beyond its pale, its fierceness of antagonism towards its enemies, whether within or without the community. This defect is reflected and expressed in the Psalter. Prayers for the ruin of enemies (apostates within or foes without) frequently accompany prayers for aid and deliverance. Curiously enough, these Psalms have often been favourites with pious warriors in all later ages. Where the Psalms are to be historically treated and their value critically assessed, all such passages must be taken into full and fair consideration. But my main object here is to present what is best and most permanent in the Psalter for religious and devotional purposes. Therefore I have occasionally omitted verses which lower the religious value and use of an otherwise noble and excellent Psalm. Let us gain as much as we can from the Psalter; let its greatness shine forth as purely as possible.

CHAPTER II

PSALMS OF PRAYER IN SEASONS OF TROUBLE

§ 1. *Characteristics of the group of Psalms collected together in the present chapter.*—The first group of Psalms which I will print may be described as Psalms of Prayer in seasons of trouble. The trouble may be of varying degrees of intensity and of varying origin and nature. Yet in almost all cases it does not resemble those purely individual sorrows which are perhaps shared by no other human being, or only by a man's family or friends; rather is it national or communal. Intensely felt by the writer who gives expression to it, and who finds relief for his burdened soul in prayer, the 'trouble' is nevertheless not exclusively his own, but is shared by his people or his party. And as his party in the writer's eyes constitutes the true Israel, in which his enemies, even though Israelites, can claim no share, all these Psalms express the nation's sorrows and petitions through the mouth of an individual who feels them perhaps all the more intensely because they are his people's—the sorrows of the people of God—and not merely his own personal and private woes. For Israel's sorrows concern God: they are in themselves religious. Here, as so often before, we touch on that co-ordination of Israel's salvation and the divine glory which always gave strength to the believer but sometimes marred the purity of his faith.

It must be remembered that this description of the first group is only a rough one, just as all divisions of the Psalter into 'subjects' are more or less inaccurate and approximative. For many Psalms are of a mixed character; 'they begin perhaps in a strain of supplication, and as the poet proceeds the confidence that his prayer will be answered grows upon him, and he ends in a tone of jubilant exultation.'

It is noteworthy how large a proportion of the Psalms assigned to this group are taken from the first or second collection.

I include in it thirty-eight Psalms and a half, and of these fifteen and a half belong to the first collection, sixteen to the second, and seven to the third.

§ 2. *The first Psalm: the Two Ways.*—But before we enter on this group, we must listen to the first Psalm of all, which was perhaps written, and at any rate chosen, as an introduction either to the first collection or to the entire Psalter. It may partly owe its place to its opening word '*happy*.' 'The Psalter is the book of spiritual happiness' (Dr. B. Jacob).

Happy is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the wicked,
Nor standeth in the way of sinners,
Nor sitteth in the assembly of the scornful.
But his delight is in the law of the Lord;
And in his law doth he meditate day and night.
For he is like a tree planted by watercourses,
That bringeth forth its fruit in its season,
And whose leaf doth not wither;
And whatsoever he doeth he maketh to prosper.

The wicked are not so:
But they are like the chaff which the wind driveth away.
Therefore the wicked cannot stand in the judgement,
Nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous.
For the Lord knoweth the way of the righteous:
But the way of the wicked shall perish.

'The Lord knoweth.' God 'knows,' that is, he takes an interest in, protects and makes secure the fortunes of the righteous, while the way of life pursued by the wicked ends in disaster and destruction.

The ungodly sinners here referred to are Israelites. The 'law' is pre-eminently the Pentateuch, but may also include the other sacred writings known to the writer. The 'judgement' is either the general and constant, or else that final sifting judgement of God which was expected in the Messianic age. The views of the Psalmist are too closely akin to those of Job's friends to be wholly in accordance with our own. Righteousness leads to life and prosperity (in the highest sense of the word); sin leads to dissolution and death. Such is our dogma too. But we cannot say that on earth, at any rate, the righteous always prosper; and we trust that no soul which God has created will perish in its sin.

§ 3. *The third and fourth Psalms.*—The prayerful hymn with which my first group opens is Ps. iii. The speaker is an individual, but his troubles are his people's, or those of the faithful and pious among them. Many Psalms are both individual and communal in one, for the writer uses his own sorrows and sufferings as the motive for a hymn which shall at once express his own feelings and yet (like a true lyric) be capable of wider application. Or, again, he speaks as a leader or member of his community, in whose aspirations and woes he shares. The period during which this Psalm was written was probably one of the many dark moments during the Persian domination, when 'faithful Israelites were so sorely oppressed both by traitors in their midst and by their Persian tyrants' (Cheyne).

Lord, how are they increased that trouble me!
Many are they that rise up against me.
Many there be who say of my soul,
There is no help for him in God.

But thou, O Lord, art a shield around me;
My glory, and the lifter up of mine head.
I cry aloud unto the Lord,
And he heareth me out of his holy hill.

I laid me down and slept;
I have awaked; for the Lord sustaineth me.
I am not afraid of ten thousands of people,
That have set themselves against me round about.

Arise, O Lord; save me, O my God:
For thou hast smitten all mine enemies upon the cheek bone;
Thou hast broken the teeth of the wicked.
Help belongeth unto the Lord:
Thy blessing be upon thy people.

To a morning succeeds an evening hymn (iv). The Psalmist is confronted by weaklings in faith within his own community. They despond amid misfortune. The period is probably the same as before. But the Psalmist knows a higher joy than mere material prosperity—the assurance of divine protection, the conviction of God's lovingkindness.

Hear me when I call, O God of my right:
Thou hast enlarged me when I was in distress;

Have mercy upon me, and hear my prayer.
O ye sons of men, how long will ye be hard of heart?
Wherefore will ye love vanity, and seek after falschood?
But know that the Lord hath shewn me marvellous loving-kindness,
The Lord heareth when I call unto him.

Tremble, and sin not:
Consider in your own heart upon your bed, and be still (?).
Offer the sacrifices of righteousness,
And put your trust in the Lord.

There be many that say, 'Who will shew us prosperity?'
Lord, lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon us.
Thou hast put more gladness in my heart,
Than when their corn and new wine are increased.
I will both lay me down in peace, and sleep:
For thou, Lord, alone makest me dwell in safety.

A Rabbinic commentary on the words, 'Consider in your own heart upon your bed,' says: 'God spake to Israel: I said to thee, When thou prayest, pray in the synagogue which is in thy town, or if thou canst not pray there, pray in thy field, and if thou canst not pray there, pray in thy house, and if thou canst not pray there, pray in thy bed, and if thou canst not pray there, "consider in thy heart."'

§ 4. *The fifth Psalm: a morning hymn.*—The next Psalm (v) is once more a morning hymn. The enemies are Israelites: the writer is the spokesman of his party.

Give ear to my words, O Lord,
Consider my sighing.
Hearken unto the voice of my cry, my King and my God:
For unto thee do I pray.

My voice dost thou hear in the morning, O Lord;
In the morning I set in order my prayer unto thee, and look out.
For thou art not a God that hath pleasure in wickedness:
Evil may not dwell with thee.
Boasters may not stand in thy sight:
Thou hatest all workers of iniquity.

Thou destroyest them that speak falsehood:
The Lord abhorreth the bloody and deceitful man.

But I, through the greatness of thy lovingkindness, can enter thine house,
And in the fear of thee I can worship toward thy holy temple.
Lead me, O Lord, in thy righteousness because of mine enemies;
Make thy way level before my face.
For there is no truthfulness in their mouth;
Their inward part is ruin;
Their throat is an open sepulchre;
They deceive with their tongue.

Hold them guilty, O God;
Let them fall by their own counsels;
Cast them down through the multitude of their transgressions;
For they have rebelled against thee.
Then shall all those that take refuge in thee rejoice:
They shall ever shout for joy, because thou defendest them;
They that love thy name will be joyful in thee.
For thou, Lord, blessest the righteous;
With favour as with a diadem dost thou crown him.

'Because of mine enemies.' Professor Wellhausen's note is, as usual, concise and instructive. 'Because they are God's enemies too, and his cause, as well as the petitioner's, is at stake. The godly man cannot claim deliverance because of his own merits; but, compared with the wicked man, he is, at all events, the one who inquires after God. And God cannot but show that such a one is more precious to him than a man who does not desire to know him. We have here a strongly marked contrast between two parties within the community, the godly and the wicked. The man who is praying, speaks in the name of the true Israel; hence *my king*: Jehovah is the King of Israel. Convinced that the wicked will not be allowed to continue to dwell with Jehovah, he looks forward with longing to the judgement which will sweep them away, and bring about the triumph of the godly in Zion.'

One cannot help wondering whether the party opposed to the Psalmist was indeed so wicked as he would make out. There have been few religious leaders, and fewer religious founders, who have not failed to understand the point of view of their adversaries. Many of them have indeed been spiritually or

morally superior to the great majority of their antagonists, but yet all their antagonists were certainly not that mass of corruption and hypocrisy which the leaders and founders, no doubt honestly enough, believed them to be. But none the less may we suppose that within their own party the lives of the Psalmists were noble and pure, and that their yearning for righteousness and their love of God were unfeigned and sincere.

The opening of the third paragraph of this Psalm is prettily expanded in Sir Philip Sidney's metrical version:—

'But I myself will to thy house address
With passport of thy graces manifold;
And in thy fear, knees of my heart will fold
Towards the temple of thy holiness.

Thou Lord, thou Lord, the Saviour of thine own,
Guide me, O in thy justice be my guide;
And make thy ways to me more plainly known,
For all I need, that with such foes do bide.'

§ 5. *The sixth Psalm.*—In the next Psalm (vi) the gloom deepens. The sickness is a metaphor for sorrows, and the speaker, one with his community, 'feels their sins and sufferings as his own.' Professor Cheyne supposes that this and kindred Psalms 'may refer either to the slavery into which the Jews were brought for seven years by Bagoses, or to that other outburst of Persian fury under Artaxerxes Ochus, when Jewish captives were carried away to Egypt, Babylonia, and even Hyrcania.'

O Lord, rebuke me not in thine anger,
Neither chasten me in thy hot displeasure.
Have mercy upon me, O Lord; for I am sick;
O Lord, heal me; for my bones are confounded.
My soul also is sore confounded:
But thou, O Lord, how long?

Return, O Lord, deliver my soul:
Oh save me for thy lovingkindness' sake.
For in death there is no remembrance of thee:
In Sheol who shall give thee thanks?
I am weary with my groaning;
All the night make I my bed to swim;
I water my couch with my tears.
Mine eye is consumed because of sorrow:
It waxeth old because of all mine enemies.

Depart from me, all ye workers of iniquity;
For the Lord hath heard the voice of my weeping.
The Lord hath heard my supplication;
The Lord will receive my prayer.
All mine enemies shall be ashamed and sore confounded:
They shall be ashamed right suddenly.

'My bones are confounded.' This and similar expressions are metaphors for any kind of suffering.

'The Lord hath heard.' 'The confidence now expressed does not contradict the lamentation which has been already uttered. Nor does it indicate a change in the state of affairs. He who sets forth his lamentation before God is already confident that help will be found in him' (Wellhausen).

'They shall be ashamed.' 'Ashamed' here, as frequently, means 'disconcerted,' 'disappointed.'

§ 6. *Psalms eleven, twelve, thirteen and seventeen.*—The Psalmist speaks again (xi) as the leader or representative of his party—the strong in faith, who stay at their post and trust in God. A wise friend of mine, who sent me a suggested classification of the Psalter, put this Psalm with some thirty others under the heading, Psalms of *Trust*. But Psalms of Trust are also Psalms of Prayer, for only he can pray who trusts, and it is the trustful who pray.

In the Lord I take my refuge: how say ye then to me:
'Flee quickly like a bird.
For, lo, the wicked bend their bow,
They make ready their arrow upon the string,
That they may shoot in the darkness at the upright in heart.
If the pillars be destroyed,
What can the righteous do?'

The Lord in his holy temple,
The Lord whose throne is in heaven,
His eyes behold, his eyelids try, the children of men.
The Lord trieth the righteous:
But the wicked and him that loveth violence his soul hateth.
Upon the wicked he shall rain coals of fire and brimstone,
A burning wind shall be the portion of their cup.

For the Lord is righteous; he loveth righteousness;
The upright shall behold his face.

'The upright shall behold his face.' A metaphorical expression to indicate the fullest measure of divine grace and of spiritual happiness. We shall meet with the idea again.

The next Psalm (xii) represents the party of piety as a mere remnant amid a crowd of mocking oppressors. The true Israelites are frequently identified in the Psalter with the poor, the afflicted and the needy. On the other hand, we do not find denunciations of the rich *quâ* rich. In this Psalm too we find an early use of *Chasid* as a party term. The *Chasid* is the man who shows *Chesed*, or lovingkindness, to his fellow-man, even as God shows *Chesed* to him. The term, as Professor Cheyne says, is untranslatable in English. The 'loving,' the 'pious,' the 'godly,' are all more or less inapposite and inaccurate. (With a slight correction of the text, Professor Wellhausen would render the first two lines, 'Help me, O Lord; love is clean gone, and faithfulness vanished from men.')

Help, Lord; for the godly man is no more;
For the faithful have ceased from among the children of men.
They speak falsehood every one with his neighbour:
With flattering lips and with a double heart do they speak.

May the Lord cut off all flattering lips,
And the tongue that speaketh proud things:
Who say, 'Through our tongue will we prevail;
Our lips are our own: who is lord over us?'

'For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy,
Now will I arise,' saith the Lord;
'I will set him in safety that panteth towards me.' (?)
The words of the Lord are pure words:
As smelted silver, as gold purified seven times.

The wicked walk on every side,
When vileness is exalted among the sons of men: (?)
Thou wilt keep us, O Lord.
Thou wilt preserve us from this generation for ever.

In the following Psalm (xiii), which belongs still to the same period and group, the speaker is again a representative of his persecuted party. Note the fine transition from heavy complaint to the joyful assurance of faith.

How long wilt thou for ever forget me, O Lord?
How long wilt thou hide thy face from me?
How long shall I lay up sorrows in my soul,
And have trouble in my heart day by day?
How long shall mine enemy be exalted over me?
Look and hear me, O Lord my God:
Lighten mine eyes, lest I sleep the sleep of death;
Lest mine enemy say, 'I have prevailed against him';
And those that trouble me rejoice that I am moved.
But as for me, I trust in thy lovingkindness;
My heart shall rejoice in thy salvation.
I will sing unto the Lord, because he hath dealt bountifully with me.

From the next Psalm (xvii) some verses have been omitted. The text is frequently corrupt and uncertain.

Hear my right, O Lord, attend unto my cry,
Give ear unto my prayer, that goeth not out of feigned lips.
Let my sentence come forth from thy presence;
Thine eyes see uprightly.
If thou provest mine heart and visitest my reins;
Yea, if thou triest me, thou wilt find no evil thought;
My mouth doth not transgress. (?) . . .
By the word of thy lips
I have kept me from the paths of the spoiler.
My goings have held fast unto thy paths,
My footsteps have not slipped.

I call upon thee, for thou wilt hear me, O God:
Incline thine ear unto me, and hear my speech.
Shew thy marvellous lovingkindness,
O thou that savest by thy right hand them which put their trust in thee
From those that rise up against them.
Keep me as the apple of the eye,
Hide me under the shadow of thy wings,
From the wicked that oppress me,
From my deadly enemies that compass me about.
As for me, I shall behold thy face in righteousness:
I shall be satisfied, when I awake, with thine image. (?)

The last line is exceedingly obscure. Perhaps the text is faulty. Some have seen in it a reference to a future life, but this is

improbable. For the speaker is Israel or the pious community. Others suppose that the night, from which the Psalmist will 'awake,' is the darkness of calamity—the awakening is at the dawning of the Messianic age. Some, with a slight change of text, would read, 'when thou awakest;' that is, when God's judgement has been executed, when the wicked have been destroyed and the pious delivered, the Psalmist, or the community of believers in whose name he speaks, will be undisturbed in their pure enjoyment of the divine communion.

On the verse, 'Let my sentence [or 'judgement'] come forth from thy presence,' the Midrash asks: 'How can it be proved that God takes bribes? Because it says, "He takes a bribe out of the bosom of the wicked" (Prov. xvii. 23. The real translation is, "The wicked takes a bribe out of his bosom"). And what is the bribe which he takes from the wicked in this world? Repentance and prayer and charity. God says, "My children, so long as the doors of prayer are open, repent; for in this world I take a bribe, but when hereafter I sit in judgement, I take no bribe, as it is said, He will not regard any ransom, neither will he consent, though thou multiply thy bribes."'

Noteworthy in this Psalm is the strong expression of the speaker's own righteousness. But it is very unlikely that the Psalmist believed himself personally free from all wrongdoing. Such conceit would show that he was far even from that degree of virtue which it is possible for man to acquire. For humility and the consciousness of imperfection—the vivid recognition of the more one might do and the better that one might be—are the foundation of human excellence. But the Psalmist is convinced of one thing: his faith and joy in God. It is this which he urges in contrast to the impiety (as he believes) of his adversaries. And as he speaks of his party rather than of his own individual self, the character of his assertion is changed. His party, as a matter of fact, comprised those who did honestly try to order their lives in accordance with the mandates of the Law, who did 'set the Lord before them.' I admit that self-righteousness was a spiritual and moral fault into which the pious Jews of the post-exilic period were sometimes liable to fall. For it was possible with a certain moderate effort to obey the ritual and ceremonial law; it was even possible to obey all the negative commands of the moral law, and some of its positive commands as well. And then, especially at a time when there were others who did not obey the ritual and ceremonial ordinances, it was easy and tempting to think yourself a pattern of moral and religious excellence, and so thinking to be in truth anything but that which you thought

yourself to be. But I cannot believe that the Psalmist, whose words show such keen faith in God and such joy in communing with him, was guilty of arid self-righteousness or of spiritual conceit.

§ 7. *The twenty-second Psalm : 'Why hast thou forsaken me?'*— Another group of prayerful hymns from days of persecution and sorrow opens with one of the most famous Psalms in the Psalter (xxii). The speaker, though in one sense the representative of the pious in Israel, and writing in their name, is in another sense an ideal figure, and almost a dramatic creation. In some respects he is the Psalmic counterpart of the Servant in the prophecies of the Second Isaiah, of whose book the author of this Psalm was a devout student and admirer. The date is once more some season of gloom and danger during the Persian rule. As with other Psalms, so here, the change from agonized petition to jubilant assurance is sudden and significant. The faithful believers obtain through prayer the conviction of their sure deliverance. Then they will fulfil the Servant's mission, and sing God's praises to the whole people of Israel, and to the world at large. We may note that 'no word of impatience escapes from the lips of the Psalmist, above all none of revenge against the enemies who have filled the cup of his miseries to overflowing.'

My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?
Thou art far from my cry, and from the words of my roaring.
O my God, I cry in the daytime, but thou hearest not;
And in the night season, and have no rest.
But thou art the Holy One,
Enthroned upon the praises of Israel.

Our fathers trusted in thee:
They trusted, and thou didst deliver them.
They cried unto thee, and were delivered:
They trusted in thee, and were not confounded.
But I am a worm, and no man;
A reproach of men, and despised of the people.
All they that see me laugh me to scorn:
They shoot out the lip, they shake the head, saying,
'His redeemer is the Lord; He will rescue him!
Let Him deliver him, seeing He delighteth in him!'
But thou art my God from of old,
Thou hast been my trust from the beginning.

Be not far from me; for trouble is near;
For there is none to help.

Many bulls have compassed me:
Strong bulls of Bashan have beset me round.
For dogs have compassed me:
The assembly of the wicked have enclosed me.
They gape upon me with their mouths,
As a ravening and a roaring lion.

I am poured out like water,
And all my bones are out of joint:
My heart is like wax;
It is melted within me.
My palate is dried up like a potsherd;
And my tongue cleaveth to my jaws;
And thou hast brought me into the dust of death.
For dogs encompass me;
A company of villains encircle me.
I may number all my bones:
They look and stare upon me.
They part my garments among them,
And cast lots upon my vesture.

But be not thou far from me, O Lord:
O my strength, haste thee to help me.
Deliver my soul from the sword;
My dear life from the power of the dog.
Save me from the lion's mouth:
Deliver me from the horns of the wild ox.

I will declare thy name unto my brethren:
In the midst of the congregation will I praise thee.
Ye that fear the Lord, praise him;
All ye the seed of Jacob, glorify him;
And fear him, all ye the seed of Israel.
For he hath not despised nor abhorred the affliction of the afflicted;
Neither hath he hid his face from him;
But when he cried unto him, he heard.

Thy faithfulness shall be my praise in the great congregation:
I will pay my vows before them that fear him.

The meek shall eat and be satisfied:
They shall praise the Lord that seek him:
Let your heart revive for ever.

All the ends of the world shall remember and turn unto the Lord:
And all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before him.
For the kingdom is the Lord's:
And he is the governor among the nations.

All they that be fat upon earth shall surely worship him:
They shall bow down before him to the dust.
The seed of his servants shall recount the work of the Lord for the generation to come;
They shall declare his righteousness unto a people that shall be born.

The bulls and dogs are metaphors of enemies, both external and internal. The pious are near to death. Yet the community will not die. Their seed at any rate will recount the work of the Lord to a people and a generation yet unborn. Note the striking metaphor in the first stanza. 'But thou art the Holy One; enthroned upon the praises of Israel.' Israel's praise of God forms a spiritual throne of glory.

'The affliction of the afflicted.' It can also be rendered, 'The poverty of the poor,' the ideas of affliction, humiliation and poverty being in Hebrew closely allied. The Midrash so translates it, and has many pretty illustrative stories. As for example: 'A woman brought a handful of flour to the Temple as a meal offering, but the priest treated it contemptuously, and said, "What a sacrifice is that!" But in a dream a voice said unto him, "Treat it not contemptuously; I regard it as if she had sacrificed herself."'

§ 8. *The twenty-fifth Psalm.*—The following Psalm (xxv) is one of the tenderest and most beautiful in the Psalter. Like a few others, it is 'alphabetic,' each verse beginning with a letter of the Hebrew alphabet. The alphabetical arrangement aided the memory, and also gave formal unity to a string of disconnected thoughts and aspirations. The last verse of the Psalm is a liturgical addition. The writer is thinking of, and speaking for, his community and his people. Their sorrows and their joys are his. Note the beautiful phrase: 'The communion of the Lord is with them that fear him.' Some translate 'secret,' others 'friendship.' On the basis of reverence there may come that

higher intimacy, that inward and secret communing with the Eternal Spirit, which is the crown and flower of the religious life. Professor Wellhausen says: 'This alphabetical song is an epitome of the world of religious thought and of that religious vocabulary which we find in the Psalms. The poet everywhere keeps the entire community in view, but in such a manner as to leave each individual at liberty to appropriate for his own benefit the truths which belong to the whole.'

Unto thee, O Lord, do I lift up my soul.
O my God, I trust in thee: let me not be ashamed,
  Let not mine enemies triumph over me.
Yea, let none that wait on thee be ashamed:
  Let them be ashamed who rebel without cause.
Make me to know thy ways, O Lord;
  Teach me thy paths.
Let me walk in thy truth, and teach me:
  For thou art the God of my salvation;
  On thee do I wait all the day.
Remember, O Lord, thy tender mercies and thy loving-kindnesses;
  For they have been ever of old.
Remember not the sins of my youth, nor my transgressions:
  According to thy mercy remember thou me
  For thy goodness' sake, O Lord.

Good and upright is the Lord:
  Therefore doth he teach sinners in the way.
The meek doth he guide in righteousness:
  And the meek doth he teach his way.
All the paths of the Lord are mercy and faithfulness
  Unto such as keep his covenant and his testimonies.
For thy name's sake, O Lord, pardon mine iniquity;
  For it is great.
What man is he that feareth the Lord?
  Him shall he teach in the way that he should choose.
His soul shall dwell at ease;
  And his seed shall inherit the earth.
The communion of the Lord is with them that fear him;
  And he will shew them his covenant.
Mine eyes are ever toward the Lord;
  For he shall pluck my feet out of the net.
Turn thee unto me, and have mercy upon me;

For I am lonely and afflicted.
Relieve the troubles of my heart:
O bring thou me out of my distresses.
Look upon mine affliction and my pain;
And forgive all my sins.
Consider mine enemies; for they are many;
And they hate me with cruel hatred.
O keep my soul, and deliver me:
Let me not be ashamed; for I put my trust in thee.
Let integrity and uprightness preserve me;
For I wait on thee.

Redeem Israel, O God, out of all his troubles.

§ 9. *Psalms twenty-six and twenty-seven* (*b*).—The question of self-righteousness is again raised in the next Psalm (xxvi). The same remarks apply here as before. The speaker identifies himself with his community, and, writing out of their heart as much as out of his own, ascribes to himself the virtues which he fully believes to exist in them. For the pride of party existed undoubtedly—even as it has ever existed, and still exists to-day. In this Psalm we get clear allusions to that deep affection for the Temple services, and to that effective spiritualization of them, which will meet us again in many a subsequent hymn. The idea contained in the 'judge me' of the opening verse is, 'secure my right,' 'vindicate my cause,' 'bring about my triumph.'

Judge me, O Lord; for I have walked in mine integrity:
I have trusted in the Lord, and have not wavered.
Examine me, O Lord, and prove me;
Try my reins and my heart.
For thy lovingkindness is before mine eyes:
And I have walked in thy truth.
I have not sat with vain persons,
Neither do I come together with dissemblers.
I hate the congregation of evil doers;
And do not sit with the wicked.
I wash mine hands in innocency;
So that I may compass thine altar, O Lord,
That I may publish with the voice of thanksgiving,
And tell of all thy wondrous works.

Lord, I love the habitation of thy house,
And the place where thy glory dwelleth.

Take not away my soul with sinners,
  Nor my life with bloody men:
In whose hands is mischief,
  And their right hand is full of bribes.
But as for me, I walk in mine integrity:
  Redeem me, and be merciful unto me.
My foot standeth on even ground;
  In full assemblies will I bless the Lord.

On this Psalm I subjoin the second half of the Psalm (xxvii) which immediately succeeds it. For it would seem that the first portion is really a separate Psalm which will more fitly find its place elsewhere.

Hear, O Lord, when I cry with my voice;
  Have mercy upon me, and answer me.
(Thou hast said unto me,)
  'Seek ye my face':
  Thy face, O Lord, I will seek.
Hide not thy face from me,
  Put not thy servant away in anger.
Thou hast been my help; leave me not,
  Neither forsake me, O God of my salvation.
For my father and my mother have forsaken me,
  But the Lord will take me up.

Teach me thy way, O Lord,
  And lead me on an even path, because of mine enemies.
Deliver me not over unto the passion of mine enemies;
  For false witnesses are risen up against me,
  And such as breathe out violence.
If I did not believe to see the goodness of the Lord
In the land of the living ——!

Wait on the Lord:
  Be of good courage, and let thine heart be strong;
  Wait, I say, on the Lord.

The words, 'If I did not believe,' are what grammarians call an *aposiopesis*: the construction is incomplete. If he did not believe in deliverance, he would indeed despair. It is possible, however, that the text is corrupt, or that we should translate, 'I am confident of seeing.' 'The land of the living' is earth, for the life on earth, according to the belief of the Psalmists, to whom, or at

any rate to almost all of whom, the life with God closed perforce at death, is the only period during which the divine goodness could be 'seen' or realized. We have to read into these expressions of the Psalmists a somewhat different sense. 'Unless I believed there was in the last resort and in the divine mind a meaning in suffering and in evil, I should indeed despair of goodness and of God.' To the Psalmist outward deliverance was the only proof and test of God's justice. But we seek to maintain our faith in God, even though many a righteous man go to his earthly end amid pain, oppression and calamity.

§ 10. *The thirty-first Psalm: 'In te, Domine, speravi.'*—In the next Psalm (xxxi) the 'I' must be interpreted as in Psalm xxii (p. 442). It is the community of the pious who speak, of whom the writer feels himself one. Some refer the Psalm to the period of Nehemiah.

In thee, O Lord, I have taken refuge, let me never be ashamed;
Deliver me in thy righteousness.
Incline thine ear to me; deliver me speedily;
Be thou to me a rock of strength, a house of defence to save me.
For thou art my rock and my fortress;
For thy name's sake thou wilt lead and guide me.
Draw me out of the net that they have laid privily for me:
For thou art my stronghold.
Into thine hand I commit my spirit,
Thou redeemest me, O Lord, thou God of truth.
Thou hatest those that regard lying vanities,
But I—in the Lord do I trust.
I will be glad and rejoice in thy lovingkindness,
For thou hast beheld mine affliction,
Thou knewest the distresses of my soul.
Thou didst not shut me into the hand of the enemy,
Thou didst set my feet in a broad place.

Have mercy upon me, O Lord, for I am in trouble;
Mine eye is consumed with grief,
My soul and my body are confounded.
For my life is spent with anguish,
And my years with sighing;
My strength faileth because of my affliction,
And my bones are consumed because of my foes.

I am a sore reproach to my neighbours,
And a fear to mine acquaintance;
They that see me without flee away from me.
I am forgotten as a dead man out of mind;
I am like a broken vessel.
For I hear the whispering of many:
Terror is on every side: they take counsel together against me,
They devise to take away my life.

But I trust in thee, O Lord:
I say, Thou art my God.
My times are in thy hand:
Deliver me from the hand of mine enemies, and from them that persecute me.
Make thy face to shine upon thy servant:
Save me for thy lovingkindness' sake.
Let me not be ashamed, O Lord, for I have called upon thee:
Let the wicked be ashamed, and let them be silent in Sheol.
Let the lying lips be put to silence,
Which speak arrogant things proudly and contemptuously against the righteous.

Oh how great is thy goodness, which thou hast laid up for them that fear thee;
Which thou hast wrought for them that trust in thee before the sons of men!
Thou hidest them in the hiding-place of thy face from slanderers among men:
Thou concealest them in a bower from the accusing of tongues.

Blessed be the Lord:
For he hath shewed me his marvellous kindness in a time of distress.
I said in mine alarm, I am cut off from before thine eyes:
Nevertheless thou heardest the voice of my supplications when I cried unto thee.
O love the Lord, all ye his loving ones:
For the Lord keepeth faithfulness;
And amply requiteth the proud doer.
Be of good courage, and let your heart be strong,
All ye that hope in the Lord.

§ 11. *The thirty-eighth Psalm: 'Domine, ne in furore.'*—One of the greatest of the penitential Psalms follows (xxxviii). The speaker is once more a representative of his party. The whole body of pious believers is concentrated in the single 'I.' And in this Psalm they acknowledge and confess their sins. Some interpreters indeed suppose that the sins for which they accept responsibility are not really theirs: they are the sins of the people at large, for whose sake they suffer. The sufferer of this Psalm must in that case be compared with the Servant of the Second Isaiah. The solidarity of feeling in ancient Israel was so intense and vivid that it was quite possible for any single Israelite to confess and bewail the sins of his people as if they were his own. On the other hand, we know that in the Persian period the divisions in the community had become acute, and it is doubtful whether the sins of the one party would have been acknowledged by the other. It might be urged that the *result* of those sins—the continued delaying of the Messianic age—affected the pious believers more sorely than the careless or the apostate. But it is much the best and the most natural interpretation to suppose that the pious community acknowledges and deplores its own misdoings, its own lapses from the Law to which it owed allegiance. (The descriptions of sickness are metaphors of suffering.)

O Lord, rebuke me not in thy wrath,
  Neither chasten me in thy hot displeasure.
For thine arrows stick fast in me,
  And thy hand presseth me sore.
There is no soundness in my flesh because of thine anger;
  Neither is there any health in my bones because of my sin.
For mine iniquities are gone over mine head:
  As an heavy burden they are too heavy for me.
My wounds stink and are corrupt
  Because of my foolishness.
I am afflicted; I am bowed down greatly;
  I go mourning all the day long.
For my loins are filled with burning,
  And there is no soundness in my flesh.
I am benumbed and sore broken:
  I moan more than the roaring of a lion.

Lord, all my desire is before thee;
  And my groaning is not hid from thee.
My heart throbbeth, my strength faileth me:
  As for the light of mine eyes, it also is gone from me.

My lovers and my friends stand aloof from my plague;
And my kinsmen stand afar off.
They also that seek after my life lay snares for me;
And they that seek my hurt speak mischievous things,
And imagine deceits all the day long.
But I, as a deaf man, hear not;
I am become as a dumb man that openeth not his mouth.
For in thee, O Lord, do I hope:
Thou wilt hear, O Lord my God.
For I said, Hear me, lest otherwise they should rejoice over me:
When my foot slippeth, they magnify themselves against me.
For I am near to fall,
And my pain is continually before me.
For I declare mine iniquity;
I am sorry for my sin.
But mine enemies without cause are strong:
And they that hate me wrongfully are multiplied.
They also that render evil for good are mine adversaries,
Because I follow after the good.
Forsake me not, O Lord:
O my God, be not far from me.
Make haste to help me,
O Lord, my salvation.

§ 12. *The thirty-ninth Psalm.*—The next Psalm (xxxix) has been called 'the most beautiful of all the elegies in the Psalter.' The pious believer, in spite of calamity, must not complain of God's dispensations and decrees; all the more must he be patient and silent in the presence of the 'ungodly,' lest he increase their mockery and give them occasion to blaspheme. Such is the original meaning, but this Psalm is one of those which each reader will interpret for himself. For purposes of edification and prayer, why should we not read into the Psalms whatever we will? There is genius in these lyrics, and it is a characteristic of the writings of genius that there is more in them than their author knew, and that they have various applications and implications for different ages and readers.

I said, 'I will take heed to my ways,
That I sin not with my tongue:
I will put a bridle on my mouth,
While the wicked is before me.'

I was dumb with silence,
I held my peace altogether; (?)
But my sorrow was stirred.
My heart was hot within me,
As I mused the fire burned;
Then spake I with my tongue:

'Lord, make me to know mine end,
And the measure of my days, what it is;
That I may know how frail I am.
Behold, thou hast made my days as an handbreadth;
And mine age is as nothing before thee;
Verily every man is but a breath.
Surely as a mere semblance every man walketh to and fro;
His tumult is but a breath;
He heapeth up riches, and knoweth not who shall gather them.'

And now, Lord, what wait I for?
My hope is in thee.
Deliver me from all my transgressions:
Make me not the reproach of the foolish.
I am dumb, I open not my mouth;
Because thou hast done it.
Remove thy stroke away from me:
I am consumed by the blow of thine hand.
When thou with rebukes dost correct man for iniquity,
Thou makest his beauty to consume away like a moth:
Surely every man is but a breath.

Hear my prayer, O Lord,
And give ear unto my cry;
Hold not thy peace at my tears:
For I am a stranger with thee,
And a sojourner, as all my fathers were.
Look away from me, that I may be glad again,
Before I go hence, and be no more.

'Look away from me,' in the last paragraph, recalls a phrase in Job. It is a metaphor, and means: 'Cease to be angry.' Even as the law bids the Israelites be kind and charitable to all strangers

and foreign settlers, so does the Psalmist claim a like protection from God. For the earth is his, and man comes and goes upon it, as a guest who tarries for a season. Commenting on the last verse of this Psalm, Professor Wellhausen observes: 'The Psalmist's resignation borders upon despair. It is remarkable how little he desires from God. The present is cheerless; of a future world there is no thought. Faith longs for sight, but longs in vain; yet it persists, though it is almost extinguished by the painful contradiction which experience brings. A prayer like this cannot be found except in the Old Testament.' But Professor Delitzsch has said more truly of this same Psalm: 'This is just the heroic feature in the faith of the Old Testament, that, in the midst of the riddles of this life, and face to face with the impenetrable darkness resting on the life beyond, it throws itself without reserve into the arms of God.'

'Socrates, called *Scholasticus*, an ecclesiastical historian of the fifth century, tells of a plain man named Pambo, who came to a learned man and asked him to teach him some Psalm. He began to read to him the thirty-ninth: "I said, I will take heed to my ways, that I sin not with my tongue." Having heard this first sentence, Pambo took his leave, saying he would make this his first lesson. He did not return, and when his teacher met him after the space of two months, and asked him when he would proceed, he replied that he had not yet mastered his first lesson; and he gave the like answer to one who asked the same question forty-nine years after' (Ker, *The Psalms in History and Biography*). But Pambo became a great saint all the same. The story is humorously told by Mr. Browning with a comic application to himself in *Jocoseria*—the last poem in that volume.

§ 13. *The forty-first Psalm.*—The subject of the next Psalm (xli) is somewhat obscure. Some scholars regard it as a Psalm of Thanksgiving for deliverance from trouble; others as a didactic Psalm; others as a prayer for help. I have chosen the last interpretation. Perhaps when the Psalm was adopted for liturgical purposes its original opening was modified. The disease is a metaphor for communal calamity, but originally the Psalm must have been the result and record of an individual's sorrow. The writer is conscious of personal sin, but he belongs to the party of integrity. It is to that party, the true Israel, to whose continual existence the honour of God is pledged. They will abide before God's face for ever. In the opening line 'considereth' is Coverdale's very happy and accurate rendering of the Hebrew word '*maskil*.' 'Consideration' implies both thought and benevolence.

Happy is he that considereth the poor:
The Lord will deliver him in time of trouble.
The Lord will preserve him, and keep him alive;
And he shall be counted happy upon the earth:
And thou wilt not deliver him unto the rage of his enemies.
The Lord will support him upon the bed of languishing:
Thou changest all his couch in his sickness.

I say, 'Lord, be merciful unto me:
Heal my soul; for I have sinned against thee.'
Mine enemies speak evil of me,
'When shall he die, and his name perish?'
And if one come to see me, he speaketh falsehood:
His heart gathereth malice to itself;
When he goeth abroad, he telleth it.
All that hate me whisper together against me:
Against me do they devise evil.
'A sore disease,' say they, 'cleaveth fast unto him:
And now that he lieth he shall rise up no more.'
Yea, mine own familiar friend, in whom I trusted, who did eat of my bread,
Hath lifted up his heel against me. (?)

But thou, O Lord, be gracious unto me,
Raise me up, and requite them.
By this I shall know that thou hast pleasure in me,
That mine enemies will not triumph over me.
For I—thou upholdest me in mine integrity,
Thou settest me before thy face for ever.

§ 14. *Psalms forty-two and forty-three: the soul which longs for God.*—With the next Psalm we pass out of the first collection into the second. For some unknown reason it has become divided in our present Psalter into two (xlii, xliii). It was written, perhaps by some Levite (for it is a Psalm of Korah), at any rate by some lover of the Temple and its services, far from Jerusalem, in an enforced captivity. Some scholars assign it to the reign of Artaxerxes Ochus; Professor Cheyne would look rather to the days of Scopas and Antiochus the Great (198 B.C.). The Psalm is divided into three equal parts by a thrice-repeated refrain. The 'little mountain' is apparently the hill of Zion, but the text is probably corrupt. How admirably the love of the Temple became combined with the purest religious rapture! And note that the

lack of the material temple could not separate the singer from his God. Spirit was near to spirit.

As a hart panteth after the water brooks,
So panteth my soul after thee, O God.
My soul thirsteth for God, for the living God:
When shall I come and behold God's face?
My tears have been my bread day and night,
While they continually say unto me, 'Where is thy God?'
I remember these things, and pour out my soul within me:
How I went with the throng, and led them to the house of God,
With the voice of joy and praise, a multitude keeping holiday.
Why art thou cast down, O my soul?
And why art thou disquieted within me?
Wait thou for God: for I shall yet praise him,
Who is the salvation of my countenance, and my God.

O my God, my soul is cast down within me:
Therefore will I remember thee far from the land of Jordan,
Far from Hermon and the little hill.
Deep calleth unto deep at the voice of thy waterspouts;
All thy waves and thy billows are gone over me.
I say unto God my rock, 'Why hast thou forgotten me?
Why go I mourning because of the oppression of the enemy?'
As with rottenness in my bones, mine enemies reproach me;
While they say daily unto me, 'Where is thy God?'
Why art thou cast down, O my soul?
And why art thou disquieted within me?
Wait thou for God: for I shall yet praise him,
Who is the salvation of my countenance, and my God.

Judge me, O God, and plead my cause against a merciless nation:
O deliver me from the deceitful and unjust man.
For thou art the God of my strength: why dost thou cast me off?
Why go I mourning because of the oppression of the enemy?
O send out thy light and thy truth: let them lead me;

Let them bring me unto thy holy hill, and to thy dwelling-
place.
Then will I go unto the altar of God, unto God my exceed-
ing joy:
Yea, upon the harp will I praise thee, O God my God.
Why art thou cast down, O my soul?
And why art thou disquieted within me?
Wait thou for God: for I shall yet praise him,
Who is the salvation of my countenance, and my God.

§ 15. *The fifty-fifth Psalm: 'Exaudi, Deus.'*—The occasion and nearer epoch of the next Psalm (lv) are unknown. Doubtless the speaker is, as usual, the representative of his party, but the 'friend' can hardly be other than an individual, and the incident referred to a real one. The rendering of the last verse is partly conjectural.

Give ear to my prayer, O God,
And hide not thyself from my supplication.
Attend unto me, and hear me:
I toss to and fro in my complaint, and moan aloud, (?)
Because of the voice of the enemy, because of the oppression
of the wicked:
For they cast mischief upon me, and in wrath they
persecute me.
My heart is sore pained within me:
And the terrors of death are fallen upon me.
Fearfulness and trembling are come upon me,
And horror hath overwhelmed me.
And I said, 'Oh that I had wings like a dove!
For then would I fly away, and be at rest.
Lo, then would I fly far off,
I would lodge in the wilderness.
I would hasten my escape
From the windy storm and tempest.'

Destroy, O Lord, and divide their tongues:
For I have seen violence and strife in the city.
Day and night they go about it upon the walls thereof:
Mischief also and trouble are in the midst of it.
Wickedness is in the midst thereof:
Oppression and guile depart not from its market-place.

For it is not an enemy that revileth me; then I could bear it:
Neither is it he that hateth me that is insolent towards me;
Then I would hide myself from him:
But it is thou, a man mine equal,
My familiar friend, and mine acquaintance.
We took sweet counsel together,
And walked unto the house of God amid the throng.

But as for me, I will call upon God,
And the Lord will save me.
Evening and morning and noon I will complain and moan;
So shall he hear my voice.
He hath delivered my soul in peace that they should not come nigh me,
For there were many who had risen up against me.
God heareth the cry of the afflicted;
Yea, he that is enthroned of old answereth them.

§ 16. *Psalms fifty-six and fifty-seven.*—The next two Psalms (lvi, lvii) are, as Professor Cheyne says, 'twins.' For lofty trust in God amid trouble and danger, simply and yet grandly expressed, they take a high rank among their fellows. Unfortunately, the text is in many places very uncertain and corrupt. I have adopted various emendations which afford a more probable sense than the existing text.

Be merciful unto me, O God, for man crusheth me;
All the day he fighteth and oppresseth me.
Mine enemies would crush me all the day,
For they be many that fight against me.
On the day when I fear, I trust in thee.
I boast of God continually,
In God I put my trust:
I have no fear; what can flesh do unto me?

All the day they plot against me, (?)
All their thoughts are against me for evil.
They gather themselves together, they hide themselves,
They mark my steps; like a lion they wait for my soul.
Recompense them according to their wickedness;
In thine anger cast down the peoples, O God.
Thou tellest my wanderings: (?)
Thou puttest my tears into thy bottle.

When I cry unto thee, then shall mine enemies turn back:
I know that God is for me.
Of God I boast continually:
In God I put my trust:
I have no fear; what can man do unto me?

Thy vows are upon me, O God:
I will render thank-offerings unto thee.
For thou hast delivered my soul from death:
Thou hast saved my feet from falling,
That I may walk before God in the light of the living.

'I will render thank-offerings.' The Midrash says finely, 'If all prayers become needless in the future, the prayer of thanksgiving will never be abandoned; and though all sacrifices shall cease in the future, the thank-offering will cease not for ever.'

Be merciful unto me, O God, be merciful unto me;
For my soul trusteth in thee;
Yea, in the shadow of thy wings will I make my refuge,
Until these calamities be overpast.
I will cry unto God most high;
Unto God that dealeth bountifully with me.
He shall send from heaven, and save me
From the grasp of mine enemies:
God shall send forth his lovingkindness and his truth.

My soul is among lions:
Even the sons of men, whose teeth are spears and arrows,
And their tongue a sharp sword.
They have prepared a net for my steps;
They have bowed down my soul.
They have digged a pit before me:
They are fallen into the midst of it.
Be thou exalted, O God, above the heavens;
Let thy glory be above all the earth.

My heart is steadfast, O God, my heart is steadfast:
I will sing and give praise.
Awake, my glory; awake, harp and lyre;
I will awake the dawn.
I will praise thee, O Lord, among the peoples:
I will sing unto thee among the nations.

For thy lovingkindness is great unto the heavens,
And thy truth unto the clouds.
Be thou exalted, O God, above the heavens;
Let thy glory be above all the earth.

§ 17. *The sixty-second Psalm.*—Another Psalm of Trust (lxii). 'Wait for the Lord.' Fret not; be resigned. And not merely resigned passively. Let your being and your life be in harmony with what you feel to be the supremest Will, the purest Good. Live and act with God, not against him. May we thus, mystically and yet not fancifully, enlarge and paraphrase our Psalm?

Wait silently, my soul, upon God:
From him cometh my salvation.
He only is my rock and my salvation;
He is my defence; I shall not be moved.
How long will ye rage against a man,
Would ye break him down, all of you,
As a bowing wall and a tottering fence?
They only consult to drag him down from his height: (?)
They delight in lies:
They bless with their mouth, but they curse inwardly.

Wait silently, my soul, upon God;
For my expectation is from him.
He only is my rock and my salvation:
He is my defence; I shall not be moved.
Upon God rest my salvation and my glory:
The rock of my strength, and my refuge, is in God.
Trust in him, O assembly of the people,
Pour out your heart before him:
God is a refuge for us.

Surely men of low degree are a breath, and men of high degree are a lie:
Laid in the balance, they are altogether as a breath.
Trust not in perversity,
And become not vain through crookedness;
If riches spring up, give no heed to them.
God hath spoken once;
Twice have I heard this:
That power belongeth unto God,

And that unto thee, O Lord, belongeth lovingkindness,
For thou renderest to every man according to his work.

'Against a man.' Professor Wellhausen thinks that the danger here mentioned 'is a public one, threatening the theocracy. It shows itself in an onslaught on a prominent individual, who is virtually the leader of the commonwealth. He is attacked by a Jewish faction which, while affecting piety, exerts a pernicious influence.' This individual, according to Professor Wellhausen, is probably a Maccabean leader or king.

'Surely men of low degree are a breath.' Apparently the meaning is, trust in God, and not in men, who are here to-day and gone to-morrow, and whose promises are often illusory. Or it may mean, our adversaries are mere men; their vaunted power but brief and deceptive. Or it may mean, man is frail and fleeting; his strength is deceptive: vain and irrational is it therefore for such a being to adopt crooked and perverse methods of conduct so as to obtain ephemeral power or transitory wealth. To the ill-gotten gains of others let no righteous man give heed.

The interest of the Psalm may be said to lie in its general trend of thought, and in its vivid portrayal of a great and noble mind harassed by encountering the petty intrigues of jealousy, but cleaving to God for comfort and support, and thereby obtaining a true sense of proportion and a calm serenity of soul.

'According to his work.' 'What does this imply?' says the Midrash. 'Many a man purposes to commit a sin, but does not commit it. But God does not account to him the sin until he has actually committed it. But if he purposes to do a good action and is hindered and does it not, God accounts it to him as if he had done it.' The Midrash desires to emphasize the mercy of God. It ignores the case where a man purposes or desires to commit a sin, but does not commit it through mere fear of the consequences or because he is accidentally prevented. Of him it might almost be said that in God's eyes he has committed it. On the other hand the words of Shakespeare are true:—

'Tis one thing to be tempted, Escalus,
Another thing to fall.'

It would be ridiculous to say that the man who was greatly tempted to commit a bad action, but overcomes the temptation, is not morally superior to the man who is not only tempted, but yields.

§ 18. *The sixty-ninth Psalm.*—The speaker in the next Psalm (lxix) is the same as in Psalms xxii and xxxviii (§§ 7 and 11). The

period is perhaps the same also, or it may be the Maccabean. The pious believers suffer through their fidelity: they incur enmity and are estranged from their fellow-citizens by their zeal for the Lord.

Save me, O God;
For the waters are come in unto my soul.
I sink in deep mire, where there is no standing;
I am come into deep waters, where the floods overflow me.
I am weary of my crying; my throat is burnt up;
Mine eyes fail while I wait for my God.
They that hate me without a cause are more than the hairs of mine head;
They that are falsely mine enemies are more in number than my bones.
O God, thou knowest my foolishness;
And my sins are not hid from thee.
Let not them that wait for thee, O Lord God of hosts, be ashamed through me;
Let not those that seek thee be confounded through me, O Lord God of Israel.

Because for thy sake I have borne reproach;
Shame hath covered my face.
I am become a stranger unto my brethren,
And an alien unto my mother's children.
For the zeal of thine house hath eaten me up;
And the reproaches of them that reproached thee are fallen upon me.
I afflicted my soul with fasting,
Which was to my reproach.
I made sackcloth also my garment;
And I became a proverb to them.
They that sit in the gate talk of me;
And I am the song of the drunkards.
But as for me, my prayer is unto thee, O Lord,
Shew me favour, O God, in the multitude of thy mercy;
Hear me in the truth of thy salvation.
Deliver me out of the mire, and let me not sink;
Let me be delivered from them that hate me, and out of the deep waters.
Let not the waterflood overflow me,
Neither let the deep swallow me up,

And let not the pit shut her mouth upon me.
Hear me, O Lord; for thy lovingkindness is good:
Turn unto me according to the multitude of thy tender mercies.
And hide not thy face from thy servant;
For I am in trouble: hear me speedily.
Draw nigh unto my soul, and redeem it;
Deliver me because of mine enemies.
Thou knowest my reproach and my shame and my dishonour:
Mine adversaries are all before thee.
Reproach hath broken my heart; and very grievous is the wound of my soul:
I looked for one to take pity, but there was none;
And for comforters, but I found none.
They gave me gall for my food;
And in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink.

I am poor and sorrowful:
But thy salvation, O God, will set me up on high.
I will praise the name of God with a song,
And will magnify him with thanksgiving.
And this shall please the Lord better than an ox
Or bullock with horns and hoofs.
The humble shall see this, and be glad:
Ye that seek God, let your heart revive.
For the Lord hearkeneth to the needy;
And despiseth not his prisoners.
Let the heaven and earth praise him,
The seas, and every thing that moveth therein.
For God will save Zion,
And will build the cities of Judah:
And men shall dwell there, and have it in possession.
The seed also of his servants shall inherit it,
And they that love his name shall dwell therein.

'Confounded through me.' So can speak each individual pious Israelite. May his guilt not cause the Lord to withhold his help from the suffering brotherhood of which he is a member. The author writes for himself and for each unit of the community, For as a whole the 'party'—the true Israel—is 'righteous'; it is certainly righteous as contrasted with its foes, whether within

or without the national pale. But each member of it is aware in his own conscience of individual lapses, which have been confessed and laid bare unto God.

§ 19. *Psalm seventy-one.* — The next Psalm (lxxi) is mainly a compilation or cento from other Psalms, to most of which we have already listened. The 'I' is the pious community of believers. The 'youth' refers to Israel's youth; the 'birth' to the Exodus from Egypt, when the nation was born religiously and even politically. For the period we may again look to the closing epoch of the Persian rule. Let me again emphasize the fact that the Psalmist feels what he writes. He records the experiences of his own soul, though he speaks from the heart of his community. There is no *personation* about the Psalms. They can be our individual solace now, even as the thoughts which are expressed in them were the solace and hope of the individual writers. Not only was God the hope of the community, but also of the individual.

In thee, O Lord, do I put my trust;
  Let me never be ashamed.
Deliver me in thy righteousness, and cause me to escape;
  Incline thine ear unto me, and save me.
Be thou my rock of refuge,
  A fortified house that thou mayest save me;
  For thou art my rock and my fortress.

Deliver me, O my God, out of the hand of the wicked,
  Out of the hand of the unrighteous and cruel man.
For thou art my hope, O Lord God:
  Thou art my trust from my youth,
On thee have I stayed myself from my birth;
  My hope is ever in thee.

I am as a portent unto many;
  But thou art my strong refuge.
Let my mouth be filled with thy praise
  And with thy glory all the day.
Cast me not off in the time of old age;
  Forsake me not when my strength faileth.

For mine enemies speak against me;
  And they that lay wait for my soul take counsel together,
Saying, 'God hath forsaken him:
  Pursue and take him; for there is none to deliver him.'

O God, be not far from me;
O my God, make haste for my help.

Let them be confounded and put to shame that are adversaries to my soul;
Let them be covered with reproach and dishonour that seek my hurt.
But I will hope continually,
And will yet praise thee more and more.
My mouth shall shew forth thy righteousness and thy salvation all the day;
I will shew forth the mighty deeds of the Lord God;
I will make mention of thy righteousness, even of thine only.

O God, thou hast taught me from my youth,
And hitherto have I declared thy wondrous works.
Now also when I am old and greyheaded, O God, forsake me not;
Until I have told thine arm unto the generation to come,
Even thy power and thy righteousness.
Thy mighty deeds, O God, reach unto the heights,
O God, who is like unto thee!
Thou, who hast shewed me great and sore troubles, shalt quicken me again,
And shalt bring me up again from the depths of the earth.

So will I praise thee among the nations, O Lord,
Even thy faithfulness upon the harp, O my God:
Unto thee will I sing with the lyre, O thou Holy One of Israel.
My lips shall greatly rejoice when I sing unto thee;
And my soul, which thou hast redeemed.
My tongue also shall talk of thy righteousness all the day long:
For they are confounded, for they are brought unto shame, that seek my hurt.

'In thy righteousness.' The Midrash is always dwelling upon God's mercy. So here: 'Israel says unto God, If thou wouldest help us, help us not through our own righteousness and good works, but redeem us through thy righteousness.' Or again, commenting on the last words of Psalm xi (p. 438), it says: 'If

we have any good works to show, he gives us their recompense; but if not, he gives us righteousness and grace from his own goodness.' With their fervent belief in a future life, the Rabbinic teachers had far less difficulty than the Psalmists in reconciling the long agony of persecution and sore distress with the infinite tenderness of God.

§ 20. *The seventy-seventh Psalm: 'Voce mea ad Dominum'*— The gist of the following Psalm (lxxvii) is apparently to point out to despondent believers in days of trouble and darkness how comfort may be won by considering God's mercies to Israel in the historic past. What has been may be again. As he saved then, so may he, nay, so will he, save again. If his arm seems stayed and its strength diminished, this is because of Israel's sin. But the tenses are difficult, and the text and meaning in one important and crucial verse are very uncertain. I have followed the rendering of Professor Driver, which coincides with Ewald's. The end is perhaps defective. Professor Cheyne thinks that the last stanza is part of another Psalm. It seems to deal in poetic elaboration with the departure from Egypt and the crossing of the Red Sea.

(I said,) 'I will cry unto God with my voice,
Even unto God with my voice, that he may give ear unto me.'
In the day of my trouble I sought the Lord;
My hand was stretched out in the night, and wearied not;
My soul refused to be comforted.
(I said,) 'I will remember God, and make my moan,
I will muse;' but my spirit was overwhelmed.
Thou heldest mine eyelids open:
I was so troubled that I could not speak.

I considered the days of old,
The years of ancient times.
(I said,) 'I will call to remembrance my song in the night:
I will commune with my heart;'
And my spirit made search, (saying):
'Will the Lord cast off for ever,
And will he be favourable no more?
Is his mercy clean gone for ever,
Doth his faithfulness fail for evermore?
Hath God forgotten to be gracious,
Hath he in anger shut up his tender mercies?'

Then I said, 'This is my infirmity:
  But I will remember the years of the right hand of the most High. (?)
I will make mention of the works of the Lord;
  I will remember thy wonders of old.
I will meditate also on all thy work,
  And muse on thy doings.'

Thy way, O God, is in holiness:
  Who is so great a God as the Lord?
Thou art the God that doest wonders;
  Thou hast declared thy strength among the peoples.
Thou hast with thine arm redeemed thy people,
  The sons of Jacob and Joseph.

The waters saw thee, O God,
  The waters saw thee; they were afraid;
  The depths also were troubled.
The clouds poured out water;
  The skies sent out a sound;
  Thine arrows also went abroad.
The voice of thy thunder was in the whirlwind;
  The lightnings lightened the world;
  The earth trembled and shook.
Thy way was in the sea,
  And thy path in the great waters,
  And thy footsteps were not known.
Thou leddest thy people like a flock
  By the hand of Moses and Aaron.

§ 21. *The eighty-fifth Psalm.*—The following Psalm (lxxxv) may belong to the early period of the restoration from Babylon, when to the high-pitched expectations, to which the prophecies of the Second Isaiah had given rise, there succeeded disillusionment and adversity. The petty settlement in Judaea under the doubtful favour of the Persian kings was a feeble substitute for the independence and glory which had been expected and foretold. But the Psalmist clings to the same indomitable hope as the prophets. Let but the heart of his people be truly turned towards God, and the promised salvation shall soon be realized. The value of the Psalm to us lies in its fine description of what that salvation shall consist in. There is a mingling of material and spiritual blessings, but the spiritual predominate. Such salvation does not come all at once or on a sudden: but it comes gradually and little by little. Is

it not in giving fuller and more concrete meaning, a wider and more discerning application, to the 'vacant forms of light'— loving-kindness and truth, righteousness and peace—that the true progress of man does still consist?

Lord, thou hadst been favourable to thy land,
Thou hadst turned the fortunes of Jacob.
Thou hadst forgiven the iniquity of thy people,
Thou hadst covered all their sin.
Thou hadst taken away all thy wrath:
Thou hadst turned thyself from the fierceness of thine anger.

Restore us, O God of our salvation,
And cause thine anger toward us to cease.
Wilt thou be angry with us for ever?
Wilt thou draw out thine anger to all generations?
Wilt thou not revive us again:
That thy people may rejoice in thee?
Shew us thy lovingkindness, O Lord,
And grant us thy salvation.

I will hear what God the Lord will speak:
For he will speak peace unto his people, and to his loving ones,
To them who turn their hearts unto him.
Surely his salvation is nigh them that fear him;
That glory may dwell in our land.
Lovingkindness and truth are met together;
Righteousness and peace have kissed each other.
Truth shall spring out of the earth;
And righteousness shall look down from heaven.
The Lord shall also give that which is good;
And our land shall yield her increase.
Righteousness shall go before him;
And peace in the way of his steps.

§ 22. *The eighty-sixth Psalm: 'Inclina, Domine.'*—The next Psalm (lxxxvi) is an exquisite 'cento of reminiscences' from older Psalms and other religious writings. Though the Psalm is therefore not original, the discrimination and tact of selection are most delightful. The speaker is a 'representative pious Israelite' who speaks in the name of his people. For Israel in its historic past was the 'handmaid' of God, while the

son of that handmaid is the generation of the Psalmist, himself included. Pious Israel knows that its heart is set Godwards, but it is far from claiming to itself moral or religious perfection. It still asks God for guidance and inspiration. Note that prayers for vengeance are pleasingly absent from this Psalm, while, on the other hand, the larger Messianic hope is emphasized. The salvation of Israel is the enlightenment of the nations.

Incline thine ear, O Lord, and answer me;
For I am afflicted and needy.
Preserve my soul; for I am loving:
O thou my God, save thy servant that trusteth in thee.
Be merciful unto me, O Lord:
For I cry unto thee daily.
Rejoice the soul of thy servant:
For unto thee, O Lord, do I lift up my soul.
For thou, Lord, art good, and ready to forgive;
And plenteous in lovingkindness unto all them that call upon thee.

Give ear, O Lord, unto my prayer;
And attend to the voice of my supplications.
In the day of my trouble I call upon thee:
For thou wilt answer me.
Among the gods there is none like unto thee, O Lord;
Neither are there any works like unto thy works.
All nations whom thou hast made
Shall come and worship before thee, O Lord;
And shall glorify thy name.
For thou art great, and doest wondrous things;
Thou art God alone.

Teach me thy way, O Lord; I will walk in thy truth:
So shall my heart rejoice to fear thy name.
I will praise thee, O Lord my God, with all my heart;
And I will glorify thy name for evermore.
For great is thy mercy toward me;
And thou hast delivered my soul from Sheol beneath.
O God, the proud are risen against me,
And the assemblies of violent men have sought after my soul;
And have not set thee before them.
But thou, O Lord, art a God full of compassion, and gracious,

Longsuffering, and plenteous in lovingkindness and truth.
O turn unto me, and have mercy upon me;
Give thy strength unto thy servant,
And save the son of thine handmaid.
Shew me a token for good;
That they who hate me may see it and be ashamed,
Because thou, O Lord, hast helped me and comforted me.

§ 23. *The eighty-eighth Psalm.*—Unless the true close of the following Psalm (lxxxviii) be lost, it is the saddest in the Psalter. Prayer brings comfort. Therefore the petitions of the Psalmists end in hope. But the eighty-eighth Psalm is an exception to the rule; it concludes as it had begun in lamentation and gloom.

O Lord my God, I have cried for help by day,
And by night my cry is before thee.
Let my prayer come before thee;
Incline thine ear unto my cry.

For my soul is full of troubles,
And my life draweth nigh unto Sheol.
I am counted with them that go down into the pit;
I am as a man that hath no strength.

I am likened unto the dead,
Like the slain that lie in the grave,
Whom thou rememberest no more:
And they are cut off from thy hand.

Thou hast laid me in the lowest pit,
In darkness, in the deeps.
Thou hast poured forth thy wrath upon me,
And thou hast let all thy waves pass over me.

Thou hast put away mine acquaintance far from me;
Thou hast made me an abomination unto them:
I am shut up, and I cannot come forth.
Mine eye wasteth away by reason of affliction:
Lord, I have called daily upon thee,
I have stretched out my hands unto thee.

Wilt thou shew wonders to the dead,
Shall the shades arise and praise thee?

Shall thy lovingkindness be declared in the grave,
  Or thy faithfulness in Abaddon?
Shall thy wonders be known in the dark,
  And thy righteousness in the land of forgetfulness?

But unto thee have I cried, O Lord;
  And in the morning doth my prayer come before thee.
Lord, why castest thou off my soul,
  Why hidest thou thy face from me?

I am afflicted and ready to die;
  I suffer thy terrors; I am benumbed.
Thy fierce wrath goeth over me;
  Thy terrors have destroyed me.
They surround me like water all the day;
  They compass me about together.
Thou hast put far from me lover and friend;
  Mine acquaintance hast thou withheld from me.

Abaddon (literally, destruction) is a poetical synonym for Sheol, the land of the shades. The Psalmist means to say: Is God going to secure the continuance of his praise and to preserve his fidelity to Israel by the miracle of a resurrection of the dead? If all Israel upon earth is to die and be cut off entirely, what resource will there be but to awaken the dead? But to the Psalmist this is a *reductio ad absurdum*. The hope of immortality in our sense of the word had not yet dawned. The dwellers in Sheol feel neither joy nor sorrow. The shades have forgotten God. From Sheol can come forth no praise. But now, as we read these mournful words, the hope is resurgent and strong within our souls: God's lovingkindness shall be declared beyond the grave. He *will* show wonders to the dead.

§ 24. *The ninetieth Psalm: 'Domine, refugium.'*—We now pass from the second to the third collection, out of which, however, there will be only six Psalms to include in our present group. Of these the first (xc) has for some not clearly ascertainable reasons received the heading, 'A Prayer of Moses, the man of God.' But it must have been written many centuries after Moses, when the community of Israel was fully formed, and when its religious consciousness had been trained and matured by many ages of prophetic teaching and historic experience. One of the many gloomy moments in the long Persian period may be its date. The prayer for deliverance, which is the culmination of the Psalm,

is prefaced by an impressive reflection upon the successive generations of man as they journey in rapid and ceaseless movement from the birth to the grave. The Psalmist is still somewhat oppressed by the phantom or nightmare of the divine wrath; he had not sufficiently realized the doctrine of God's unity so as to see that, God's justice and God's mercy being one and the same, 'wrath' and 'anger' are terms essentially inapplicable to the divine being. But the brevity of life and the lessons which that brevity teaches remain the same as of old. We too may pray like the Psalmist: 'So teach us to number our days, that we may get us an heart of wisdom.'

Lord, thou hast been our refuge
In all generations.
Before the mountains were brought forth,
Or the earth and the world were born,
Even from everlasting to everlasting, thou art God.
Thou turnest man back to dust:
And sayest, 'Return, ye children of men.'
For a thousand years in thy sight
Are but as yesterday as it passeth away,
And as a watch in the night.

Thou carriest them away as with a flood; they become as a sleep;
They are like grass which groweth up.
In the morning it flourisheth, and groweth up,
In the evening it is cut down, and withereth.
For we are consumed by thine anger,
And by thy wrath are we troubled.
Thou hast set our iniquities before thee,
Our secret sins in the light of thy countenance.

For all our days pass away in thy wrath;
We spend our years as a sigh.
The days of our years are threescore years,
Or if by reason of strength they be fourscore years,
Yet is their pride but labour and vanity,
For it is soon cut off, and we fly away.
Who knoweth the power of thine anger,
Or thy wrath as the fear of thee befitteth?
So teach us to number our days,
That we may get us an heart of wisdom.

Return, O Lord, how long?
And let it repent thee concerning thy servants.
O satisfy us early with thy mercy;
That we may rejoice and be glad all our days.
Make us glad according to the days wherein thou hast afflicted us,
And the years wherein we have seen evil.
Let thy work appear unto thy servants,
And thy glory unto their children.
And let the graciousness of the Lord our God be upon us:
And prosper thou the work of our hands;
Yea, prosper thou our handiwork.

The opening verses of this Psalm suggested the famous hymn, 'O God, our help in ages past,' which I will here quote in full.

O God, our help in ages past,
Our hope for years to come,
Our shelter from the stormy blast,
And our eternal home!

Beneath the shadow of thy throne
Thy saints have dwelt secure;
Sufficient is thine arm alone,
And our defence is sure.

Before the hills in order stood,
Or earth received her frame,
From everlasting thou art God,
To endless years the same.

A thousand ages in thy sight
Are like an evening gone;
Short as the watch that ends the night
Before the rising sun.

Time, like an ever-rolling stream,
Bears all its sons away;
They fly forgotten, as a dream
Dies at the opening day.

O God, our help in ages past,
Our hope for years to come;
Be thou our guard while troubles last,
And our eternal home.

I wish this beautiful hymn were sung in our synagogues.

It is well worth while to quote the probably accurate explanation of this Psalm by Professor Wellhausen: 'From the conclusion it is clear that the community is speaking. Because heavy misfortune has been long weighing it down, and God does not manifest his countenance or his hand, the people feel that his wrath rests upon them. But the fortunes of men in general are blended with the lot that history has assigned to the community. And the wrath of God which his people feel is not a mere transient and extraordinary misfortune affecting Israel alone; it is the abiding and inevitable misery of human life. This conveys the impression that God's relation to Israel is neither more nor less close than his relation to men in general. The specific Israelitish way of looking at things is lost in the universal, but comes up again at the close. These inconsistencies make it difficult to point out a logical connexion of ideas. In several places we can do no more than indicate the psychological association of ideas, the pathology of the writer's mind. But this does not diminish the deep impression which the Psalm makes.'

I will also quote the comments of the 'Four Friends,' whose edition of the Psalter contains many helpful thoughts. 'This has been called the funeral hymn of the world. The troubles of the times in which the Psalmist's life had been cast made him realize to the full the great truth of the frailty of man and the transitoriness of all that is human. This truth has a far different significance to the spiritual and to the worldly man. To the worldly man it brings either despair or recklessness; a folding of the hands in fatalistic indifference, or the spirit of "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." To the spiritual man it is the counterpart of the higher truth of the eternity of God; the lesson it teaches him is not despair but resignation; not fatalism or frivolity but faith and earnestness. The criterion of man's greatness is not his power of resistance to God, but his power to co-operate with God's work and to bring his own will into harmony with the will of God. The highest prayer which man can offer to God is 'Thy will be done,' and it is only when the union between the human and the divine will is complete that the work of man can gain a blessing for itself and exert a lasting influence on the world.'

§ 25. *The ninety-fourth Psalm.*—In the following Psalm (xciv) it is very difficult to say whether the Psalmist seeks to be delivered from external or internal foes, or whether both classes of enemies are alluded to. In the last supposition the transitions would be very abrupt; yet there are some passages which must certainly refer to internal or native oppressors, while there

are others which seem to imply foreigners. Like many other Psalms in this group, this one too seems dependent upon the Book of Job. The verse, 'He that planteth the ear, shall he not hear?' &c., marks a step in religious thought, and in another form still appeals to us. The universal spirit must, we argue, be not less rational and not less good than the finite spirits of man. We can only account for human love if its ultimate source be divine.

O Lord God, to whom vengeance belongeth;
O God, to whom vengeance belongeth, shine forth!
Lift up thyself, thou judge of the earth:
Render a recompense to the proud.

Lord, how long shall the wicked,
How long shall the wicked triumph?
They pour forth and utter arrogant things,
And all the workers of iniquity are proud.
They crush thy people, O Lord,
They afflict thine heritage.
They slay the widow and the stranger,
And murder the fatherless.
Yet they say, 'The Lord will not see,
Neither will the God of Jacob regard it.'

Give heed, ye brutish among the people:
And ye fools, when will ye be wise?
He that planted the ear, shall he not hear?
He that formed the eye, shall he not see?
He that formeth the nations, shall not he punish?
Shall he not teach man knowledge? (?)
The Lord knoweth the thoughts of man,
For they are but a breath.

Happy is the man whom thou admonishest, O Lord,
And teachest him out of thy law;
That thou mayest give him rest from the days of calamity,
While the pit is digged for the wicked. (?)
For the Lord will not cast off his people,
Neither will he forsake his inheritance.
But judgement shall return unto righteousness:
And all the upright in heart shall follow it.

Who will rise up for me against the evildoers?
Or who will stand up for me against the workers of iniquity?

Unless the Lord were my help,
My soul would soon dwell in Silence.
If I think, My foot slippeth;
Thy lovingkindness, O Lord, holdeth me up.
In the multitude of my cares within me
Thy comforts delight my soul.

Shall the throne of iniquity have fellowship with thee,
Which frameth mischief by law?
They gather themselves together against the soul of the righteous,
And condemn the innocent blood.
But the Lord is my high tower,
And my God is the rock of my refuge.
And he shall bring upon them their own iniquity,
And shall cut them off in their own wickedness;
Yea, the Lord our God shall cut them off.

§ 26. *The one hundred and second Psalm.*—The following Psalm (cii) was clearly written for communal use, and the speaker is Israel. But the subtle manner in which individual and national purposes are interwoven in the Psalter is illustrated by the heading given to this particular hymn, which dedicates it to the use of the individual sufferer. It is called: 'A prayer for the afflicted when he fainteth, and poureth out his complaint before the Lord.' The Israelite is so bound up with Israel in Israel's joys and sorrows, and the tact of the Psalmists is usually so delicate, that the communal Psalm is available for the individual just as in other cases Psalms for individuals may have been adapted for the community. The date of the Psalm is disputed; but there are only two alternatives. It belongs either to the period of Nehemiah before the walls were rebuilt, or to the days of desolation under Antiochus Epiphanes. The 'Perfects' in the penultimate stanza are an admirable and conspicuous instance of the so-called Prophetic Perfect or the Perfect of Certitude. The Psalmist describes the accomplished result of his prayer. In the last stanza he returns to the mournful Present.

Hear my prayer, O Lord,
And let my cry come unto thee.
Hide not thy face from me in the day when I am in trouble;
Incline thine ear unto me:
In the day when I call answer me speedily.

For my days are consumed like smoke,
And my bones are burned as an hearth.
My heart is smitten, and witherêd like grass;
I forget to eat my bread.
By reason of the voice of my groaning
My bones cleave to my skin.
I am like a pelican of the wilderness:
I am become as an owl of the desert.
I watch, and make moan
As a lonely bird upon the roof.

Mine enemies reproach me all the day;
And they that are mad against me use my name as a curse.
I have eaten ashes like bread,
And mingled my drink with weeping,
Because of thine indignation and thy wrath:
For thou hast lifted me up, and cast me down.
My days are like a shadow that declineth;
And I wither like the grass.

But thou, O Lord, art enthroned for ever;
And thy remembrance endureth unto all generations.
Thou wilt arise, and have mercy upon Zion:
For the time to favour her, yea, the set time, is come.
For thy servants take pleasure in her stones,
They compassionate the dust thereof.

Then the nations shall fear the name of the Lord,
And all the kings of the earth thy glory.
For the Lord hath built up Zion,
He hath appeared in his glory.
He hath regarded the prayer of the destitute,
And not despised their prayer.

This shall be written for the generation to come:
And the people which shall be created shall praise the Lord.
For he hath looked down from his holy height;
From heaven did the Lord behold the earth;
To hear the groaning of the prisoner;
To loose those that were appointed to death;
That they may declare the name of the Lord in Zion,
And his praise in Jerusalem;
When the peoples are gathered together,
And the kingdoms, to serve the Lord.

He hath weakened my strength in the way;
He hath shortened my days.
O my God, I cry, take me not away in the midst of my days:
Thy years are throughout all generations.
Of old hast thou laid the foundations of the earth:
And the heavens are the work of thy hands.
They shall perish, but thou shalt endure:
Yea, all of them shall wax old like a garment;
As a vesture shalt thou change them, and they shall be changed:
But thou art ever the same,
And thy years shall have no end.
The children of thy servants shall abide,
And their seed shall be established before thee.

§ 27. *The one hundred and thirty-seventh Psalm.*—The following Psalm (cxxxvii) is a famous religious lyric which seems to reflect the moods of sorrow and of hatred which possessed the souls of the Jewish exiles in Babylonia. But it may have been written not during but shortly after the exile, or again it may quite possibly be a 'dramatic lyric' in Mr. Browning's sense, composed, perchance in the Maccabean period, by a Temple singer who 'identifies himself by sympathy with his exiled predecessors in Babylon.' Babylon stands to him for Syria, just as 'even to the prophets Edom and Babylon were types of the class of Jehovah's enemies.'

By the rivers of Babylon,
There we sat down and wept,
When we remembered Zion.
We hung our harps
Upon the willows in the midst thereof.
For there they that carried us away captive required of us a song;
And they that wasted us required of us mirth, saying,
'Sing us one of the songs of Zion.'

How shall we sing the Lord's song
In a strange land?
If I forget thee, O Jerusalem,
Let my right hand waste away.

If I do not remember thee,
Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth;
If I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy.

Remember, O Lord, unto the children of Edom
The day of Jerusalem;
Who cried, 'Rase it, rase it,
Even to the foundation thereof.'
O daughter of Babylon, the destroyer,
Happy shall he be, that payeth thee back
For the deeds which thou didst do unto us.
Happy shall he be, that taketh
And dasheth thy little ones against the stones.

It would be tempting to omit the third stanza. But in a Psalm so famous as this it would be historically unfair. Doubtless the Psalmist had seen and heard of many deeds of heartless cruelty, which partly palliate the cruelty of his own heart's desire. For us, however, the close of the Psalm destroys the beauty of its opening. Realizing as we do that tit for tat is not the highest moral law, the vengeance cry of the Psalmist belongs for us to a lower and superseded religious plane. Yet it is not for us to forget that it is not *our* wisdom and piety which enable us to detect the religious deficiencies of our ancestors. Rather is it the sifted piety and purified wisdom of the past which enable the present to start at a higher moral and religious level. As the old saying goes, 'Dwarfs on giants' shoulders see further than giants.'

§ 28. *Psalms one hundred and forty-one and one hundred and forty-two.*—Part of the short Psalm which follows (cxli) is hopelessly corrupt. The date of composition is probably the Greek but pre-Maccabean period, when many of the richer and more worldly Jews were falling away from their religion. Baethgen supposes the righteous reprover to be God: in that case it is the pious community in whose name and for whose needs the prayer is put forth.

Lord, I cry unto thee; make haste unto me;
Give ear unto my voice when I cry unto thee.
Let my prayer appear before thee as incense;
And the lifting up of my hands as the evening sacrifice.

Set a watch, O Lord, before my mouth;
Guard the door of my lips.

Incline not my heart to any evil thing,
To practise wicked deeds with men that work iniquity:
And let me not eat of their dainties.
Let the righteous smite me in lovingkindness and chasten me;
Such good oil let not my head refuse.

For mine eyes are unto thee, O God, the Lord;
In thee is my trust; pour not out my soul.
Keep me from the snares which they have laid for me,
And the gins of the workers of iniquity.
Let the wicked fall into their own nets,
Whilst that I withal escape.

'I cry unto thee; make haste unto me.' The Midrash says: 'What does "make haste unto me" mean? I hastened to fulfil thy commands; so hasten thou to me. What is the matter like? It is like a man who had to defend himself before a judge. He saw that all his opponents had advocates to plead for them. So he called to the judge, and said: All require advocates and have them, but I have no advocate. Be thou my advocate as well as my judge. So spake David: Some rely on their good works, and some on the good works of their fathers, but I rely on thee. Though I have no good works, yet since I cry unto thee, answer me.'

The following Psalm (cxlii) repeats familiar complaints and ends in customary confidence.

I cry unto the Lord with my voice;
With my voice unto the Lord I make my supplication.
I pour out my complaint before him;
I shew before him my trouble,
When my spirit is overwhelmed within me.
In the way wherein I walk, they have privily laid a snare for me;
But thou knowest my path.
I look on my right hand, and gaze on my left;
Escape hath failed me; no man careth for my soul.

I cry unto thee, O Lord:
I say, 'Thou art my refuge,
My portion in the land of the living.
Attend unto my cry; for I am brought very low:
Deliver me from my persecutors; for they are stronger than I.

Bring my soul out of prison, that I may praise thy name:
The righteous shall glory in me; for thou wilt deal bountifully with me.'

'The righteous shall glory in me.' The verb is doubtful. Who are the righteous? Have we here a purely 'individual' Psalm, and is the 'prison' to be taken quite literally? Or is it the members of the community who bewail their lot? In that case the 'prison' must be interpreted metaphorically of misfortune, and the 'righteous' must be the future proselytes, whom Israel's deliverance and triumph will surely bring to the knowledge and worship of the true God. The term 'righteous' would then be used, as the grammarians say, 'proleptically,' i. e. by way of anticipation.

§ 29. *The one hundred and forty-third Psalm.*—We have now reached the last Psalm to be included in the present group from the third collection (cxliii). It is largely made up of reminiscences, yet original touches are not wanting. The fifth line is notable: 'In thy sight no man living is righteous' (translated in the Authorized Version: 'In thy sight shall no man living be justified'). The Psalmist does not ask for God's deliverance on the ground of his righteousness. In an appeal to the All-righteous, what can his own feeble, human righteousness avail? At the best it is but poor. But God's righteousness is merciful. It does not expect from man more than man can render. Therefore even a cry for deliverance can appeal to God's righteousness. With him and in him, goodness, justice, righteousness and love are one and the same: mere synonyms and nothing more. For God alone is truly One. Note too the appeal to the Divine Spirit. Once again we have an allusion to that mysterious interchange and combination of human effort and divine grace which render man capable of his best deeds and highest self. 'The right or level path' is used here in a moral sense; elsewhere it is a metaphor for prosperity. The only jarring note is struck in the last two lines. Shall we who use this Psalm for our own devotional purposes give to them another interpretation? For who are our real enemies? Who most sorely afflict our soul? Our own evil thoughts, our own wicked desires, our own temptations. From these, O God, deliver us indeed. Help us, O Lord, in thy lovingkindness, to overcome them: through thine aid may we destroy them and cut them off.

Hear my prayer, O Lord,
In thy righteousness give ear to my supplications,
Answer me in thy righteousness.

And enter not into judgement with thy servant:
For in thy sight no man living is righteous.
For the enemy hath pursued my soul;
He hath crushed my life down to the ground;
He hath made me to dwell in darkness, as those that have been long dead.
Therefore is my spirit overwhelmed within me;
My heart within me is appalled.

I remember the days of old;
I meditate on all thy works;
I muse on the works of thy hands.
I stretch forth my hands unto thee:
My soul thirsteth after thee, as a thirsty land.
Hear me speedily, O Lord: my spirit faileth:
Hide not thy face from me,
Lest I become like unto them that go down into the pit.
Satisfy me with thy lovingkindness in the morning;
For in thee do I trust:
Make me to know the way wherein I should walk;
For I lift up my soul unto thee.
Deliver me, O Lord, from mine enemies:
I hope in thee.
Teach me to do thy will,
For thou art my God:
Let thy good spirit lead me in the right path.
Quicken me, O Lord, for thy name's sake:
Through thy righteousness bring my soul out of trouble.
And in thy lovingkindness cut off mine enemies,
And destroy all them that afflict my soul:
For I am thy servant.

'Enter not into judgement.' '*To enter into judgement* is an expression used of the plaintiff, not of the judge. God's *righteousness* consists in this very fact, that he does not appear as a complainant against the pious, endeavouring to detect their most secret sins and bring them to punishment. In that case no one could win his suit against him' (Wellhausen).

'Teach me to do thy will.' These six short words are the concentrated essence of true prayer. Make us see what action is in best accordance with thee—that is, with Righteousness; give

us power to do it. Direct our understanding; purify our hearts; strengthen our will.

§ 30. *The eightieth Psalm.*—I propose to close the group with four Psalms which seem to reflect one and the same definite historical situation. I have therefore taken them out of the order in which they come in the Psalter, and we go back from the third collection to the second. They are national Psalms written amid persecution, suffering and war. From all we know of the post-exilic history of the Jews, they must be assigned either to the reign of Artaxerxes Ochus or to the era of the Maccabees. With regard to the last three of them, at any rate, the later date seems to me by far the more probable. The intense consciousness that they were suffering for a religious cause was more characteristic of the Jews under Antiochus than of those under Ochus. And were synagogues already frequent in the Persian period?

As I have already said, all the four Psalms belong to the second collection. That is one reason why Professor Robertson-Smith and other scholars think they cannot be Maccabean. They would limit the appearance of *Maccabean* Psalms to the *third* and *latest* collection.

First shall come Psalm lxxx. Note that 'Turn us again' means 'Restore our prosperity.' The 'vine' is of course Israel; the 'mountains' represent the southern, the 'cedars of God' the northern frontier; the 'sea' is the Mediterranean, and the 'river' the Euphrates: i. e. the western and eastern boundaries.

Give ear, O Shepherd of Israel,
  Thou that leadest Joseph like a flock;
  Thou that art enthroned upon the cherubim, shine forth.
Stir up thy strength,
  And come and save us.
Turn us again, O God,
  Cause thy face to shine, and we shall be saved.

O Lord God of hosts,
  How long wilt thou be angry against the prayer of thy people?
Thou feedest them with the bread of tears;
  And givest them tears to drink in great measure.
Thou makest us a strife unto our neighbours:
  And our enemies laugh among themselves.
Turn us again, O God of hosts,
  Cause thy face to shine, and we shall be saved.

Thou broughtest a vine out of Egypt:
  Thou didst cast out the nations and plant it.
Thou madest room before it,
  And it put forth its roots and filled the land.
The hills were covered with the shadow of it,
  And the cedars of God with its boughs.
It spread out its branches unto the sea,
  And its shoots unto the river.
Why hast thou then broken down its hedges,
  So that all they who pass by the way do rend it?
The boar out of the wood doth tear it,
  And the wild beast of the field doth devour it.
Turn us again, O God of hosts
  [*Cause thy face to shine, and we shall be saved*].

Look down from heaven, and behold,
  And visit this vine and establish it.
They have burned it with fire, they have cut it down:
  May they perish at the rebuke of thy countenance.
Let thy hand be upon the man of thy right hand,
  Upon the son of man whom thou hast chosen for thyself.
So will we not go back from thee:
  Quicken us, and we will call upon thy name,
Turn us again, O Lord God of hosts,
  Cause thy face to shine, and we shall be saved.

§ 31. *The seventy-ninth Psalm*: '*Deus, venerunt gentes.*'—Of the next Psalm (lxxix) the only adequate commentary is the story of the Maccabean persecutions, which we shall hear in the next section.

O Lord, the nations are come into thine inheritance;
  They have defiled thy holy temple,
  They have laid Jerusalem in heaps.
They have given the dead bodies of thy servants to be food
    unto the birds of the heaven,
  The flesh of thy loving ones unto the beasts of the earth.
Their blood they have shed like water round about Jerusalem,
  And there was none to bury them.
We are become a reproach to our neighbours,
  A scorn and a derision to them that are round about us.

How long, O Lord, will thou be angry for ever,
  How long will thy passion burn like fire?

Pour out thy wrath upon the nations that do not know thee,
And upon the kingdoms that call not upon thy name.
For they have devoured Jacob,
And laid his homestead waste.
O remember not against us the iniquities of our ancestors;
Let thy tender mercies speedily come to meet us:
For we are brought very low.

Help us, O God of our salvation, for the glory of thy name:
And deliver us, and purge away our sins, for thy name's sake.
Wherefore should the nations say, 'Where is their God?'
Let there be made known among the nations in our sight
The revenging of the blood of thy servants which hath been shed.
Let the sighing of the prisoner come before thee;
According to the greatness of thy power preserve thou those that are appointed to die;
And render unto our neighbours sevenfold into their bosom
Their reproach, wherewith they have reproached thee, O Lord.
So we thy people and sheep of thy pasture
Will give thee thanks for ever:
We will shew forth thy praise to all generations.

§ 32. *Psalm seventy-four*: '*Ut quid, Deus, repulisti.*'—The following Psalm (lxxiv) evidently reflects the same historical situation as its predecessor.

O God, why hast thou cast us off for ever?
Why doth thine anger smoke against the sheep of thy pasture?
Remember thy congregation, which thou didst acquire of old;
Which thou didst redeem to be of thine inheritance;
Yon mount Zion, whereon thou hast dwelt.
Lift up thy feet unto the perpetual desolations;
The enemy hath ill used all in the sanctuary.
Thine adversaries roar in the midst of thy Place of Meeting;
They set up their signs for signs. (?)
They destroy as they who lift up
Axes in the forest thicket. (?)
They break off the carved work thereof;
They hew down with axes and hammers. (?)

They have set on fire thy sanctuary,
They have defiled the dwelling place of thy name unto the ground.
They said in their hearts, 'Let us destroy them altogether':
They have burned up all the synagogues of God in the land.

We see not our signs:
There is no more any prophet:
Neither is there among us any that knoweth how long.
O God, how long shall the adversary reproach,
Shall the enemy blaspheme thy name for ever?
Why withdrawest thou thy hand;
And keepest thy right hand within thy bosom?

But God is my King of old,
Working deliverances in the midst of the earth.
Thou didst divide the sea by thy strength:
Thou brakest the heads of the dragons in the waters.
Thou didst cleave the fountain and the flood:
Thou driedst up everlasting rivers.
The day is thine, the night also is thine:
Thou didst establish luminary and sun.
Thou didst set all the bounds of the earth:
Thou didst make summer and winter.

Remember how the enemy hath reviled thee, O Lord,
And how a foolish people have blasphemed thy name.
O deliver not unto death the soul of thy turtledove:
Forget not the lives of thine afflicted for ever.
Look upon thy covenant:
For the dark places of the earth are full of cruelty.
O let not the oppressed be turned back ashamed:
Let the poor and needy praise thy name.
Arise, O God, plead thy cause:
Remember how the fool revileth thee daily.
Forget not the voice of thine enemies,
The tumult of those that rise up against thee mounteth up continually.

'They set up their signs for signs.' A difficult and perhaps corrupt line. Are these signs military banners or heathen images and symbols? And how are the signs set up as *signs*? Signs

of what? Of supremacy? The Place of Meeting is the Temple, and the difficult and corrupt verse with the axes describes its spoliation and ruin.

'Synagogues'; the translation is literal. For the Hebrew is 'meeting-places,' and that is the meaning of synagogues.

In the third stanza there are allusions to the Exodus and the subsequent events.

'The dark places of the earth': a doubtful verse. Is it that the earth is darkened by cruelty, or does it literally refer to the secret hiding-places in which the Jewish fugitives took refuge? But these were shelters from cruelty, filled with its victims.

§ 33. *The forty-fourth Psalm*: '*Deus, auribus nostris audivimus.*'—The last of these four Psalms (xliv) seems also clearly Maccabean. Note the emphasis laid on the religious character of the persecution under which the people are labouring. 'For thy sake are we killed all the day long.'

We have heard with our ears, O God,
Our fathers have told us,
What work thou didst in their days, in the times of old.
Thou didst drive out the nations with thy hand, and didst uproot them;
Thou didst afflict the peoples and cast them out.
For they got not the land in possession by their own sword,
Neither did their own arm save them:
But thy right hand, and thine arm, and the light of thy countenance,
Because thou hadst a favour unto them.

Thou art my King, O God;
Command deliverances for Jacob.
Through thee will we push down our enemies:
Through thy name will we tread them under that rise up against us.
For I will not trust in my bow,
Neither shall my sword save me.
But thou hast saved us from our enemies,
And hast put them to shame that hated us.
In God we boast all the day long,
And praise thy name for ever.

But thou hast cast off, and put us to shame;
And goest not forth with our armies.

Thou makest us to turn back from the enemy:
And they which hate us plunder at their will.
Thou hast made us like sheep for meat;
And hast scattered us among the nations.
Thou sellest thy people for nought,
And makest no gain by their price.
Thou makest us a reproach to our neighbours,
A scorn and a derision to them that are round about us.
Thou makest us a byword among the heathen,
A shaking of the head among the people.
My confusion is continually before me,
And the shame of my face hath covered me,
For the voice of him that reproacheth and blasphemeth;
By reason of the enemy and avenger.

All this is come upon us; yet have we not forgotten thee,
Neither have we been false to thy covenant.
Our heart is not turned back,
Neither have our steps declined from thy way;
That thou shouldest have crushed us in the place of jackals,
And covered us with the shadow of death.
If we had forgotten the name of our God,
Or stretched out our hands to a strange god;
Would not God search this out?
For he knoweth the secrets of the heart.
Nay, but for thy sake are we killed all the day long;
We are counted as sheep for the slaughter.

Awake, why sleepest thou, O Lord?
Arise, cast us not off for ever.
Wherefore hidest thou thy face,
And forgettest our affliction and our oppression?
For our soul is bowed down to the dust:
Our body cleaveth unto the earth.
Arise for our help,
And redeem us for thy lovingkindness' sake.

The beginning of the third stanza seems to show, as Professor Wellhausen says, that 'hitherto the fight with the heathen has been successful, but now the Israelite army (which all through the Psalm is the speaker, and rightly regards itself as the representative of the people) has suffered a severe defeat which has placed everything in danger.'

'For thy sake are we killed all the day long.' So spake the Maccabean warriors. And even now, after more than 2,000 years have elapsed, many millions of Jews can still say, 'For thy sake are we persecuted, for thy sake do we suffer all the day long.' As for us in English-speaking lands, where liberty and enlightenment prevail, should we not strive to change the verb and to say, 'For thy sake, for thy cause do we live our lives?'

CHAPTER III

THE FIFTY-FIRST PSALM

§ 1. *A whole chapter for a single Psalm.*—Some thirty-eight Psalms constituted the last chapter. The present chapter is to be occupied by but one. Nor is that single Psalm of any considerable length. It has only seventeen (or perhaps nineteen) verses. But I place it in a chapter by itself, both because it is very great and noble, as well as because it is not easy to classify it with any of the other categories into which I have roughly divided these selections from the Psalter. It has affinities with several Psalms of the group just ended, as well as with several other Psalms which are to follow it, but yet it stands out sufficiently from them all to justify its possessing a special and separate chapter for itself.

The Psalm for which I make this lofty claim is the fifty-first. It has already been quoted in Part I, where I ventured to call it 'perhaps the noblest penitential hymn in all the world.' Professor Cheyne says of it that there is no passage in the Hebrew Bible 'at once more inspiring and inspired.' Mr. Marson says, 'None of the other Psalms have had half the effect upon men's minds that this one has exercised. It has a library of its own. The more one meditates upon it, the richer it seems, and that unendingly, is most folks' comment.'

The Psalm has occupied, as is only natural, a high place of honour in the Synagogue and in the Church.

The opening words are well known both in the Greek and the Latin versions. In the Greek *Eleêson me, ho theos,* 'Pity me, O God,' produced *Kurie eleison,* 'Lord, have pity,' a famous liturgical formula. We often read of Roman Catholic priests chanting the *miserere* without perhaps at once calling to mind that it is the fifty-first Psalm: *Miserere mei, Deus.*

In the Christian Church seven Psalms out of the whole are specially known as the penitential Psalms. Of these, four have already passed before us (vi, xxxviii, cii and cxliii), while two others (xxxii and cxxx) have still to come. The seventh is our present Psalm. But though there are points of connexion between it and the remaining six, there are also points of difference. Its separate place can still be justified. For the four penitential Psalms which we have already heard, as well as Psalm cxxx, are petitions for help from surrounding trouble, while Psalm xxxii is prevailingly didactic. But in Psalm li the affliction seems wholly inward; the deliverance which the petitioner seeks from God is a deliverance from sin and its bondage, a deliverance which may indeed have its outward issues, but which in the first instance is sought for its own sake. Outward circumstance has little to do with the Psalmist's prayer. And that is why the Psalm is so broad and human, coming home to us alike in prosperity and in sorrow. We only need to be human to appreciate it. Woe to us indeed if that passionate cry does not appeal to us, if we cannot make it our own.

§ 2. *Who is the speaker?*—But I pass now to a closer consideration of the Psalm as a whole. Can we use it as the voice of our own hearts, as our own best prayer, without reading into it something more and other than its writer intended? Did he mean by it what we mean by it? Or have we to apply, enlarge or modify his words and meaning for our own spiritual edification? It is a delicate and difficult question. It is delicate because we have to preserve a happy mean. In their aversion from reading modern ideas into the original, or in their rigid application of a particular theory, some commentators, as it seems to me, rob the Psalm of much of its depth and significance. They will not let it mean as much as to my mind it was meant to mean. They will not let it be as spiritual as to my mind it was meant to be. And it is a difficult question because it is, after all, an impossible task to realize and reproduce with accuracy the complicated religious feelings of a man who lived more than two thousand years ago. Things to us clearly separate and separable may in his mind have been always united together, and feelings, which to us seem only causable in one way, may to him have seemed causable in quite another.

The main point to settle is as so often before, Who is the speaker? Is he an individual, who refers only to his own sins and to his own sinful nature, or is he in some sense or other the representative of his people or community?

At the first blush, if ever a Psalm were the outpouring of an

individual soul, referring only to the individual's own feelings and sorrows, it would seem to be this one. And secondly, if the collective or national interpretation impairs the spiritual value of any Psalm, it would seem to impair the value of this one. 'Create in me a clean heart': to us such a prayer is intensely personal; it is offered up 'alone to the Alone': surely then the original writer did the same. Surely he was only thinking of himself! And if he was not thinking only of himself, how utterly different (we are tempted to add, how exceedingly inferior) his meaning must have been to our own!

When the Psalm was incorporated into a collection of Davidic hymns, it was not difficult to discover the particular incident in David's career to which it ought to be ascribed. It must have been written after the great sin of David's life—the murder of Uriah. Hence the editor affixed the heading, 'A Psalm of David, when Nathan the prophet came unto him, after he had taken Bath-sheba.' But that the author lived many centuries after David is as certain as that several passages of the Psalm are inapplicable to the supposed situation, and could not have been written by the Judaean king. The heading need not further concern us, except in so far as to ask, Was the editor right in his individualizing interpretation?

And the answer must be: No, he was not. Nevertheless it can, I think, be shown that even though the individualizing interpretation be wrong, the Psalm still retains its religious and spiritual value.

We have seen that the Psalter as it grew and expanded became the hymn-book of the Second Temple, and that the Psalmists, so far as we can discover, did not write as isolated individuals, but as Israelites, as members of the community whose joys and sorrows, whose wishes and aspirations, were theirs. It is these communal joys, sorrows and aspirations to which they gave expression in the Psalms. *But they did not write them for the community without feeling their contents themselves.* Because they felt, they wrote. They did not merely write for others to feel. Yet in many and many a Psalm where the pronouns are 'I' and 'me,' we have observed that though, or rather just because, the writers' words are the true outcome of their own experience, they speak as representatives of Israel, in whose true relationship to God the individual author found the type and pattern of his own. For the individual's religious life was not lived apart from Israel as a whole. He was not only a man, but also an Israelite, and his relationship to God was not the general relation of man to Deity, but that of an Israelite to Jehovah, who, though God of the whole universe,

had special relations with Israel. The individual Israelite could not and did not wish to free himself from the communal bond. Hence his prayers, his confessions of sin, his communion with God, shift unconsciously from the one point of view to the other. Now he speaks as an individual, now in the name of his nation, now as a member of that people within a people (the community of believers) who alone represented Israel before God, and alone understood the true meaning of its history, its sorrows and its mission. It is this peculiar combination which makes the question, 'Who is the "I" of the Psalter?' so difficult to answer. The individual receives from his people half, and more than half, of his religious life. In some respects this fusion of individualism and nationalism makes the Psalms less broadly human than many a modern hymn. On the other hand, it gives to them their warmth and glow, and stamps them with a strange intensity of their own.

What is true of so many other Psalms is *a priori* probably true of the fifty-first. In other words, it is probable that the 'I' represents a certain fusion between the individual and the community, and that the subject-matter has as much a communal as an individual reference. This probability might be regarded as a certainty if the last two verses of the Psalm as we now have it were composed by the author of the remainder. But in spite of all that has recently been urged to that effect, I am still unconvinced: I still think that we may justifiably sever this most spiritual of Psalms from its, to us, less edifying appendix. Yet even without the appendix there are various phrases in the body of the Psalm which almost imperatively demand a semi-national interpretation. The best plan may be to let this great penitential hymn now speak for itself, and then to discuss the question, 'Who is the speaker?' in the course of a brief commentary on the more salient or difficult verses. In this place I omit the last two verses.

§ 3. *Translation of the Psalm.*—Have mercy upon me,
O God, according to thy lovingkindness;
According to the multitude of thy tender mercies blot
out my transgressions.
Wash me throughly from mine iniquity,
And cleanse me from my sin.

For I acknowledge my transgressions,
And my sin is ever before me.
Against thee, thee only, have I sinned,
And done what is evil in thy sight,
That thou mightest be justified when thou speakest,
And be clear when thou judgest.

Behold, I was brought forth in iniquity,
And in sin did my mother conceive me.
Behold, thou desirest truth in the inward parts:
Therefore in the secret place make me to know wisdom.
Purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean;
Wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow.
Make me to hear joy and gladness;
That the bones which thou hast broken may rejoice.
Hide thy face from my sins,
And blot out all mine iniquities.

Create in me a clean heart, O God;
And renew a steadfast spirit within me.
Cast me not away from thy presence;
And take not thy holy spirit from me.
Restore unto me the joy of thy salvation;
And uphold me with a willing spirit.
Then will I teach transgressors thy ways;
And sinners shall be converted unto thee.
Deliver me from bloodguiltiness, O God, thou God of my salvation:
And my tongue shall sing aloud of thy righteousness.
O Lord, open thou my lips;
And my mouth shall shew forth thy praise.
For thou desirest not sacrifice, else would I give it;
Thou delightest not in burnt offering.
The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit:
A broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.

§ 4. *Explanation of various passages.*—'Blot out my transgressions.' Professor Wellhausen, who adopts the national interpretation in a somewhat crude and extreme form, comments thus: 'The absolution consists in the removal of the punishment,' and on the Psalm generally he says that the heading was suggested by the line: 'Deliver me from bloodguiltiness,' but that 'it prevents a proper understanding of the Psalm. It is not David who offers these petitions, but the Servant of Jehovah, i. e. Israel. The iniquity is secret, not public; committed against God, not man. The *Servant* believes that he is cast off by God. He prays for the restoration of his good conscience towards God, in order that he may execute his prophetic mission, the conversion of the heathen. The whole Psalm is based on Isa. 40 ff.' (i. e. the Second

Isaiah, Part I, pp. 485-501). I venture to think that this interpretation is quite inadequate. 'The absolution consists in the removal of the punishment.' Not merely so, if so at all. What is asked for is that the sinner may be purified, that he may be helped to sin no more, that the heavy consciousness and burden of his iniquities may be removed from him.

Most readers will feel convinced that the writer of the Psalm must have had a real consciousness of personal guilt. The passionate intensity of the words imply that their author felt what he wrote in the depths of his own soul, that he wrote about himself. The sin, we feel, must have been his own. Now if the writer was merely personating Israel, could this have been the case? Would not the Psalm then become a mere dramatic lyric? Strange as it may seem at first sight, it is possible to adopt a semi-national interpretation without being obliged to abandon a belief in the writer's consciousness of personal guilt. Though he has the community in view, he does not forget himself. He is a sinner too, and if he writes 'Cleanse me from my sin' for Israel, he also writes it for himself. Why, because he remembers his people, should he be thought to ignore his own personal relation with God? Is it possible that he who writes with so vivid a consciousness of the burden of sin, can himself feel personally free from its pressure and misery? Does he not speak for himself as well as for others?

Again, in addition to his own individual sins, he is closely affected by the sins of his people. He is grieved unto the soul by the sins of Israel, even the sins of past generations as well as of his own contemporaries—those sins which sorely hinder the advent of the Messianic age. The close solidarity of the individual members of the community to one another and to Israel as a whole is almost impossible for us to realize. The words 'Cleanse me from my sin' could have a national as well as an individual meaning, and yet this national meaning could also be personally felt. We may perhaps realize this point of view better if we substitute 'our' for 'my.' 'Cleanse us from our sins.' If we put forth this prayer in synagogue, do we not pray that the community may be cleansed of its sins? and do we not feel as if in a sense we were all individually responsible for all, just as we all bear a collective punishment? The honour of Israel is tarnished, and the community as a whole suffers, through the villany of a few; we ourselves may be guiltless of any share in that villany, and yet do we not in a sort of way feel personally involved? Who can tell where our influence and the influence of our influence may cease? If fifty of us had been better, might

not the fifty-first have lived a purer life? We are not separate atoms, whose lives are spent apart, in watertight compartments, unaffecting one another. The community is a living organism.

And if such thoughts come home to us now, far more did they appeal to our distant forefathers in the Babylonian exile, or in the age of Ezra, or in the days of Artaxerxes Ochus. To them the community was indeed an organism, from which they, the limbs, gained their strength and vitality, to which they owed devotion, whose prosperity and sorrows they caused or shared, whose sins and guilt were also theirs to increase or to diminish. To them the community was an organism to whose life each generation contributed and belonged. It lived from age to age, and its life in any one generation was conditioned and determined by the character and deeds of the generations that had gone before. Their virtues and their sins were still present in their results, perhaps even in the tendencies which they caused, whether to evil or to good.

We have often noticed the strength and the weakness of this theory, and its measure of inaccuracy and of truth. We have seen one form of it combated by Ezekiel, and we have observed its recurrence, in spite of Ezekiel's vehemence, in later ages. And in our fifty-first Psalm we may once more perceive it—in a form with which we can largely sympathize, and which seems to possess a valid measure of permanent truth.

'My sin is ever before me.' His own sins and Israel's are ever before him. His sins help him to realize the better the sins of his people. His own individual conscience becomes the conscience of Israel. For the time being he thinks himself Israel. He and his people are one. His moral pulse beats in time with theirs.

'Against thee, thee only, have I sinned.' This is one of the passages which require a national or communal interpretation. As Professor Wellhausen says: 'In relation to the men who threaten him, i.e. to the heathen, the Servant is guiltless. His iniquity, therefore, must have been against God alone.' Israel has broken God's commandments, and not the ordinances of man. It is, as Professor Cheyne says, 'only Israel personified, or one who feels himself entirely united to his people in guilt and punishment, who could say "against thee, thee only."' But I cannot agree with Professor Wellhausen when he adds: 'He (i.e. Israel) does not know wherein it (his iniquity) consists, but confesses it in advance, and acknowledges the righteousness of God.' Then, indeed, the urgent prayer for a clean heart were hollow and unreal. There is a true consciousness of sin in

each individual's heart. The speaker is sinful as an individual, and Israel is sinful as a community.

'That thou mightest be justified.' In Israel's afflictions, recognized as the result and punishment of Israel's sins, God's justice is revealed and made manifest.

'I was brought forth in iniquity.' No dogma of original sin is here implied. 'All that the speaker means is that he belongs to an erring race, and (therefore) drew his first breath in sin. So far as he is an individual, he recalls the fact that his own mother, and that mother's mother, sinned; so far as he represents the nation, that Israel from the first was prone to infidelity' (Cheyne).

'Behold, thou desirest.' Another plea. God does not desire sin, but 'truth' or fidelity. Let God, then, give that which without his wish can not be won. 'Wisdom' is the practical wisdom of which the beginning is the fear of God, the love of God its crown. To be real, it must be inward, rooted in 'the dark and secret place' of the soul. Unfortunately the two words translated 'inward parts' and 'secret place' respectively are very obscure and doubtful.

'Purge me with hyssop.' The Psalmist uses the metaphor of the hyssop, because this plant was employed in the outward purification of the body after defilement in the legislation of the priestly code.

'Wash me.' 'Sin is too deeply ingrained for the sinner himself to efface it; God himself must do this wonder' (Cheyne). Sin is regarded as an inward leprosy or defilement which only the help and grace of God can wholly cleanse away.

'Make me to hear joy and gladness.' If the text be sound, the meaning must be, Grant that Israel may hear the joyous cries of the individuals who compose it. But Cheyne, following the Syriac version, would read: 'Fill me with joy and gladness.'

'The bones which thou hast broken.' 'The bones represent the whole nature of man' (Cheyne). The 'broken' bones do not merely represent affliction, or, if they do, the affliction is inward rather than outward. But these broken bones rather represent the nature which God has awoken to the crushing conviction of its sin. The consciousness of pardon, i. e. of overcoming sin, or of feeling free from it, fills the heart with gladness and joy.

'Create in me a clean heart.' Compare the prophecies in Ezekiel of the new heart which God will give to the restored and regenerate community (Part I, p. 480).

'Renew a steadfast spirit within me,' i. e. Give me a new spirit which shall be steadfast, which shall not swerve from the fear and love of God, which shall keep me in the true way. The speaker

has himself in view as well as the community. He himself yearns for the clean heart, as we all, following in his footsteps and echoing his words, yearn and pray for it. But at the same time he asks it for Israel.

'Cast me not away.' God's presence and his holy spirit are synonyms. The expression 'holy spirit' is only found in one other passage in the Hebrew Bible. 'The Holy Spirit,' says Professor Wellhausen, 'is the prophetic inspiration, the divine influence from which Revelation springs.' But this verse too has an individual as well as a national significance. For the speaker, as we have again and again to remember, is an Israelite, and the attitude of God towards Israel (as he believed it) was also the attitude of God towards himself. It is only that his relation to God was more influenced by national considerations than ours; with us it is man and God; with him it was rather Israel and Jehovah. The punishment of Israel consists in a mysterious withdrawal of the Divine Spirit from its midst; the prerogative and privilege of Israel consist in its mysterious presence. The Spirit is holy. When Israel is holy, then the Spirit is in its midst; when the Spirit is 'there,' Israel is holy. Sin means alienation from God; virtue attracts the divine presence. And the mystery remains: goodness brings us near to God; sin removes us from him. But our effort to approach him is never unaided; our strength is not wholly our own.

'The joy of thy salvation.' 'Outward blessings,' says Professor Cheyne, 'are at any rate included. Sin is attended by chastisement; forgiveness by an equally visible deliverance. So it is with the individual; so also with the nation. The Psalmist, even if referring to his own sins and chastisements, regards them as shared by every other Israelite. The burden of guilt removed, he (and such as he) can obey the divinely given impulse, walking in the ways of God.' Professor Wellhausen translates: 'Give me once more the glad sense of thy help.'

'A willing spirit.' 'A spirit eager and ready to do right' (Driver).

'Then will I teach.' Another verse which, in its close parallelism with many similar passages, requires a national interpretation. When Israel has been divinely purified, it can turn to its true mission: it can teach the true religion among the nations. The aspirations of the Second Isaiah are accepted and endorsed by the Psalmist, just as the teachings of the older prophets about material sacrifices have also been absorbed by him. The 'sinners' are the erring nations, the 'transgressors' may include a reference to apostate Jews. For the mission of the Servant is first to them and then to the Gentiles.

'Deliver me from bloodguiltiness.' A very difficult verse. Perhaps Professor Cheyne's explanation is the most satisfactory. It runs as follows: 'The Hebrew writers are wont to specify some typical sin or sins, where we should rather employ a generic term. Thus, "Your hands are full of bloodshed;" "they build up Zion with bloodshed;" "for his unjust gain I smote him." Another peculiarity of theirs is to speak of sins when they mean rather the punishment of sins. So that the petition, "Deliver me from bloodshed" (so literally), means "Deliver me from those heinous sins (such as murder) which led Israel captive in the past." This accounts for the reference which follows to God's "righteousness." Jehovah is equally "righteous," when he sends and when he removes chastisements.'

But other commentators explain quite differently. The Hebrew word is the plural of 'blood,' and, as Professor Cheyne says, must primarily mean 'bloodshed.' Hence it is supposed by some that the 'bloodshed' does not refer to any sin which Israel has committed or might commit, but to bloodshed inflicted by others upon it. 'Save me from my blood being shed,' or, as Professor Wellhausen says, 'from peril of death. The danger arises from the heathen. As against them Israel is in the right, and can appeal to the righteousness of God.'

'A broken and a contrite heart.' The word 'contrite' (which accurately translates the Hebrew *nidkeh*, literally 'crushed') comes from the Vulgate. The verse there runs: '*Sacrificium Deo spiritus contribulatus: cor contritum et humiliatum, Deus, non despicies.*' *Contribulo* means to *bruise*, to *crush*, and *contribulatus* effectively renders the Hebrew *nishbarah*, broken. *Contero* also means properly to crush, to pound, to crumble; and *contritum* is here used as a synonym for *contribulatum*. The Hebrew has the same word as before: *nishbar*, broken. The metaphorical use in English of *contrite* for penitent is derived from this passage of the Vulgate. Thus Wycliffe's first version runs: *Sacrifise to God, a spiritt holly trublid; a contrit herte and mekid, God, thou shalt not despise.* In the second version, revised by John Purvey (about 1388), the rendering is much the same: *A sacrifice to God is a spirit troblid; God, thou shalt not dispise a contrit herte and maad meke.* ('*Troubled*' is used in a subjective sense, as meaning 'anxious,' 'grieved,' 'in trouble,' 'in tribulation.') When we come to Coverdale, the *troubled spirit* is still retained; but for the less accurate 'meek' (representing the Vulgate '*humiliatum*') is now substituted 'contrite,' while 'broken' takes the place of 'contrite' in the translation of *nishbar*. So we get: '*The sacrifice of God is a troubled spirit; a broken and contrite heart, O God, thou wilt*

not despise.' The Genevan Bible renders: *The sacrifices of God are a contrite spirit; a contrite and broken heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.*' The Bishops' Bible introduces a new rendering which did not maintain itself: *Sacrifices for God is a mortified spirit; O Lord, thou wilt not despise a mortified and an humble heart.* Finally, in the Authorized Version, we get at last to a version which is no less literal than beautiful: *The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise*—a rendering which the Revised Version has rightly found no necessity to change. I hope my readers may be as interested as I have been myself in tracing the various forms which this superb verse has assumed in the various English translations.

§ 5. *The last two verses of the Psalm.*—'For thou desirest not sacrifice.' In these sublime and soul-stirring sentences the great Psalm culminates and (as I believe) concludes. True penitence can no further go. I cannot perceive myself that we have here no true end of the Psalm; I discern no 'abruptness.' The Psalmist ends with a noble asseveration of the doctrine upon which his whole prayer depends. Can we really imagine that in one and the same breath he would declare that God has no pleasure in sacrifices, and that for his (the Psalmist's) purpose they are valueless, and then immediately proceed to pray for an opportunity to offer them? Such a juxtaposition seems to me a contradiction in terms. And yet in the Hebrew after the line, 'A broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise,' the following two verses are appended:—

O do good in thy favour unto Zion;
Build thou the walls of Jerusalem.
Then shalt thou delight in the sacrifices of righteousness,
in burnt offering and whole offering;
Then shall they offer bullocks upon thine altar.

The relation of the last two verses to the rest of the Psalm depends partly on a question of date. On the old idea that the Psalm was written by David, the last two verses are clearly an addition, and the Jewish commentator, Ibn Ezra, mentions and approves of this supposition. But if the whole Psalm was written in the Exile, the particular difficulty of date disappears. It is this period to which most modern commentators assign it, and the majority of them strenuously maintain that the supposed 'appendix' is really an integral portion of the Psalm. So, for instance,

Professor Robertson-Smith: 'At present, says the Psalmist, God desires no material sacrifice, but will not despise a contrite heart. . . . But does the Psalmist then mean to say, absolutely and in general, that sacrifice is a superseded thing? No: for he adds that when Jerusalem is rebuilt, the sacrifice of Israel will be pleasing to God. He lives, therefore, in a time when the fall of Jerusalem has temporarily suspended the sacrificial ordinances, but—and this is the great lesson of the Psalm—has not closed the door of forgiveness to the penitent heart.' Professor Cheyne, who does not himself share this view, points out nevertheless that it is in full accordance with a continuous line of Jewish thought. We know how in the mediaeval Jewish liturgy there are constant prayers for the return to Zion, for the rebuilding of the Temple, for the renewal of sacrifices. At present, and while the dispersion lasts, prayer and penitence must take the place of sacrifice. But even while acknowledging their intrinsic superiority, it is never stated that because they are superior, therefore sacrifice will never be restored and need not be prayed for again. 'The Hymn of Unity for the first day of the week' quotes our Psalm and other similar passages, and adds—

'I will build an altar with my broken heart,
And I will break my spirit within me.
I will humble the haughtiness of my heart and of mine eyes,
And I will rend my heart because of the Lord.
The sherds of my spirit are thy sacrifices;
May they come up with favour upon thine altar.'

Yet the author of this hymn could and did also pray for the restoration of the Temple and of its service as the mark and sign of the divine forgiveness unto Israel. He was not conscious of the smallest contradiction.

In one of a remarkable series of articles on the Psalms, Dr. B. Jacob argues strongly for the same view; he undoubtedly proves the close connexion of the Psalter with the Temple, and the intense devotion of the Psalmists to its services. We commit an anachronism if we suppose that spiritual religion and material sacrifices could not go hand in hand. This must be freely acknowledged, and yet I am not persuaded that in this particular instance the proposed application of this undoubted truth is either accurate or justifiable.

The fifty-first Psalm may have been written during the Exile, and the 'appendix' added on to it by another writer of the same period. Or the Psalm may have been written in the Exile, and the appendix added before the building of the walls by Nehemiah. Or the

Psalm may be post-exilic, and the appendix added in the days of Artaxerxes Ochus. (This latter theory would have to assume a breaking down of the walls at that date 'as a part of the cruel punishment inflicted upon the Jews for their revolt.') Or lastly, though the Psalm itself is hardly Maccabean, as Olshausen supposed, I do not see why the appendix could not be so. At any rate, an exilic or post-exilic date is not adverse to a separation of the body of the Psalm from the appendix. And is not the close contiguity of the verses against sacrifices with the prayer for their restoration and acceptance a further proof that both could not have proceeded from the same pen? The Psalmist makes no qualifications: *Thou hast no pleasure in sacrifices.* These are his words. He does not say, 'Thou hast no pleasure *now*, but thou wilt have in the future.' The statement is absolute and general. It seems to me a psychological impossibility that the man whose prayer culminated in the doctrine of the 'broken heart,' could at that very moment have put up a petition for the speedy restoration of those outward rites whose value in the eyes of God he had so deliberately denied. The very form of the last verse, with its overloaded first half and awkward third person in the second half, seems to plead for its later date and separate origin. That for us to-day the worth of the Psalm closes with the 'contrite heart' would be acknowledged on all hands. I am glad to think that on exegetical grounds also the appendix may rightly be omitted.

The greatness and importance of this Psalm have, as I think, not only justified me in placing it in a chapter by itself, but also in commenting upon it at quite exceptional length. I will conclude by recalling the grand use of it made by Rudyard Kipling in his famous Jubilee hymn:—

'The shouting and the tumult dies,
The captains and the kings depart,
Still stands thine ancient sacrifice,
A humble and a contrite heart.
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget, lest we forget.'

CHAPTER IV

PSALMS OF HAPPY COMMUNION WITH GOD

§ 1. *The sixteenth Psalm: 'Conserva me, Domine.'*—It was tolerably easy in the second chapter of this section to group together the Psalms written amid trouble and persecution. With many other Psalms classification is more difficult. In this chapter I propose to bring together five Psalms only (or more strictly four and a half), which express a happy serenity of peace, a glad and restful confidence in the worship of God and in communion with him. It must not be supposed that it would be difficult to allocate more than five Psalms to this group. I have, however, preferred to place several other Psalms which could fitly be added to this chapter in other groups. The first three of my five Psalms are from the first collection, while the two last are from the second. They shall follow here according to their order in the Psalter.

Psalm xvi opens the group. One of the most spiritual of the Psalms, it is not without peculiar difficulties. These are partly due to corruptions in the text. Two obscure verses are here omitted.

Preserve me, O God; for in thee do I take refuge.
I say unto the Lord, 'Thou art my Lord:
  I have no higher good than thee.'
The Lord is the portion of mine inheritance and of my cup;
  Thou art my lot for ever.
The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places;
  Yea, I have a goodly heritage.
I will bless the Lord, who hath given me counsel;
  In the night seasons my thoughts have admonished me.
I have set the Lord always before me;
  With him at my right hand I cannot be moved.

Therefore my heart is glad, and my glory rejoiceth:
My flesh also shall dwell in security.
For thou wilt not give up my soul to Sheol;
Neither wilt thou suffer thy loving one to see the pit.
Thou wilt make known to me the path of life;
In thy presence is fulness of joys;
In thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.

Are we to suppose that the concluding five lines of this noble Psalm refer to a life of spiritual beatitude beyond the grave? The question is one of peculiar and fascinating difficulty. At first sight an affirmative answer seems the only reasonable one. But parallel passages in other Psalms, and some other considerations on which I cannot here dwell, compel me to say that it is unlikely that these five lines refer directly and explicitly to the immortality of the soul and of the individual consciousness in our modern sense of the words.

What then is their meaning?

Some commentators, assuming that in this instance the Psalmist is speaking of himself and not sinking himself in Israel, suppose that the last five lines only refer to a temporary escape from imminent peril. In his confidence that God will deliver him from the dangers that now encompass him, the Psalmist ignores the death which must ultimately overtake him. But this explanation does not do full justice to the words. It robs them of their full significance.

Other commentators, again, suppose that the 'I' is Israel. Then the meaning is: Israel, as a community, will live for ever. It will never be destroyed. God will continue to reveal to his people that path of life which is life indeed: a life which is consecrated and transfigured by communion with God, which is illumined by spiritual pleasures, the source and home of which are with him. There may also be, as Professor Cheyne now thinks, a reference to the Messianic age, when this 'fulness of joy' is to be Israel's abiding heritage. But though the words themselves became easy to explain on these lines, another difficulty suggests itself. We have already seen that though Israel or the pious community may be the speaker in a number of seemingly 'individualistic' Psalms, yet the Psalmist himself feels the thoughts which he puts into the mouth of Israel. Only because he has realized them in his own soul, does he embody them in written words. They are the expression and outcome of his own experience; Israel speaks through him. If, for instance, he lets Israel say, 'I have no higher good than thee,' 'The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant

places,' he does so because he feels the truth of these words from his own experience. They are true for Israel and, therefore, are true for him. But not only so. Because he has felt them as true for himself, therefore they are true for Israel. But if he says of Israel, 'Thou wilt not suffer thy loving one to see the pit,' he cannot feel his words to be true for himself as well as for Israel. As an individual he will see 'the pit' (i. e. the nether world), for he, like all men, is mortal. The best explanation will therefore be to assume that the Psalmist speaks both for himself and for all other pious Israelites, who together make up the true Israel. Indeed, the Hebrew text in the last line but four reads 'loving ones'—the plural, not the singular. It would not, I think, be inaccurate to say that the Psalmist was, as it were, trembling on the verge of a fuller faith. If the Psalm was written in the late Persian or early Greek period, various conceptions of a life after death, in one form or another, were making their appearance in Judæa. May we not suppose that at a moment when the Psalmist is filled with a sense of close communion with God, he forgets and ignores the approach of death, and conceives of his life with God as enduring for evermore? The Psalmist's joy in God was in truth one of the pathways whereby men climbed up to the conception of immortality. And it was the purest of all the pathways—if I may use so mingled a metaphor. For a belief in immortality is not the mere postulate of God's righteousness; it is not the supposed necessary reward of human merit; but it is the result and the corollary of communion with God. It is the conviction that the spirit which has found its source and home in God has also found a bond and a union which even death is powerless to sever. 'Spirit to spirit, ghost to ghost.'

The 'goodly heritage' is the Lord and the Lord's religion.

'My glory rejoiceth.' 'Heart' and 'glory' are synonyms; 'flesh' and 'soul,' strange though it may seem to us, are synonyms too, both being equivalent to 'life.'

§ 2. *The twenty-third Psalm*: '*The Lord is my shepherd.*'—The second Psalm (xxiii) in this group is the famous hymn, 'The Lord is my shepherd.' The Shepherd of Israel was a familiar appellation of God. 'The speaker,' says Professor Cheyne, 'is any pious Israelite in whose mind both national and personal hopes and fears rest side by side; the "national" and the "personal" elements cannot be dissevered by the most potent analysis. Israel's Shepherd does not neglect the individual. From Jeremiah's time onwards this truth was realized with increasing vividness; it has found its classic expression in this Psalm.'

The Lord is my shepherd;
I shall not want.
He maketh me to lie down in green pastures:
He leadeth me to waters of rest.
He refresheth my soul:
He guideth me on right paths for his name's sake
Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death,
I will fear no evil: for thou art with me;
Thy rod and thy staff they comfort me.
Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies:
Thou anointest my head with oil; my cup runneth over.
Surely goodness and lovingkindness will follow me all the days of my life:
And I shall dwell in the house of the Lord for ever.

The 'pastures' and 'waters of rest' keep up the metaphor of the flock and the shepherd. But what do they actually represent? The inward peace and security of those who are assured of God's protecting care. Even in calamity Israel will know no fear.

'He guideth me on right paths.' God leads Israel on paths which are sure and safe, and in the right direction. 'Right tracks as opposed to delusive tracks which lead nowhere.' The metaphor of the flock is still continued.

'For his name's sake.' The honour and trustworthiness of God are intimately bound up with the salvation of Israel. The idea was that God had made to Israel covenant promises to which he was bound to adhere. Though God of the whole world, he was emphatically and especially the God of Israel. Israel was the only people that knew him and worshipped him. Those who persecute Israel, laugh at and ridicule Israel's God.

'Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death.' The Psalmist's faith and even his joy in God are available for dark days as well as bright ones. 'He holds fast to his confidence alike in prosperity and adversity.' The 'valley of the shadow of death' is a metaphor for a mortal peril. It keeps up the metaphor of the flock and the shepherd. It alludes to 'one of those narrow mountain glens so common in central Palestine, haunted by robbers and wild beasts, and dismal even at midday' (Cheyne).

'Thy rod and thy staff.' The shepherd's club. The conviction of God's loving protection is a comfort for Israel.

'Thou preparest a table.' A new metaphor. Israel is the guest; God is the host. Israel draws near to God and enjoys

spiritual communion with him. His foes may be near at hand, but Israel fears them not. The 'oil' and 'cup' are part of the feast.

'Goodness and lovingkindness:' perhaps we should rather render, 'welfare and grace.' Israel is assured that God will grant both outward prosperity and inward beatitude. The grace or favour comes from God, Israel will experience it.

'I shall dwell in the house of the Lord for ever.' Is this also a metaphor for communion with God? Not quite, but nearly. The Psalmist was doubtless thinking of the actual Temple, where his highest moments of spiritual experience had been passed. But nobody 'dwelt' in the Temple without intermission. As in another Psalm of this group, the Temple has become the symbol of that close communion with God which was expressed and often realized by its services.

§ 3. *Older translations of the twenty-third Psalm.*—Few Psalms have been more widely used and loved than the twenty-third. As Professor Kirkpatrick says, it is 'unrivalled for calm serenity and perfect faith. Under Jehovah's loving care the Psalmist knows neither want nor fear. His words admit of the most universal application to all needs, temporal and spiritual, in every age.' The beauty and fame of the Psalm justify my dwelling upon it at some length, and it may be of interest to my readers to have before them some of the earlier English translations. Wycliffe's version was made not from the Hebrew but from the Vulgate, and, like the earlier rendering of Hampole, it is scarcely intelligible unless the Latin accompanies it. The clumsy Vulgate runs as follows:—

Dominus regit me et nihil mihi deerit. In loco pascuae ibi me collocavit; super aquam refectionis educavit me. Animam meam convertit; deduxit me super semitas justitiae propter nomen suum. Nam etsi ambulavero in medio umbrae mortis, non timebo mala, quoniam tu mecum es; virga tua et baculus tuus ipsa me consolata sunt. Parasti in conspectu meo mensam adversus eos qui tribulant me; impinguasti in oleo caput meum: et calix meus inebrians quam praeclarus est. Et misericordia tua subsequetur me omnibus diebus vitae meae, et ut inhabitem in domo Domini in longitudinem dierum.

Now shall follow Wycliffe's rendering as revised by Purvey (about 1388).

The Lord governeth me, and no thing shall fail to me; in the place of pasture there he hath set me. He nourished me on the water of refreshing; he converted my soul. He led me forth on the paths of righteousness, for his name. For why though I shall go in the midst of shadow of death, I shall not dread evils, for thou art with me.

Thy yerde (*rod*) and thy staff they have comforted me. Thou hast made ready a boord (*table*) in my sight against them that trouble me. Thou hast made fat mine head with oil, and my cup, filling greatly, is full clear. And thy mercy shall sue (*follow*) me in all the days of my life, and that I dwell in the house of the Lord into the length of days.

And now, leaping across the centuries, let us come to Coverdale. I quote from the version printed in the Great Bible of 1539.

The Lord is my shepherd, therefore can I lack nothing. He shall feed me in a green pasture, and lead me forth beside the waters of comfort. He shall convert my soul, and bring me forth in the paths of righteousness for his name's sake. Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for thou art with me: thy rod and thy staff comfort me. Thou shalt prepare a table before me against them that trouble me: thou hast anointed my head with oil, and my cup shall be full. But (thy) lovingkindness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life, and I will dwell in the house of the Lord for ever.

The language of the Authorized Version is more nearly approached in the rendering of the *Geneva Bible* of 1560—a version which held its own in England for many years.

The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want. He maketh me to rest in green pasture, and leadeth me by the still waters. He restoreth my soul, and leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for his name's sake. Yea, though I should walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil; for thou art with me: thy rod and thy staff they comfort me. Thou dost prepare a table before me in the sight of mine adversaries; thou dost anoint mine head with oil, and my cup runneth over. Doubtless kindness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life, and I shall remain a long season in the house of the Lord.

The Bishops' Bible of 1568 was the translation of which the Authorized Version was to be the revision. But in this Psalm the Authorized Version is more like the Geneva rendering. But the Bishops' Bible has one or two good touches. 'Felicity' well expresses the meaning in the last sentence.

God is my shepherd, therefore I can lack nothing. He will cause me to repose myself in pastures full of grass, and he will lead me into calm waters. He will convert my soul; he will bring me forth into the paths of righteousness, for his name's sake. Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff be the things that do comfort me. Thou wilt prepare a table before me in the presence of mine adversaries; thou hast anointed my head with oil, and my cup shall be brimful. Truly felicity and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life, and I will dwell in the house of God for a long time.

Now finally here is the Authorized Version itself, from which (as will be seen) I have made few changes.

The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want. He maketh me to lie down in green pastures: he leadeth me beside the still waters. He restoreth my soul: he leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for his name's sake. Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me. Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies; thou anointest my head with oil, my cup runneth over. Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life, and I will dwell in the house of the Lord for ever.

It may be added that the Revised Version of 1885 made only two slight changes in this Psalm, substituting 'guideth' for the second 'leadeth' (there are two different words in the Hebrew also), and 'hast anointed' for 'anointest.'

§ 4. *The twenty-third Psalm in Scotland.*—I cannot leave this twenty-third Psalm without saying a word of its place in the religious history of Scotland. Mr. Ker has said: 'Every line, every word of it, has been engraven for generations on Scottish hearts, has accompanied them from childhood to age, from their homes to all the seas and lands where they have wandered, and has been to a multitude no man can number, the rod and staff of which it speaks, to guide and guard them in dark valleys, and, at last, through the darkest.' To Scotsmen it is most familiar in the metrical version still used beyond the Tweed.

The Lord's my shepherd, I'll not want.
He makes me down to lie
In pastures green; he leadeth me
The quiet waters by.
My soul he doth restore again,
And me to walk doth make
Within the paths of righteousness,
Ev'n for his own name's sake.

Yea, though I walk in death's dark vale,
Yet will I fear none ill:
For thou art with me; and thy rod
And staff me comfort still.
My table thou hast furnishèd
In presence of my foes;
My head thou dost with oil anoint,
And my cup overflows.

Goodness and mercy all my life
Shall surely follow me;
And in God's house for evermore
My dwelling-place shall be.

§ 5. *Psalm twenty-seven* (*a*): '*Dominus illuminatio mea.*'—My next Psalm in this group is the first part of Psalm xxvii, the present conclusion of which, set in so wholly different a key, we have already

heard. Note how closely the material Temple and the spiritual communion which that Temple has suggested and inspired are closely fused together. Let us hope that the modern synagogue suggests a similar fusion of the material and the spiritual to many a pious worshipper to-day.

The Lord is my light and my salvation;
Whom shall I fear?
The Lord is the fortress of my life;
Of whom shall I be afraid?
If the wicked come near to me to eat my flesh,
Even my enemies and my foes, they stumble and fall.
Though an host should encamp against me, my heart would not fear:
Though war should rise against me, still would I be confident.

One thing have I asked of the Lord, that do I seek.
To dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life,
To behold the graciousness of the Lord, and to contemplate his temple.
For in the time of trouble he hideth me in his booth:
In the covert of his tent he concealeth me;
He setteth me up upon a rock.
So shall mine head be lifted up above mine enemies round about me:
I will offer in his tent sacrifices of joy;
I will sing, yea, I will make melody unto the Lord.

The booth and the tent (in lines twelve and thirteen) are not to be taken literally. They are clearly metaphorical. The 'house' and the 'temple' are betwixt and between. It is in the Temple that the Psalmist, as Professor Cheyne says, 'has learned what communion with God means, and he feels towards the Temple as a child towards its mother.' But, like the author of the previous Psalm, what he desires is to be *always* in God's house, and this can hardly mean anything less than a desire to feel God always near him and about him, even as he has been conscious of his presence within the Temple. The opening words of this Psalm, in their Latin rendering, are the motto of the University of Oxford. God is the author of knowledge as well as the source of love: 'The Lord is my light,' 'Dominus illuminatio mea.'

§ 6. *The sixty-third Psalm.*—The next Psalm (lxiii) is again a wonderful instance of the purest spirituality suggested or

fostered by a local and material cause. The singer is far from the Temple wherein he had been wont to realize the magic of the divine communion. Here his thirst for God had from time to time been satisfied. Thus to dwell far from the Temple is to him as if he dwelt in a 'dry and thirsty land where no water is.' But as he thinks about God, whose lovingkindness he describes in a strange and striking phrase as 'better than life,' though the consciousness of it is the highest life, he becomes aware that whether he is near to or far from the Temple, he need never be far from God. Therefore he bursts forth into glad exultation as in the realized nearness to God he finds his highest satisfaction.

O God, thou art my God; earnestly do I seek thee:
My soul thirsteth for thee, my flesh longeth for thee
In a dry and thirsty land, where no water is;
So have I longed for thee in the sanctuary,
To behold thy power and thy glory.
For thy lovingkindness is better than life;
My lips shall praise thee.
So will I bless thee while I live:
I will lift up my hands in thy name.
My soul is satisfied as with marrow and fatness;
And my mouth praiseth thee with joyful lips.
I remember thee upon my bed,
And meditate on thee in the night watches.
For thou hast been my help,
And in the shadow of thy wings do I rejoice.
My soul clingeth fast unto thee:
Thy right hand upholdeth me.

It is possible that the fourth to the ninth line should rather be rendered thus:—

As I saw Thee in the sanctuary,
Beholding thy power and thy glory—
For thy lovingkindness is better than life,
My lips do praise thee—
So will I bless thee while I live,
I will lift up my hands to call on thy name.

§ 7. *The eighty-fourth Psalm: 'Quam dilecta.'*—The last Psalm in this group is the eighty-fourth. It is in many respects parallel to that Psalm of exile from Jerusalem to which we listened in Group I. As there (xlii) the Psalmist's soul panted after God, as the hart after the water-brooks, so here too his 'soul longs and

faints for the courts of the Lord.' But the former Psalm was a cry of sorrow; this seems to be a cry of joy.

It is the song of pilgrims who come up to pay their vows, or to join in the celebration of the high festivals, at the Temple of Jerusalem. It is a great pity that the text of this lovely Psalm should be so uncertain and defective.

How lovely are thy dwelling-places,
O Lord of hosts!
My soul longeth, yea, even fainteth for the courts of the Lord:
My heart and my flesh cry aloud unto the living God.
Even the sparrow hath found an house,
And the swallow a nest for herself, where she layeth her young,
Even thine altars, O Lord of hosts,
My King and my God. (?)

Happy are they that dwell in thy house:
They will be still praising thee.
Happy is the man whose strength is in thee;
. . . . .
As they pass through the vale of Baca he maketh it full of fountains for them, (?)
The early rain covereth it with blessings. (?)
They go from strength to strength, (?)
And appear before God in Zion.

O Lord God of hosts, hear my prayer:
Give ear, O God of Jacob.
Behold, O God, our shield,
And look upon the face of thine anointed.

For a day in thy courts is better than a thousand elsewhere,
I had rather lie at the threshold of the house of my God,
Than dwell in the tents of wickedness.
For the Lord God is a sun and shield:
The Lord will give grace and glory:
No good thing will he withhold from them that walk uprightly.
O Lord of hosts,
Happy is the man that trusteth in thee.

'Even the sparrow.' If the text is not incomplete, the meaning is, The Temple is so desirable a place that the very birds have

built their nests in the sanctuary. Some scholars for metrical and other reasons think that a few words have fallen out, and would render thus:—

Even the sparrow finds a house
And the swallow a nest,
Where she lays her callow brood,
[So have I found, even I,
A home] by thine altars,
O my king and my God.

(So Cheyne.)

The second stanza is very obscure. It seems to refer to the pilgrims' journey to Jerusalem. The 'vale of Baca' (*weeping*) is puzzling. It seems to be a particular place which the pilgrims pass through. To the casual passer-by it was arid and waterless, but being on the road to Jerusalem—the goal of desire—it was as if God had filled it with blessings and changed its very look.

'From strength to strength' is also doubtful. If the text and punctuation be correct, it must mean that 'fatigue is banished by the prospect' of Zion.

'Thine anointed.' Either the high priest, or more probably the whole people of Israel. The prayer, however, seems to come awkwardly between the second and fourth stanzas. Perhaps it has been inserted here by mistake. At any rate, the noble verse 'A day in thy courts' follows well after the stanza which brings the pilgrims to their goal at Zion.

Notwithstanding all these obscurities, how beautiful the Psalm is! How easily it adapts itself to our modern moods, so that we are able to give, if we will, a spiritual meaning to those courts and altars of God which the Psalmist praises so sweetly. And for this there are two reasons: first, our Psalm is a true lyric, 'occasional' in origin, and yet capable of wide application; and secondly, the Temple was no mere material building to the Psalmist, but rather a vehicle or stimulus for spiritual religion. Hence the spirit transforms the letter. His words grow plastic and pliable. We may put a meaning into them somewhat different from that intended by their author, and yet what they suggest to us is essentially the same as that which suggested them to him. He is our true spiritual ancestor.

§ 8. *Once more the 'I' of the Psalter.*—I may take this opportunity of saying a few more words on this question, for the idea that the Psalmist is often speaking not merely of or for himself but also for the community or the nation may seem to many readers to rob the Psalms of their religious value. But such a

supposition would be a grave mistake. The bearing of the communal 'I' may be perhaps most easily realized by substituting the plural for the singular. It would not destroy the religious value and truth of the twenty-third Psalm if, instead of reading 'The Lord is my shepherd,' we were to read, 'The Lord is our shepherd; we shall not want.' It would not impair the greatness and spirituality of the fifty-first Psalm if the words ran: 'Purge us with hyssop, and we shall be clean; wash us, and we shall be whiter than snow. Cast us not away from thy presence; and take not thy holy presence from us.' It would even bring out the full meaning of the twenty-second Psalm more clearly if it said: 'We will declare thy name unto our brethren; in the midst of the congregation we will praise thee.' Rarely if ever does a Psalmist, when he uses the 'first person singular,' say anything which is not true of himself as a unit of Israel, which is not the outcome of his own experience, which he has not realized in his own religious life. All or almost all that the communal or national 'I' means is that the sufferings, petitions, aspirations and joys recorded in the Psalter are those of Israel, and therefore of every Israelite whose heart beats in unison with the heart of his people. (The Israel may be the nation as a whole or the 'true Israel' within the nation, but for the present argument this makes no difference.) Just as Aristotle shows that logically and 'according to nature' the state is prior to the individual, so in the same sense is Israel prior to the Israelite, the community to the members which compose it. Each individual enters into the communal consciousness; he carries it on, and perhaps he strengthens and purifies it, but what he receives in almost every case is more than what he gives. The Israelite's religion was sustained and vitalized by his being a member of the community. He shared and experienced its joys and sorrows, its hopes and fears. It is these which are recorded in the Psalter, recorded by men who expanded, strengthened and purified the religion of their community, but at the same time stood in the closest relation to it, receiving from it their own religious sustenance and seeking to give vocal expression to it in their songs. I do not therefore believe that the national or communal interpretation of the 'I' (if properly understood) impairs the religious significance of the Psalter. Rather does it add to it a peculiar poetical and religious distinction. Here is the religion not so much of isolated men but of a community. The community is nothing outside its members; it does not exist without them or beyond them. The religion of a community is either the religion of its members or it is nothing at all—a dead letter, a series of written propositions, an echo of

the past. But the Psalter is instinct with vitality. It breathes and lives. Its religion was not made up to order: it was no laborious imitation of a pattern which no longer represented the real religious feelings and beliefs of its authors. The fusion between the individual and the community is complete and organic. The Psalmist does not merely speak in the name of his community: for the time being he *is* the community, and the community for the moment is summed up and expresses itself in him.

CHAPTER V

PSALMS OF THANKSGIVING

§ 1. *The Present and the Future.*—The Psalms which I bring together in this group under the title of Psalms of Thanksgiving are not all of one type. Some render thanks to God for actual deliverance; some, as in the first group, anticipate, and are songs of praise and gratitude for the deliverance that is yet to come. The Psalmists see the end at the beginning. For the deliverance they celebrate is always connected with the final deliverance of the Messianic or Golden Age. Any movement among the nations is sufficient to rouse their hopes and stir their expectations. Especially eager, as it would seem, were their anticipations during the conquering career of Alexander. No wonder that the immense and sudden changes which he wrought on the map and history of the world provoked their enthusiasm and excitement. Their hopes for the speedy coming of that Golden Age of righteousness, the age in which God should be king over all the earth, and every human soul should praise him, were doomed to disappointment; but some of the hymns to which those hopes gave birth are probably still preserved to us in the Psalter. And though the Psalmists were too confident in their expectations for the immediate future, they were no whit too confident in the goodness of God and in the triumph of righteousness. Sharing this faith with them, clinging to it with all our might and main, we can also appropriate their Psalms for our own use and comfort, and find in them the expression of our own highest hopes and aspirations. For the events of the moment which produced their hymns were transmuted by the Psalmists into forms and figures that are suitable for all time. They looked at the present, and utilized it for their poetry, *sub specie aeternitatis*, as the philosophers would say. Their words, though prompted by or even written for special circumstances, were in manner and

expression general enough to endure through the ages. Particular events were regarded in a universal light, and thus a poem for the occasion was capable of becoming a poem for eternity. The Psalmists, true poets as so many of them were, followed unconsciously the maxim of Rückert:—

'Nur wenn es Ewiges im Zeitlichen enthält,
Ist heut' es für das Fest und morgen für die Welt.'

§ 2. *The thirtieth Psalm*: '*Exaltabo te, Domine.*'—I include twenty-three Psalms in this group. Only two belong to the first collection, and these stand out sharply in tone and language from the rest. Of the twenty-one others, the majority fall into minor groups of their own, and are so found together in the Psalter. Thus we get the *three* successive Psalms xlvi to xlviii, the *six* Psalms xcv to c, and the *six* Psalms cxiii to cxviii.

Beginning with Psalm xxx, we find it difficult to decide whether it has an individual or a national signification. Is the deliverance personal to the singer, or is he the spokesman of his people? Probably the latter. The heading to the Psalm is very interesting: 'A song at the dedication of the house' (i. e. the Temple). It is tolerably certain that these words may be taken to mean that this Psalm was used at the re-dedication of the Temple by Judas Maccabeus. It still remains the Psalm for the festival of Chanukah. When it was written is doubtful. If it be a national Psalm, the distressful close of the Persian period may mark the troubles from which the career of Alexander the Great either brought or was expected to bring deliverance. There are frequent parallels in thought and language to many Psalms in the first group, which we have already heard. These the reader can find out for himself. The famous verse, 'For his anger is but for a moment,' is rendered in Coverdale's translation:—

For his wrath endureth but the twinkling of an eye,
And in his pleasure is life:
Heaviness may endure for a night,
But joy cometh in the morning.

The Hebrew word which I, borrowing from the Revised Version, have rendered 'tarry' means literally 'to lodge,' 'to pass the night as a traveller,' and thus beautifully expresses the central idea. Weeping is the passing guest, joy will come to stay.

I will extol thee, O Lord; for thou hast lifted me up,
And hast not made my foes to rejoice over me.
O Lord my God,
I cried unto thee, and thou hast healed me.

O Lord, thou hast brought up my soul from Sheol:
Thou hast kept me alive, that I should not go down to the pit.
Sing unto the Lord, O ye his loving ones,
And give thanks to his holy name.
For his anger is but for a moment; his favour is for a lifetime:
Weeping may tarry for a night, but joy cometh in the morning.

As for me, in my prosperity I said,
'I shall never be moved.'
Lord, by thy favour thou hadst set me on strong mountains:
Then didst thou hide thy face, and I was troubled.
I cried to thee, O Lord;
And unto the Lord I made supplication:
'What profit is there in my blood, if I go down to the pit?
Can the dust praise thee? can it declare thy truth?
Hear, O Lord, and have mercy upon me:
Lord, be thou my helper.'

Thou hast turned for me my mourning into dancing:
Thou hast loosed my sackcloth, and girded me with joy;
To the end that my glory may sing praise to thee, and not be silent;
O Lord my God, I will give thanks unto thee for ever.

§ 3. *The fortieth Psalm.*—Psalm xl, or rather the first twelve verses of it (for a short prayer for deliverance from sore affliction seems to have been awkwardly appended to a hymn of thanksgiving), may belong to the same period as Psalm xxx. In its estimate of sacrifice it reminds us of the great fifty-first, and the no less great fiftieth Psalm, which we have yet to hear. The speaker is the true Israel, as represented by the *corps d'élite* of true believers.

I waited patiently for the Lord;
And he inclined unto me and heard my cry.
He brought me up out of the pit of destruction, out of the miry clay,
And set my feet upon a rock, and made firm my steps.

And he put a new song in my mouth, even praise unto our God,
That many might see it and fear, and put their trust in the Lord.

Happy is the man that maketh the Lord his trust,
And hath not inclined unto the proud, or such as turn aside to lies.
Many, O Lord my God, are thy wonderful works which thou hast done,
And thy thoughts which are to us-ward:
None can be compared unto thee;
If I would declare and speak of them,
They are more than can be numbered.
Sacrifice and offering please thee not;
Burnt offering and sin offering thou hast not required.
Open ears hast thou made for me, (?)
In the roll of the book is my duty written.
I delight to do thy will, O my God:
Yea, thy law is within my heart.

I have declared the salvation of thy righteousness in the great congregation:
Lo, I do not restrain my lips,
O Lord, thou knowest.
I have not hid thy righteousness within my heart;
I have declared thy faithfulness and thy salvation:
I have not concealed thy lovingkindness and thy truth from the great congregation.
So do not thou restrain thy tender mercies from me, O Lord:
Let thy lovingkindness and thy truth continually preserve me.

The passage about the 'open ears' is very obscure. The line translated 'In the roll of the book is my duty written' (more literally, 'In the roll of the book it is prescribed to me') seems to come awkwardly after the declaration that God has not demanded sacrifices. For the 'book' can hardly be other than the Pentateuch; at least it must include the Pentateuch, and in that book 'sacrifices' are demanded. The Psalmist is in a different position from Jeremiah, who preceded him on the same lines (Part I, p. 408). Professor Wellhausen, while holding that the book is probably the Law, thinks we can get over the difficulty by

saying that 'we need not be surprised that it is by means of the Law that the present poet is led to understand God's preference of obedience to sacrifice. We find, in our books, the thoughts with which we are in sympathy; the rest we pass over. But the *book* here referred to probably included the Prophets as well as the Law.' I hardly think this explanation satisfactory. Perhaps, therefore, the distich containing the 'roll of the book' is a later addition. The 'law within the heart' could with equal accuracy be translated 'teaching.'

The 'great congregation' refers presumably to the people as a whole. The leaders or representatives of the nation explain and set forth to the community the meaning and import of the divine deliverance. Of the outward event they show the inner significance. The phraseology of the Psalm reminds us of the Second Isaiah; hence some think that the return from Babylon is the 'salvation' which the Psalmist 'declared.'

§ 4. *Psalms forty-six and forty-eight.*—We pass now to the songs of deliverance and thanksgiving contained in the second collection. Of these there are seven. The first three are Psalms xlvi, xlvii and xlviii, but the second of these is more akin to the first sub-group in the *third* collection, and will therefore be quoted later on. Psalm xlvi may perhaps have been written during the ferment produced in Israel at the overthrow of the Persian empire by Alexander the Great. All such great catastrophes were regarded by the Hebrews as divinely ordained, and as bearing a close relation to their own fortunes. Out of every such catastrophe they hoped the Messianic Age would arise. But our use and appreciation of the Psalm are not limited by the occasion of its origin. For us, as for the Jews of old, it is our highest hope to remember that above the intrigues and selfishness of international politics, as above the horrors of war, the divine purpose is still guiding and controlling the destinies of man.

Luther's famous hymn, *Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott*, is founded upon this Psalm. Note that there are three stanzas with a probably recurrent refrain. At the end of the first and the beginning of the second stanza the text seems imperfect. The words in brackets are conjectural.

God is our refuge and stronghold,
A very present help in trouble.
Therefore we will not fear, though the earth be moved,
And though the mountains sink into the midst of the sea;
Though the waters thereof roar and foam,
Though the mountains shake with the swelling thereof.

[*The Lord of hosts is with us;*
The God of Jacob is our refuge.]

[His lovingkindness is] a river, the arms whereof make glad
The city of God, the sanctuary of the Most High.
God is in the midst of her; she will not be moved:
God helpeth her when the morning dawneth.
The nations raged, the kingdoms were moved:
He uttered his voice, the earth melted.
The Lord of hosts is with us;
The God of Jacob is our refuge.

Come, behold the works of the Lord,
What terrors he hath made in the earth.
He maketh wars to cease unto the end of the earth;
He breaketh the bow, and cutteth the spear in sunder;
He burneth the chariot in the fire.
'Give way, and know that I am God:
I will be exalted among the nations, I will be exalted in the earth.'
The Lord of hosts is with us;
The God of Jacob is our refuge.

'When the morning dawneth': i.e. the morning of the Messianic Age.

Wonderful stories grew up about Alexander and the Jews. They were undoubtedly well treated by the great conqueror. Was Jerusalem spared unexpectedly? If so, the following Psalm (xlviii) may have been written to commemorate the event. The Psalmist recalls the days of Sennacherib: the kings (i.e. the Assyrian generals) drew near Jerusalem, but did not enter within its walls. And even such a deliverance as the Jews had 'heard' of in story, they had now 'seen' (i.e. experienced) with their own eyes. The Psalmist bids one and all rejoice in gratitude.

Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised
In the city of our God, in the mountain of his holiness.
Fair in height, the joy of the whole earth,
Is mount Zion, the city of the great King:
God hath made himself known in her palaces as a refuge.
For, lo, the kings were assembled,
They came onward together.

They saw, they marvelled;
  They were troubled, they hasted away.
Fear took hold upon them there,
  And pain, as of one in travail.
  Thou didst scatter them as the ships of Tarshish are
    broken by the east wind. (?)

As we have heard, so have we seen
  In the city of the Lord of hosts, in the city of our God:
  God will establish it for ever.
We think of thy lovingkindness, O God,
  In the midst of thy temple.
According to thy name, O God,
  So is thy praise unto the ends of the earth:
  Thy right hand is full of righteousness.

Let mount Zion rejoice,
  Let the daughters of Judah be glad,
  Because of thy judgements.
Walk about Zion, and go round about her:
  Count the towers thereof.
Mark ye well her ramparts,
  Visit her palaces;
That ye may declare to the next generation:
  That this God is our God;
  For ever and ever he will lead us.

§ 5. *The eighty-seventh Psalm: Zion, the Spiritual Mother.*—Near the two hymns about Jerusalem may be placed that great lyric of universalism which was quoted at the end of Part I (p. 608). It is Psalm lxxxvii, in one important respect the grandest in the whole Psalter. Proselytes had already begun to join the communion of Israel, and Jerusalem was becoming a spiritual metropolis as well as a political capital. The singer, inspired and enthusiastic through these yet small beginnings, looks forward to and realizes their consummation. The various nations (some old typical names are chosen, Rahab meaning Egypt) send up their sons for 'enrolment in the civic register of Zion.' But this enrolment means religious regeneration, and therefore the new citizens are, as it were, 'born again.'

The text of this strange and striking Psalm is unfortunately in more places than one obscure and uncertain. I have mainly adopted Professor Cheyne's translation in his commentary upon the Psalms (1888).

His foundation upon the holy mountains,
Yea, the gates of Zion the Lord loveth
More than all the dwellings of Jacob.
Glorious things are spoken of thee,
O city of God.
'Rahab and Babylon I proclaim my votaries;
Behold Philistia, and Tyre, with Ethiopia—
This one was born there.'
And of Zion it shall be said,
'Each and every one is born in her;'
And he, the Most High, shall establish her.
The Lord shall reckon, when he writeth down the peoples,
'This one was born there.'
And they sing and dance,
All whose fountains are in thee.

The last two lines are especially doubtful. The Greek translators had a different text before them in the ninth and tenth lines, and in accordance with it one may render: 'And Zion each one calls Mother; yea, each one was born in her.' 'Mother Zion,' as the Greek text has it—a grand and significant phrase. And surely the conception of the spiritual motherhood of Jerusalem may inspire us still. That is the spiritual Zionism which we profess; the goal of Judaism, which should determine its development and influence its form.

In Professor Cheyne's latest book (*Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, 1898) he gives a fresh translation of the Psalm, which probably brings out the meaning of the writer more clearly than any literal rendering of the present Hebrew text. He says of the Psalm: 'It is the eulogy of Zion as the metropolis of an ideally catholic church which we have before us. The Psalmist has absorbed all the great ideas of the Second Isaiah and the Songs of the Servant, and finds them becoming realized in his own happy experience. Whether by preaching, or simply by letting its light shine, the once despised Israel is now attracting Palestinians, Egyptians, Ethiopians, Babylonians, in such numbers that a day seems coming when all mankind will be Jews, i. e. when religion will unite more than the accidental differences of language or national character separate. The Second Isaiah seems to anticipate that foreigners will only be able to become Jews by sacrificing their national peculiarities. But our poet, and the author of the appendix to Isaiah xix (Part I, p. 605), clearly anticipate that Egypt and Babylon will remain

Egypt and Babylon, even when their higher life and their truest happiness are derived from Zion.' Therefore this Psalm prefigures with astonishing foresight the highest hopes of an enlightened Judaism to-day.

And now shall follow Professor Cheyne's new translation. He regards the Psalm as 'a poem in three stanzas of five lines each.'

Thou hast founded her on the holy mountains!
Jehovah loves the gates of Zion
More than all (other) dwellings of Jacob.
Gloriously will I praise thee,
Thou city of God!

Rahab and Babylon I will celebrate as her friends;
Behold, Philistia and Tyre,
With the people of Cush—each of these was born there.
Jehovah will note in the register of peoples,
This one (and that one) were born there.

And Zion each one calls Mother,
Yea, each one was born therein;
And (God) himself establishes her.
And (this anthem) will be sung in the congregations,
All my fountains are in thee.

§ 6. *Psalms sixty-six and sixty-seven.*—We now come to a pair of Thanksgiving Psalms of which the date is uncertain. The first is Psalm lxvi. Its author is not averse to sacrifices like the singer of Psalm xl, but his gratitude to God is no less deep and sincere. In the first part of the Psalm its national character and reference are clearly indicated by the plural pronoun; in the second part 'I' is used instead of 'we.' But the 'we' and the 'I' probably mean the same. Both are Israel. Note in the third stanza the appeal to the nations to join in Israel's thanksgiving. The consciousness that the one God should have more worshippers than a single people was dimly present to many an Israelite, but only very rarely did even the highest thinkers among them wholly free themselves from those religious limitations which a vivid sense of Israel's close relation to God had entailed.

Make a joyful noise unto God, all ye of the earth:
Make melody unto the glory of his name:
Sing forth the glory of his praise.

Say unto God, 'How terrible are thy works!
Through the greatness of thy power thine enemies submit themselves unto thee.
All the earth shall worship thee, and shall sing unto thee;
They shall sing to thy name.'

Come and see the works of God:
He is terrible in his doing toward the children of men.
He turned the sea into dry land:
They went through the flood on foot.
We will greatly rejoice in him,
Who ruleth by his power for ever.
His eyes behold the nations:
Let not the rebellious exalt themselves.

O bless our God, ye peoples,
And make the sound of his praise to be heard:
Who hath placed our soul in life,
And hath not suffered our feet to be moved.
For thou, O God, hast proved us:
Thou hast refined us, as silver is refined.
Thou broughtest us into the dungeon;
Thou laidest a heavy burden upon our loins.
Thou didst cause men to ride over our heads;
We went through fire and through water:
But thou broughtest us out into freedom.

I will go into thy house with burnt offerings:
I will pay thee my vows,
Which my lips have uttered,
And my mouth hath spoken, when I was in trouble.
I will offer unto thee burnt sacrifices of fatlings,
With the sweet savour of rams;
I will offer bullocks with goats.

Come and hear, all ye that fear God,
And I will declare what he hath done for my soul.
I cried unto him with my mouth,
And was exalted from under those who hate me.
If I had concealed iniquity in my heart,
The Lord would not have heard:
But verily God hath heard;
He hath attended to the voice of my prayer.

Blessed be God, who hath not turned away my prayer,
Nor his mercy from me.

The second of these two companion Psalms (lxvii) we have already heard in Part I (p. 545). It was suggested by a prosperous harvest, but this glad occasion led the singer on to pray for God's salvation in the widest sense of the word. Even as Israel is grateful to God the Giver and praises him, so may all nations of the earth join in this praise till it become world-wide and universal.

God be merciful unto us, and bless us,
And cause his face to shine upon us,
That thy way may be known upon earth,
Thy salvation among all nations.
Let the peoples praise thee, O God;
Let all the peoples praise thee.
O let the nations be glad and sing for joy,
That thou judgest the peoples righteously,
And leadest the nations upon earth.
Let the peoples praise thee, O God;
Let all the peoples praise thee.
The earth hath yielded her increase;
God, even our God, doth bless us.
God will bless us;
And all the ends of the earth will fear him.

§ 7. *The Accession Psalms: forty-seven and ninety-three.*—We now come to the so-called 'Accession' or 'Theocratic' Psalms, which bear a close family likeness to one another. Were they all written on the impulse of the same series of events? These events seemed to the Psalmists to wear a strange significance. Not far distant now was the great reign of God, when the claims of his divinity would be recognized throughout the world. What, then, were the events which form the background to, or rather the suggestions for, these notable Psalms? Full of reminiscences of the Second Isaiah and his school, they are ascribed by some authorities to the first generations of the return from Babylon, or more definitely still to the era which witnessed the completion of the second Temple. Others think of Alexander the Great.

There are eight of these Psalms in all, and six follow one another in the Psalter (xcv–c). The remaining two are xlvii and xciii. We will first listen to xlvii.

O clap your hands, all ye peoples;
  Shout unto God with the voice of triumph.
For the Lord Most High is terrible;
  He is a great King over all the earth.

He subdued peoples under us,
  And nations under our feet.
He chose our inheritance for us,
  The pride of Jacob whom he loved.

God is gone up with a shout,
  The Lord with the sound of a trumpet.
Sing praises to God, sing praises:
  Sing praises unto our King, sing praises.

For God is the King of all the earth:
  Sing ye praises with understanding.
God is become King over the nations:
  God hath seated himself upon his holy throne.

Princes of peoples are gathered together,
  With the people of the God of Abraham:
For the shields of the earth belong unto God:
  He is greatly exalted.

The second stanza refers to the distant past—Israel's original conquest of Canaan.

'God is gone up.' A religious anachronism; a phraseological relic. 'God is said to "come down" when he manifests his presence by active interposition in the affairs of the world. He is said to "go up" when, his work over, he as it were returns to heaven. The triumphal procession, carrying up (at least in ancient times) the Ark which was the symbol of God's presence to the Temple which was the symbol of heaven, and celebrating the victory which he had won for them with shouts and blowing of trumpets, was the outward and visible emblem of this "ascension," and suggests the form of the expression here' (Professor Kirkpatrick).

'Princes of peoples.' The completed process in a vision of the mind. The end is realized by faith. Two of the Greek Jews who translated the Hebrew Bible into their mother tongue render '*as* the people of the God of Abraham,' and our present Hebrew text implies the same. The meaning then would be that the princes and their peoples are now themselves become the people of the God

of Abraham—a pregnant universalistic phrase. But 'with' has probably dropped out.

Professor Wellhausen translates the last two lines of the Psalm thus: 'Men of their own free will from the peoples join the people of Abraham's God. For to God, our shield, belongs the world; he is exalted on high.' And he has the following important note, 'This verse is the key to the understanding of the Psalm. The conversions to Judaism, which became much more numerous after the days of Alexander the Great, gave rise to this lofty Messianic hope: they signalized the beginning of Jehovah's universal rule. The remarkable spread of Judaism among all the heathen at that time was undoubtedly a significant fact; it arose out of the Messianic hope, to which, in turn, it gave fresh vigour.'

The second Accession Psalm (xciii) is familiar to us from its place in our Sabbath liturgy. The streams and breakers are symbols of the nations, which dash vainly against the immutable purposes of God.

The Lord hath become King; he hath clothed himself with majesty;
The Lord hath clothed himself, hath girded himself with strength;
Now therefore is the world set firm, that it cannot be moved.
Thy throne is firm from of old,
Thou art from everlasting.

The streams have lifted up, O Lord,
The streams have lifted up their voice,
The streams lift up their roaring:
Mightier than the voices of many waters,
Mightier than the breakers of the sea, is the Lord on high.

Thy testimonies are very sure:
Holiness becometh thine house,
O Lord, for evermore.

§ 8. *The ninety-fifth Psalm: 'Venite, exultemus.'*—Either the next Psalm (xcv) is made up of two independent fragments, or some connecting-links have been lost. The first alternative seems the more probable, for the rebuke contained in the second part seems out of place in an Accession Psalm of thanksgiving and triumph. Moreover, the sudden change of speaker is exceedingly harsh.

O come, let us sing unto the Lord:
  Let us make a joyful noise to the rock of our salvation.
Let us come before his presence with thanksgiving,
  And make a joyful noise unto him with psalms.
For the Lord is a great God,
  And a great King above all gods.

In his hand are the recesses of the earth:
  The summits of the hills are his also.
The sea is his, and he made it:
  And his hands formed the dry land.
O come, let us worship and bow down:
  Let us kneel before the Lord our maker.
For he is our God;
  And we are the people of his pasture,
  And the sheep of his hand.

. . . . . .

To-day, O that ye would hear my voice!
Harden not your heart, as at Meribah,
  And as in the day of Massah in the wilderness:
When your fathers tempted me,
  Tried me, though they saw my work.
Forty years long I abhorred this generation,
And said, 'They are a people with erring heart,
  And they know not my ways:'
So that I sware in my wrath
  That they should not enter into my rest.

The reference in the second fragment is to a story of the wanderings of the Israelites which was not transcribed in Part I. It occurs in Exodus xvii. 1–7, and runs as follows:—

'And all the congregation of the children of Israel journeyed from the wilderness of Sin, after their journeys, according to the commandment of the Lord, and pitched in Rephidim: and there was no water for the people to drink. Wherefore the people did chide with Moses, and said, Give us water that we may drink. And Moses said unto them, Why chide ye with me? wherefore do ye tempt the Lord? And the people thirsted there for water; and the people murmured against Moses, and said, Wherefore is this that thou hast brought us up out of Egypt, to kill us and our children and our cattle with thirst? And Moses cried unto the Lord, saying, What shall I do unto this people? they be almost ready to stone me. And the Lord said unto Moses, Go on before the people, and take with

thee of the elders of Israel; and thy rod, wherewith thou smotest the Nile, take in thine hand, and go. Behold, I will stand before thee there upon the rock in Horeb; and thou shalt smite the rock, and there shall come water out of it, that the people may drink. And Moses did so in the sight of the elders of Israel. And he called the name of the place Massah (i. e. Temptation) and Meribah (i. e. Strife), because of the chiding of the children of Israel, and because they tempted the Lord, saying, Is the Lord among us, or not?'

§ 9. *Psalms ninety-six and ninety-seven.*—In the next Psalm (xcvi) the writer depicts the great judgement which is soon to follow Jehovah's assumption of universal kingship. From the days of Ezekiel and the Second Isaiah, the Judgement became an abiding feature of the Messianic Age. In later times it was associated with the resurrection of the dead, and the creation of a new heaven and a new earth. But now it may be said that the belief in it has faded away. We are far from thinking that the lot of the good and the bad are undiscriminated by God whether in life or death, nor is the conception of the Divine Being as king and judge either false or obsolete. But his rule and his judgements are conceived less outwardly, their methods are withdrawn from our eyes. We can no longer shape them in pictorial form, and even words are inadequate. 'Last judgements' find no place in our theology.

Note how the conversion of the nations is the chief element of the divine glory.

O sing unto the Lord a new song:
  Sing unto the Lord, all the earth.
Sing unto the Lord, bless his name;
  Tell the tidings of his salvation from day to day.
Declare his glory among the nations,
  His wonders among all peoples.

For the Lord is great, and greatly to be praised:
  Awful is he above all gods.
For all the gods of the nations are things of nought:
  But the Lord made the heavens.
Splendour and majesty are before him:
  Strength and beauty are in his sanctuary.

Give unto the Lord, O ye kindreds of the peoples,
  Give unto the Lord glory and strength.

Give unto the Lord the glory due unto his name:
Bring an offering, and come into his courts.
O worship the Lord in holy array:
Tremble before him, all the earth.
Say among the nations, 'The Lord hath become King:'
Now therefore the world is set firm that it cannot be moved:
He shall judge the peoples righteously.

Let the heavens rejoice, and let the earth be glad;
Let the sea roar, and the fulness thereof.
Let the plain be joyful, and all that is therein:
Yea, let all the trees of the forest rejoice
Before the Lord, for he cometh,
He cometh to judge the earth:
He will judge the world with righteousness,
And the peoples with his faithfulness.

The description which Professor Cheyne gives of the next Psalm (xcvii) is the best summary of its contents. 'The same subject as before. [The first two stanzas] describe Jehovah's accession with the imagery proper to a theophany. [The last two stanzas] give the impressions which this great event must produce upon the Israelites and upon the idolaters respectively.'

The Lord hath become King; let the earth rejoice;
Let the multitude of isles be glad.
Clouds and darkness are round about him:
Righteousness and judgement are the foundation of his throne.
A fire goeth before him,
And burneth round about his steps.

His lightnings illumine the world:
The earth seeth, and trembleth.
The hills melt like wax at the presence of the Lord,
At the presence of the Lord of the whole earth.
The heavens declare his righteousness,
And all the peoples see his glory.

Confounded are all they that serve graven images,
That boast themselves of idols:
The gods bow down before him.

Zion heareth, and is glad;
And the daughters of Judah rejoice
Because of thy judgements, O Lord.
For thou, Lord, art high above all the earth:
Thou art exalted far above all gods.

The Lord loveth them that hate evil:
He preserveth the souls of his loving ones;
He delivereth them out of the hand of the wicked.
Light ariseth for the righteous,
And gladness for the upright in heart.
Rejoice in the Lord, ye righteous;
And give thanks unto his holy name.

§ 10. *Psalms ninety-eight and ninety-nine.*—Similar thoughts on the same subject are again presented to us in Psalm xcviii.

O sing unto the Lord a new song;
For he hath done marvellous things:
His right hand, and his holy arm, hath gotten him the victory.
The Lord hath made known his salvation:
His righteousness hath he revealed in the sight of the nations.
He hath remembered his lovingkindness unto Jacob, and his faithfulness toward the house of Israel:
All the ends of the earth have seen the salvation of our God.

Make a joyful noise unto the Lord, all the earth:
Make a loud noise, and rejoice, and sing praise.
Sing unto the Lord with the harp;
With the harp and the sound of melody.
With trumpets and sound of cornet
Make a joyful noise before the Lord, the King.
Let the sea roar and the fulness thereof;
The world, and they that dwell therein.
Let the streams clap their hands:
Let the hills be joyful together
Before the Lord; for he cometh to judge the earth:
With righteousness shall he judge the world,
And the peoples with equity.

'Again' (in Psalm xcix) 'the Psalmist luxuriates in the thought of Jehovah's enthronization and in the prospect of the universal anthem to his name. Jehovah is the holy one, i.e. in this connexion the Infinite One; and from this large conception the Psalmist singles out the special feature of the divine righteousness for fuller treatment' (Cheyne).

The Lord hath become King: let the peoples tremble:
He is enthroned above the cherubim; let the earth be moved.
The Lord is great in Zion;
And he is high above all the peoples.
Let them praise thy great and terrible name:
Thou art a King that is holy.

He loveth judgement;
Thou hast established equity,
Thou hast executed judgement and righteousness in Jacob.
Exalt ye the Lord our God,
And worship at his footstool;
He is holy.

Moses and Aaron among his priests,
And Samuel among them that called upon his name;
They called upon the Lord, and he answered them.
He spake unto them in the cloudy pillar:
They kept his testimonies, and the ordinance that he gave them.
Thou answeredst them, O Lord our God:
Thou wast a God that forgavest them,
And wast appeased at their evil deeds.
Exalt ye the Lord our God,
And worship at his holy hill;
For the Lord our God is holy.

The pronouns in the third stanza are rather difficult. 'He spake unto *them* in the pillar of cloud'; presumably the Psalmist refers generally to the Mosaic age, as also in the next sentence. The words, 'And wast appeased at their evil deeds,' rest on an easy emendation of the text. As it stands, the Hebrew must be translated: 'And thou tookest vengeance on their evil deeds.' But in this connexion these words seem out of place. God's footstool is the Temple, or the holy mountain of Zion.

§ 11. *The hundredth Psalm: 'Jubilate Deo.'*—The series of the Accession Psalms is fitly brought to a close in the following short and noble hymn of praise and thanksgiving (c):—

Make a joyful noise unto the Lord, all ye lands.
Serve the Lord with gladness:
Come before his presence with singing.
Know ye that the Lord he is God:
It is he that hath made us, and we are his,
His people, and the sheep of his pasture.
Enter into his gates with thanksgiving,
And into his courts with praise:
Give thanks unto him, and bless his name.
For the Lord is good; his lovingkindness is everlasting;
And his faithfulness endureth to all generations.

The Hebrew consonantal text of the fifth line would give the rendering: 'It is he that hath made us, and not we ourselves,' and this is the translation of the Vulgate and of the Authorized Version. But it is an obvious mistake for the true reading which is recommended by the old Jewish editors of the consonantal text. It all depends on a single letter. 'Lo' spelt one way in Hebrew (לֹא) means 'not'; spelt another way (לוֹ) it means 'to him.' Thus we have either to read 'and not we,' or 'and to him we' (i.e. 'his are we').

Wycliffe's version runs thus:—

'All erthe, singe ye hertli to God; serve ye the Lord in gladnesse. Entre ye in his sight in ful out-ioiyng. Wite ye that the Lord hym silf is God; he made us, and not we maden us; his puple and the scheep of his lesewe (*pasture*). Entre ye in to hise yates in knouleching; entre ye into hise porchis; knouleche ye to him in ympnes (*hymns*). Herye (*praise*) ye his name, for the Lord is swete, his merci is with-outen ende; and his treuthe is in generacioun and in to generacioun.'

The famous Hundredth Psalm has been sung, as Dr. Ker says, 'in all lands for many centuries and in countless gatherings. In the Scottish Version, and with the accompaniment of Luther's melody, it has already girdled the earth.' This 'Scottish Version' was made by William Kethe, during his exile in Geneva with other Protestant divines during the reign of Mary. It forms part of the rhymed version of the Psalter edited and partly written by Sternhold and Hopkins, and published as a whole in 1564. It runs thus—

All people that on earth do dwell,
Sing to the Lord with cheerful voice:
Him serve with mirth, his praise forth tell,
Come ye before him and rejoice.

Know that the Lord is God indeed;
Without our aid he did us make;
We are his flock, he doth us feed,
And for his sheep he doth us take.

O enter then his gates with praise,
Approach with joy his courts unto;
Praise, laud and bless his name always,
For it is seemly so to do.

For why? the Lord our God is good;
His mercy is for ever sure;
His truth at all times firmly stood,
And shall from age to age endure.

§ 12. *The eighty-first Psalm: 'Exultate Deo.'*—I now interrupt the sequence in order to insert a Psalm of joyful thanksgiving (lxxxi) which, like the ninety-fifth, seems made up of two originally distinct passages. Moreover, the second half of this eighty-first Psalm is curiously parallel to the second half of the ninety-fifth Psalm.

The first of the two passages is a glad summons to the celebration of the festival of Passover or Tabernacles. Because of the mention of the Trumpet (Shophar) it has, however, now become the Psalm read or sung on the Day of Memorial. In the second passage a Psalmist is apparently recording words which he had heard in a vision or a dream. Whether the hypothesis of two separate fragments be true or not, in either case something is wanting before the words, 'I heard the speech of one I knew not.'

Sing aloud unto God our strength:
Make a joyful noise unto the God of Jacob.
Make melody, and strike the timbrel,
The pleasant lyre with the harp.
Blow the trumpet on the new moon,
At the full moon, for the day of our festival.
For this is a statute for Israel,
And a law of the God of Jacob.
This he ordained in Joseph for a testimony,
When he went forth from the land of Egypt.

. . . . . .

I heard the speech of one I knew not:
'I removed his shoulder from the burden:
His hands were delivered from the basket.
Thou calledst in trouble, and I delivered thee;
I answered thee in the secret place of thunder:
I proved thee at the waters of Meribah.

(I said), "Hear, O my people: I will warn thee,
O Israel, if thou wilt hearken unto me;
Let there be no strange god within thee;
Neither worship thou any strange god.
I am the Lord thy God,
Who brought thee out of the land of Egypt:
Open thy mouth wide, and I will fill it."

'But my people would not hearken to my voice;
And Israel would none of me.
So I gave them up to the stubbornness of their own hearts,
That they might walk in their own counsels.
Oh that my people would hearken unto me,
And Israel would walk in my ways!
I would soon subdue their enemies,
And turn my hand against their adversaries.
They that hate them would submit themselves unto them;
And their time would endure for ever. (?)
I would feed thee with the fat of wheat:
And with honeycomb would I satisfy thee.'

§ 13. *The Hallel: Psalms one hundred and thirteen, and one hundred and fourteen.*—We now come to the six famous Psalms (cxiii–cxviii) which form the so-called *Hallel.* They are, as every Jew knows or should know, recited (wholly or in part) in the synagogue on the three great festivals of Passover, Pentecost and Tabernacles, and also on the New Moons and on the Feast of Dedication. This custom is undoubtedly very ancient, and was certainly in vogue before the Christian era. It is highly probable that the Psalms were first used at the Feast of Dedication, and then afterwards at the Pentateuchal festivals. But more than this. It is probable that four of the six were written in the very midst of the Maccabean uprising, and that the last was composed for the very event which ever after it has helped to commemorate so worthily. The first two of the six may have been composed at an earlier date.

Praise ye the Lord.
Praise, O ye servants of the Lord,
Praise ye the name of the Lord.
Blessed be the name of the Lord
From this time forth and for evermore.
From the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same
The Lord's name is to be praised.

The Lord is high above all nations,
  And his glory above the heavens.
Who is like unto the Lord our God,
  Who dwelleth on high,
Who looketh down so low
  Upon the heaven and the earth?

Who raiseth up the poor out of the dust,
  And lifteth the needy out of the dunghill;
That he may set him with princes,
  Even with the princes of his people.
Who maketh the barren woman to keep house,
  As the joyful mother of children.
  Praise ye the Lord.

The 'poor' and 'needy' generally refer to the pious community or to some section of the Jewish people. But the following lines are difficult: 'That he may set him with princes, even with the princes of his people.' Some would emend the text, and read 'even with princes his (i.e. God's) people,' or 'even with the princes of peoples.' In that case the allusion might be to the return from Babylon and to the anticipations connected with it. The 'barren woman' would be Israel, which takes its place again among the nations and will become great and populous. Compare the metaphor in the Second Isaiah (Part I, p. 499). But if the text be correct, it would seem that the date of the Psalm must be Maccabean, and the only feasible explanation that of Wellhausen, whose pithy note runs: 'The Maccabean champions were received among the nobility and blended with them.'

In the following Psalm (cxiv) the poet looks back to the exodus from Egypt. The celebration of God's mighty deeds to Israel in the past is a prelude to the thanksgiving for more recent mercies.

The close of this Psalm seems sudden. Perhaps something is lost. By the imperatives in the last stanza the singer gives his own answer to the rhetorical question which he had put to the waters and the hills.

When Israel went out of Egypt,
  The house of Jacob from a people of strange language;
Judah became his sanctuary,
  And Israel his dominion.

The sea saw, and fled:
  Jordan turned back.

The mountains skipped like rams,
And the hills like lambs.

What aileth thee, O thou sea, that thou fleest?
Thou Jordan, that thou turnest back?
Ye mountains, that ye skip like rams;
And ye hills, like lambs?

Tremble, thou earth, at the presence of the Lord,
At the presence of the God of Jacob;
Who turneth the rock into a pool of water,
The flint into a springing well.

§ 14. *Psalm one hundred and fifteen: 'Non nobis, Domine.'*— Our next Psalm (cxv) is certainly Maccabean, but its *precise* date is hard to fix. Was it written after a victory, but before the final triumph? It begins beseechingly as if amid affliction, but a more confident and happy tone soon succeeds.

Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us,
But unto thy name give glory,
For the sake of thy lovingkindness and thy truth.
Wherefore should the nations say,
'Where, pray, is their God?'
But our God is in the heavens:
He doeth whatsoever he pleaseth.

Their idols are silver and gold,
The work of men's hands.
They have mouths, but they speak not:
Eyes have they, but they see not:
They have ears, but they hear not:
Noses have they, but they smell not:
They have hands, but they handle not:
Feet have they, but they walk not:
Neither speak they through their throat.
They that make them shall be like unto them;
Every one that trusteth in them.

O Israel, trust thou in the Lord:—
He is their help and their shield.
O house of Aaron, trust in the Lord:—
He is their help and their shield.

Ye that fear the Lord, trust in the Lord:—
He is their help and their shield.
The Lord hath been mindful of us: he will bless us;
He will bless the house of Israel;
He will bless the house of Aaron.
He will bless them that fear the Lord,
Both small and great.

May the Lord increase you more and more,
You and your children.
Blessed may ye be of the Lord
Who made heaven and earth.
The heavens are heavens for the Lord
But the earth hath he given to the children of men.
And we will bless the Lord
From this time forth and for evermore.
Praise ye the Lord.

The *third* person following on the imperative in the third stanza seems to be explicable upon the supposition that half the choir sang the summons, and the other half made the rejoinder. Note the triple division of the people. The priests are important, but scarcely less so are the proselytes. For they are those 'that fear the Lord.'

§ 15. *Psalm one hundred and sixteen.*—The situation out of which the following Psalm (cxvi) was written is very obscure, though it probably belongs to the same Maccabean period. Some scholars regard it (in Professor Cheyne's words) as the 'tender musings of a devout soul on some personal or rather national deliverance.' In that case it is a Psalm of thanksgiving. But others believe that it is a prayer in sore affliction, and that it is only the confidence produced by prayer which views the danger as overpast. The nature of Hebrew tenses makes this uncertainty possible; moreover, in several places the text is probably corrupt, and in others defective. The Psalmist speaks as one of his party, the *Chasidim* or *Asidaioi*, of whom we shall hear in the next section. 'The son of thy handmaid' is to be explained as in Psalm lxxxvi (p. 468). The pious community of the present is the descendant of the pious community of the past.

I love the Lord, because he hearkeneth
Unto the voice of my supplications;
Because he inclined his ear unto me
On the day when I called.

The cords of death had compassed me,
And the pangs of Sheol gat hold upon me,
I found trouble and sorrow:
Then I called upon the name of the Lord:
'O Lord, I beseech thee, deliver my soul.'
Gracious is the Lord, and righteous;
Yea, our God is merciful.
The Lord preserveth the simple:
I was brought low, and he helped me.

Return unto thy rest, O my soul;
For the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee.
For thou hast delivered my soul from death,
Mine eyes from tears, and my feet from falling.
I shall walk before the Lord
In the land of the living.

I kept my trust, even when I spake:
'I am greatly afflicted:' (?)
I said in mine alarm:
'All men are liars.' (?)
What shall I render unto the Lord
For all his benefits towards me?
I will raise the cup of salvation,
And call upon the name of the Lord.
Precious in the sight of the Lord
Is the death of his loving ones.
O Lord, truly I am thy servant;
I am thy servant, the son of thine handmaid:—
Thou hast loosed my bonds.
I will offer to thee the sacrifice of thanksgiving,
And will call upon the name of the Lord.
I will pay my vows unto the Lord;
Even in the presence of all his people,
In the courts of the Lord's house,
In the midst of thee, O Jerusalem.
Praise ye the Lord.

'The simple.' The word is here used in a good sense. The simple are they who put their trust wholly in God, and despite of appearances are confident of ultimate deliverance. It is the simplicity of faith.

'Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his loving

ones.' A difficult verse. What is the meaning of the word 'precious'? Some suppose the signification to be: 'God does not give his loving ones over unto death willingly;' their death is a serious, a grave thing in his sight. (The root idea of the word '*yakar*' is *heavy*.) Others believe the passage means: God regards the death of his loving ones 'as something dearly to be paid for by those who are its agents.' (So Cheyne.) Much of the third stanza is very obscure, and the translation dark and doubtful. Probably the text is corrupt. The passage from 'Precious in' down to 'loosed my bonds' seems defective. Olshausen and Wellhausen conjecture that the original text may have run like this:—

Precious in the sight of the Lord
  [Is the life of his servants;
  He giveth not] his loving ones unto death.
[I said]: O Lord, [help me], for I am thy servant:
  I am thy servant, the son of thy handmaid.
[Then didst thou hearken unto me,]
  Thou didst loose my bonds.

§ 16. *The one hundred and seventeenth Psalm.*—The tiny Psalm which follows is the shortest in the Psalter.

O praise the Lord, all ye nations:
  Praise him, all ye peoples.
For his lovingkindness hath been mighty over us:
  And the faithfulness of the Lord endureth for ever.
  Praise ye the Lord.

For our one word 'praise' the Hebrew here has two. So in German you can say 'rühmen' and 'loben,' or 'loben' and 'preisen'; but 'laud' as a synonym for 'praise' is ugly.

'Over us,' i. e. protectingly.

The Hebrew word *Émet* is usually rendered 'truth' in the Authorized Version, but familiar as we are with the term, it is often a not very accurate translation. It means more properly 'fidelity' or 'faithfulness,' truth as realized in the fulfilment of a bond or covenant. God's *Émet* towards Israel is his fidelity to his covenant.

§ 17. *The last of the Hallels: Psalm one hundred and eighteen.*—The last of the Hallel Psalms is cxviii. Scarcely any other in the whole Psalter is so surely Maccabean as this. It breathes the very spirit of Judas, the hero, even as it celebrates his dedication of the purified Temple: that is the 'Day which the Lord hath made,' and Israel is the 'corner-stone.' Professor Cheyne describes

the structure of the Psalm as follows: 'A procession is on its way to the Temple, different sections of which alternately sing the several verses of the first part.' (Stanzas 1 to 4.) The first half of the fifth stanza 'is spoken in the name of the whole band on its arrival at the gates'; the second half 'is the reply in the name of the Levites who receive it.' The sixth stanza is 'sung antiphonally as before.' The first verse of the last stanza 'is the cry of the whole chorus'; the second verse 'is spoken by those within to the approaching procession'; the third 'belongs to the leaders of the band'; the fourth 'to a part of the chorus'; the fifth 'to the whole body of worshippers.'

The procession on its way to the Temple.

O give thanks unto the Lord; for he is good:
For his lovingkindness endureth for ever.
Let Israel now say,
That his lovingkindness endureth for ever.
Let the house of Aaron now say,
That his lovingkindness endureth for ever.
Let them that fear the Lord now say,
That his lovingkindness endureth for ever.

Out of my straits I called upon the Lord:
The Lord answered me with enlargement.
The Lord is on my side; I will not fear:
What can man do unto me?
The Lord is for me as my Helper;
Therefore shall I see my desire upon them that hate me.
It is better to take refuge in the Lord
Than to trust in man.
It is better to take refuge in the Lord
Than to trust in princes.

All nations compassed me about:
But in the name of the Lord I have cut them off.
They compassed me about; yea, they compassed me about:
But in the name of the Lord I have cut them off.
They compassed me about like bees;
They burned as a fire of thorns:
In the name of the Lord I have cut them off.

Thou didst thrust sore at me that I might fall:
But the Lord helped me.

The Lord is my strength and my song,
And he hath become my salvation.
The sound of rejoicing and deliverance is in the tents of the righteous:
'The right hand of the Lord doeth valiantly,
The right hand of the Lord is exalted:
The right hand of the Lord doeth valiantly.'
I shall not die, but live,
And declare the works of the Lord.
The Lord hath chastened me sore:
But he hath not given me over unto death.

The procession at the gates of the Temple.

Open to me the gates of righteousness:
I will enter into them and give thanks unto the Lord.

Levites within the Temple.

This is the gate of the Lord,
Into which the righteous may enter.

The procession.

I will give thanks unto thee: for thou didst hear me,
And thou hast become my salvation.
The stone which the builders despised
Is become the head stone of the corner
This is the Lord's doing;
It is marvellous in our eyes
This is the day which the Lord hath made;
We will rejoice and be glad in it.

The whole chorus.

Save now, we beseech thee, O Lord:
O Lord, we beseech thee, send now prosperity.

Levites within the Temple.

Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord:
We bless you from the house of the Lord.

Leaders of the procession.

The Lord is God; he hath given us light:
Bind ye garlands with myrtles unto the horns of the altar. (?)

Part of the chorus.

Thou art my God, and I will give thanks unto thee:
My God, I will exalt thee.

The whole chorus.

O give thanks unto the Lord; for he is good:
For his lovingkindness endureth for ever.

'The gates of righteousness,' i. e. (1) 'the gates which open only to the righteous, and (2) those from which Jehovah's righteous acts of deliverance proceed' (Cheyne).

The despised stone is either Zion or Israel. 'In consequence of the Maccabean victories, the despised Jewish people now assume a prominent position in the world' (Wellhausen).

'Bind ye garlands with myrtles:' a very doubtful rendering due to Professor Graetz. The usual translation is, 'Fasten the festal victim with cords to the horns of the altar,' which is both absurd and un-Hebraic. Perhaps the text is corrupt.

The Midrash on the Psalms has a pretty little homily on the 'Gate of the Lord.' 'In the world to come a man is asked, "What was thine occupation?" If he reply, "I fed the hungry," he is answered, "*That* is the gate of the Lord: enter thou in."'

§ 18. *The one hundred and thirty-eighth Psalm.*—My thanksgiving group is concluded by a probably Maccabean Psalm (cxxxviii), in which the writer expresses his gratitude for the divine deliverance of Israel, and his faith in the complete realization of the prophetic word.

I will praise thee with my whole heart:
Before kings will I sing praise unto thee.
I will worship toward thy holy temple,
And praise thy name for thy lovingkindness and for thy truth:
For thou hast done great things above all thy word.
In the day when I cried thou answeredst me,
And madest me bold in my soul with thy strength.

All the kings of the earth shall praise thee, O Lord,
When they hear the words of thy mouth.
Yea, they shall sing of the ways of the Lord:
For great is the glory of the Lord.

The Lord is high, yet he beholdeth the lowly:
And the proud he knoweth afar off.
Though I walk in the midst of trouble, thou wilt revive me:
Thou wilt stretch forth thine hand against the wrath of mine enemies,
And thy right hand shall save me.
The Lord will perfect that which concerneth me
Thy mercy, O Lord, endureth for ever:
Forsake not the works of thine hands.

Israel is bold through God-given strength. He is both proud and humble. Proud towards his foes and persecutors, for he is fearless unto death; humble towards God, for even his courage is not his own.

CHAPTER VI

PSALMS OF PILGRIMAGE

§ 1. *The Songs of Ascents.*—Three groups of Psalms have passed before us. Prayers in Affliction; Peaceful Communings with God; Songs of Thanksgiving. There shall now follow a group marked out and distinguished in the Psalter itself by a special title or heading. In the Authorized Version the Psalms of this group are called Songs of Degrees; in the Revised Version they are called Songs of Ascents. The Hebrew word is '*Ma'aloth*,' which may also be rendered '(songs of) goings up,' or '(songs of) the pilgrimages.' The meaning of the term is obscure, but the majority of scholars regard these songs as having been composed for pilgrims who came up for worship and prayer to the Temple at Jerusalem. Professor Robertson-Smith, for instance, writes: 'According to the Mishnah and other Jewish traditions, these Psalms were sung by the Levites, at the Feast of Tabernacles, on the fifteen steps or degrees that led from the women's to the men's court of the Temple. But when we read the Psalms themselves, we see that originally they must have been sung not by Levites but by the laymen who came up to Jerusalem at the great feasts; and the word which Jewish tradition renders by "degree" or "step" ought rather to be translated "going up" to Jerusalem, so that the Songs of Degrees ought rather to be called "Pilgrimage Songs." But now the curious thing is that, according to the laws of Hebrew grammar, the title prefixed to each of these hymns must be translated not "a song of pilgrimage," but "the songs of pilgrimage." In other words, each title is properly the collective title of the whole fifteen Psalms, which must once have formed a separate hymnal for the use of pilgrims; and when the collection was taken into the greater Psalter, this general title was set at the head of each of the hymns.' On the other hand, as Professor Wellhausen observes, many of the hymns seem to have nothing

to do with pilgrimages, and to be unsuitable for such occasions. 'The meaning of the expression (*Songs of Ascents*) cannot be regarded as finally determined.'

It did not seem right to separate the songs of this historic hymnal, so I have kept them together, and shall quote them (omitting only one) in the order in which we find them. I place them as my fourth group, because if one were to separate them, they could be distributed between the three previous groups, five of them falling to group one, five to group two, and four to group three. Their date is uncertain, but they probably belong to the late Persian and early Greek periods.

§ 2. *The one hundred and twentieth Psalm.*—The first pilgrimage song (cxx) depicts the community of Israel as suffering from hostile neighbours, but these 'neighbours' are not necessarily foreigners. Many may have been Israelites. But 'the key to the special circumstances is lost' (Cheyne).

In my distress I cried unto the Lord,
  And he heard me.
Deliver my soul, O Lord, from lying lips,
  From the deceitful tongue.
What shall he give unto thee,
  And what shall he add unto thee, thou deceitful tongue? (?)
Sharpened arrows of a warrior,
  With coals of broom. (?)
Woe is me, that I sojourn in Meshech,
  That I dwell beside the tents of Kedar!
My soul hath too long dwelt
  With him that hateth peace.
I am for peace, but when I speak
  They are for war. (?)

A little Psalm full of obscurities.

'What shall he give unto thee?' The translation is disputed. Apparently the meaning is that God is asked to requite the 'deceitful tongue' in its own coin. The tongue of the wicked is sharp as the arrow and works ruin like fire. May the arrow and the fire destroy it! As to 'coals of broom,' Professor Cheyne says that 'the Bedawins of Sinai still burn this very plant into a charcoal which throws out the most intense heat.' *Meshech* (i.e. tribes between the Black and the Caspian Sea) and *Kedar* (i.e. nomad tribes of North Arabia) perhaps 'symbolize the malignant neighbours of the Jews at home.'

§ 3. *Psalm one hundred and twenty-one : 'Levavi oculos meos in montes.'*—The second song (cxxi) can be its own interpreter. This famous religious lyric speaks to every heart. The 'hills' are those of Jerusalem, above which 'the Lord dwelleth.' They are 'the boundaries of the horizon, the limit beyond which the eye cannot pierce.' A belief in the hurtful influence of the moon under certain conditions was widely spread throughout antiquity. A similar fancy still prevails in many places. The sun hurts the body; the moon the mind.

I lift up mine eyes unto the hills:
Whence cometh my help?
My help cometh from the Lord,
Who made heaven and earth.

He will not suffer thy foot to be moved:
He that keepeth thee will not slumber.
Behold, he that keepeth Israel
Doth neither slumber nor sleep.

The Lord is thy keeper:
The Lord is thy shade upon thy right hand.
The sun shall not smite thee by day,
Nor the moon by night.

The Lord will keep thee from all evil:
He will keep thy soul.
The Lord will keep thy going out and thy coming in
From this time forth, and even for evermore.

I will give here, so that we may dwell a little longer on this lovely Psalm, the translation of it by Richard Rolle of Hampole. I quote from Mr. Bramley's edition. Rolle died in 1349.

I liftid myn eghyn in hillis, whethen help cum till me. My help of the Lord, that made heven and erth. Gif he noght in styrynge thi fote, na slomyre he that kepis the. Lo he sall noght slomyre na he sall slepe, that kepis Israel. The Lord the kepis, the Lord thi hilynge on thi right hand. Be day the sunn sall noght bren the, na the mone be nyght. Lord kepis the fra all ill, Lord kepe thi saule. Lord kepe thin ingange and thin outgange, fra this now and in till warld.

Rolle's version is a word-for-word rendering of the Vulgate, and hardly less so is Wycliffe's.

I reiside myn ighen to the hillis, fro whannus help schal come to me. Myn help is of the Lord, that made hevene and erthe. The Lord gyve

not thi foot in to moving, nether he nappe that kepith thee. Lo, he schal not nappe, nether slepe, that kepith Israel. The Lord kepith thee; the Lord is thi protecciouu above thi right hond. The sunne schal not brenne thee bi dai, nether the moone bi nyght. The Lord kepe thee fro al yvel; the Lord kepe thi soul. The Lord kepe thi goyng in and thi goyng out, fro this tyme now and into the world.

Perhaps one of the most successful of the innumerable verse paraphrases of this Psalm is that recently published in the *Jewish Year*.

Unto the hills I lift mine eyes,
Whence comes my help, my help that lies
In God, enthroned above the skies,
Who made the heavens and earth to be.

He guides thy foot o'er mountain steeps,
He slumbers not, thy soul who keeps,
Behold he slumbers not, nor sleeps,
Of Israel the guardian he.

He is thy rock, thy shield and stay,
On thy right hand a shade alway,
The sun ne'er smiteth thee by day,
The moon at night ne'er troubles thee.

The Lord will guard thy soul from sin,
Thy life from harm without, within,
Thy going out and coming in,
From this time forth eternally.

§ 4. *Psalm one hundred and twenty-two.*—In the next song (cxxii) the singer either represents himself as just entering the city, or he recalls the pilgrimage which is just over. In the second alternative the third line should be rendered, 'Our feet stood.' The Hebrew will bear either translation.

The meaning of the words 'which art built up as a city that is well compact together' (Cheyne's translation) is extremely doubtful. Professor Cheyne thinks it refers to the compactness of the city itself, shut in by its ravines and ramparts. According to Wellhausen it implies that 'Jerusalem must have been destroyed not long before. The opposite to a *compact* city would be a city *inhabited as an open country, a town without walls.*'

The second stanza is an historic reminiscence. The 'thrones' are tribunals. 'Either the Davidic kings are referred to or princes of the royal house. The latter shared the judicial function with the king' (Cheyne). But other scholars translate the verbs by the present tense, and suppose that the 'tribes of the Lord are the Jews outside Jerusalem, scattered about Palestine or elsewhere in the dispersion.' The thrones of judgement would then be the Sanhedrin, the supreme court of justice.

I was glad when they said unto me,
'Let us go unto the house of the Lord.'
Our feet do stand
Within thy gates, O Jerusalem;
Jerusalem which art built up as a city
That is well compact together.

Thither the tribes went up,
Even the tribes of the Lord,
According to the ordinance for Israel,
To give thanks unto the name of the Lord.
For there were set thrones of judgement,
The thrones of the house of David.

Pray for the peace of Jerusalem:
May they prosper that love thee.
Peace be within thy walls,
And prosperity within thy towers.
For my brethren and companions' sakes,
I would wish thee peace.
Because of the house of the Lord our God
I would seek thy good.

§ 5. *Psalm one hundred and twenty-three: 'Ad te levavi oculos meos.'*—In the next Psalm the situation seems the same as in cxx.

Unto thee I lift up mine eyes,
O thou that dwellest in the heavens.
Behold, as the eyes of servants look unto the hand of their masters,
And as the eyes of a maiden unto the hand of her mistress;
So our eyes wait upon the Lord our God,
Until that he have mercy upon us.
Have mercy upon us, O Lord, have mercy upon us:
For we are exceedingly filled with contempt.
Our soul is exceedingly filled
With the mocking of those that are at ease,
And with the contempt of the proud.

'The contempt of the proud' is the scorn which the proud feel for the singers. In the later Jewish liturgy the conception of God as a Master is often combined with the conception of him as a Father. Thus in the service for the New Year it is said:

'This is the birthday of the world; thereon God brings all his creatures to judgement. We stand before thee as children or as servants: if as children, be thou merciful to us as a father hath pity upon his children; if as servants, our eyes are fixed on thee until thou art gracious unto us and bringest our judgement to the light.'

§ 6. *Psalm one hundred and twenty-four: 'Nisi quia Dominus.'*—The particular occasion which is celebrated in the following song (cxxiv) is now unknown. Professor Wellhausen supposes that 'the era of freedom,' here commemorated, 'is that of the Maccabees.'

If it had not been the Lord who was on our side,—
  Now may Israel say;—
If it had not been the Lord who was on our side,
  When men rose up against us:
Then they had swallowed us up alive,
  When their wrath was kindled against us:
Then the waters had overwhelmed us,
  The torrent had gone over our soul:
Then the proud waters
  Had gone over our soul.

Blessed be the Lord,
  Who hath not given us as a prey to their teeth.
Our soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowlers:
  The snare is broken, and we are escaped.
Our help is in the name of the Lord,
  Who made heaven and earth.

It is well worth while to read the spirited metrical version of this Psalm written by John Wedderburn on the basis of a German rendering by Hans Sachs.

Except the Lord with us had stand,
  Say furth, Israell, unfengheitlie,
Had not the Lord bene our warrand,
  Quhen men rais in our contrarie,
Thay had us all on live devorit,
With ire sa scharplie thay us schorit,
  Sa kendlit was thair crueltie.

For lyke the welterand wallis brym,
  Thay had o'erquhelmit us with mycht,
Like burnis that in spait fast rin,
  Thay had o'erthrawin us with slycht.
The bulrand stremis of thair pryde
Had peirsit us throw bak and syde,
  And reft fra us our lyfe full rycht.

But loving to the Lord, allone,
That gaif us nocht to be thair pray,
To be rent with thair teeth anone,
Bot hes us fred full well thame fray.
Lyke to ane bird taine in ane net,
The quhilk the foular for her set,
Sa is our lyfe weill win away.

The net is brokin in pecis small,
And we ar savit fra thair schame,
Our hope was ay, and ever sall
Be in the Lord, and in his name,
Tlre quhilk has creät hevin sa hie,
And maid the eird sa mervellouslie,
And all the ferleis of the same.

(*Schorit*, threatened; *wallis*, waves; *brym*, fierce; *burnis*, streams; *spait*, flood; *bu'rand*, roaring; *loving*, praise; *anone*, at once; *fray*, from; *ferleis*, wonders.)

§ 7. *The one hundred and twenty-fifth Psalm.*—Foreign domination and continued misfortune have made many Israelites abandon their faith or careless in its practice. The Psalmist trusts that these causes of ungodliness will not long endure.

They that trust in the Lord
Shall be as mount Zion, which cannot be removed, but abideth for ever.
As the mountains are round about Jerusalem,
So the Lord is round about his people
From henceforth even for ever.
For the sceptre of wickedness shall not rest upon the lot of the righteous,
Lest they put forth their hands unto iniquity.
Do good, O Lord, unto those that are good,
And to them that are upright in their hearts.
As for such as turn aside unto their crooked ways,
The Lord shall cast them away with the workers of iniquity.
(*Peace be upon Israel.*)

The 'lot of the righteous' is the land of Israel.

'Do good, O Lord,' &c. This has been the prayer of the honest religious partisan of all ages and creeds. His enemies are ever described as those who 'turn aside unto their crooked ways.' But even for the truly evil as for the truly good, God surely works on a higher principle than the crudities of tit-for-tat. The wicked would be a greater puzzle to faith than the suffering good, if we had to believe that any of them would be utterly

cast away. The life after death seems more needful for the regeneration of the wicked than for the reward of the good.

§ 8. *Psalm one hundred and twenty-six.*—In the beautiful little song which follows (cxxvi), the singer seems to contrast the exquisite joy and the rapturous expectations which the return from Babylon produced with the depression and wretchedness under which he actually lived. We must not assume too hastily that the writer had himself witnessed the return. The community is one throughout its generations. The Psalmist is still confident that the good time will surely come. Present fidelity may have to sow its seed in tears, but those who now sow in sorrow, or their descendants, shall reap the results of that fidelity amid joy. Such seems to be the thought.

It is said that this Psalm was a favourite with the noble band of religious Englishmen who struggled for the emancipation of the slaves in the colonies of the Empire and for the abolition of the slave trade. 'Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton quoted the second verse ("Then was our mouth filled with laughter") when he heard that the slaves were freed and the work accomplished' (Mason: *The Psalms at work*).

When the Lord turned the fortunes of Zion,
We were like them that dream.
Then was our mouth filled with laughter,
And our tongue with singing:
Then said they among the nations,
'The Lord hath done great things for them.'
The Lord had done great things for us;
We were glad.

Turn our fortunes, O Lord,
As the streams in the south land.
They that sow in tears
Shall reap in joy.
He that goeth forth weeping, as he scattereth his seed,
Shall come home rejoicing, bearing his sheaves.

'The dry watercourses in the parched south land are filled with rushing torrents by the autumn rains.'

'Bearing his sheaves.' But it is not necessarily implied that the *same* Israelites who are faithful amid sorrow *now* shall *also* reap the reward of joy. The sowers may be one generation; the reapers another.

Note that the phrase 'turn the fortunes' is also and more usually translated 'bring back the captivity.' But although there may have doubtless been many involuntary Jewish exiles when the Psalmist wrote, the petition, 'bring back the captivity,' at the beginning of stanza two would sound strangely after the statement of stanza one that such a bringing back had already been accomplished. Or is a new 'captivity' referred to, the exiles deported by Artaxerxes Ochus?

§ 9. *Psalm one hundred and twenty-seven: 'Nisi Dominus aedificaverit domum.'*—In the following Psalm (cxxvii) the connexion between its two halves is hard to trace.

For the first half seems to say that the blessing of God must be the guard and guarantee of human toil; the second praises the active help which children can give. The first part seems to say, Vain is human effort without God's stamp of approval; the second points out the most effective instrument which has been granted by God through which a man can maintain his place and assert his rights. Hence Baethgen supposes that we have here two separate little lyrics accidentally joined together. The addition of the second part may perhaps be accounted for by its relation to the Psalm of the following paragraph:—

Except the Lord build the house,
They labour in vain that build it:
Except the Lord keep the city,
The watchman waketh but in vain.
It is vain for you to rise up early, to sit down late,
To eat the bread of travail:
Even so he giveth his beloved in sleep.

Lo, sons are an heritage of the Lord:
And children are his reward.
As arrows are in the hand of a mighty man:
So are children of youth.
Happy is the man
That hath his quiver full of them:
They shall not be ashamed,
When they speak with enemies in the gate.

A German Proverb runs, *An Gottes Segen ist Alles gelegen*, and the first part of the Psalm is an extension of the Proverb. But many different *nuances* of thought can be elicited from it, and it might be hard to say what was the precise meaning

intended by the Psalmist. Is he speaking against the needless fret and worry which spoil the lives of many workers? Or would he insist that the proud confidence in our own strength, without a thought of God the Inspirer, will end in failure? Would he urge that they who love God and whose love is returned will gain blessings, they know not how? And indeed it is a notable fact in the lives of truly religious persons that they will tell you in all sincerity of the many blessings which God has undeservedly and unexpectedly conferred upon them, when perhaps in many outward respects their lives are difficult and hard. 'The secret of the Lord is with them that fear him.'

The Hebrew of the last line of the first part of the Psalm is very obscure; hence it is all the more difficult to determine the thought precisely. The Authorized Version has, 'For so he giveth his beloved sleep,' and it is this rendering which prompted the lovely poem of our greatest English poetess, Mrs. Browning. I wish I had space to quote more than the opening verse.

> 'Of all the thoughts of God that are
> Borne inward unto souls afar,
> Along the Psalmists' music deep,
> Now tell me if that any is
> For gift or grace surpassing this,
> "He giveth his beloved sleep."'

But this rendering would be unsuitable to the context, and so the line is usually translated: 'Even so he giveth his beloved in sleep,' i.e. the results which you hardly achieve with ceaseless toil and anxious but trustless heart, God gives to his beloved even while they sleep. But Wellhausen's curt note reminds us how uncertain this rendering is. '*Even so giveth he to his beloved in sleep* is the traditional, but quite inadmissible, translation of the last line. The Hebrew words are unintelligible.'

'They shall not be ashamed.' The father is emboldened to resist injustice and enmity by the support of his sons. They are not disconcerted before the judges; they win their suit, and are not disappointed and put to shame.

'The gate,' i.e. the broad space before the gates where the judges sat. 'The man who has a number of stalwart sons to support him will not be exposed there to the danger of an unjust conviction' (Driver).

§ 10. *Psalm one hundred and twenty-eight.*—'Domestic happiness is generally left to the proverb-writers; our Psalmist (cxxviii), however, seizes upon the neglected theme, side by side with which observe his deep love for Zion' (Cheyne).

Happy is every one that feareth the Lord;
That walketh in his ways.
For thou shalt eat the labour of thine hands:
Happy shalt thou be, and it shall be well with thee.
Thy wife shall be as a fruitful vine in the recesses of thine house:
Thy children like olive plants round about thy table.
Behold, thus shall the man be blessed
That feareth the Lord.

May the Lord bless thee out of Zion:
Mayest thou see the welfare of Jerusalem
All the days of thy life;
Yea, mayest thou see thy children's children.
(*Peace be upon Israel.*)

§ 11. *Psalm one hundred and twenty-nine: 'Saepe expugnaverunt.'*—A short national hymn of thanksgiving (cxxix). Israel is first compared to a furrowed field, then to a driven ox. The precise meaning of the metaphor in the third stanza is a little doubtful on account of an uncertainty as to one of the Hebrew words ('unsheathed'). 'In March the village housetops in Palestine are bright green with grass which soon withers when the latter rains are over' (Cheyne). But withers before what? If 'unsheathed' be right, it would mean: before the grass shoots up in blossom.

'Many a time have they afflicted me from my youth,'
Let Israel now say:
'Many a time have they afflicted me from my youth:
Yet they have not prevailed against me.
The ploughers ploughed upon my back:
They made long their furrows.
The Lord is righteous:
He hath cut asunder the cords of the wicked.'

Let them all be confounded and turned back
That hate Zion.
Let them be as the grass upon the housetops,
Which witherêth before it is unsheathed;
Wherewith the mower filleth not his hand;
Nor he that bindeth sheaves his bosom.

Neither do they which go by say,
'The blessing of the Lord be upon you:
We bless you in the name of the Lord.'

It is still true: 'Many a time have they afflicted me, yet have they not prevailed against me.' Israel, the witness of God, still remains, a marvel to many, a puzzle to some, to accomplish in God's good time the work which God has given him to do.

§ 12. *The one hundred and thirtieth Psalm: 'De profundis clamavi.'*—A national Psalm in sore affliction (cxxx) follows upon the hymn of thanksgiving. One of the most famous of all the Psalms. 'To how many hearts this Psalm has brought comfort and hope, God only can tell' (Dr. Ker).

Out of the depths have I cried unto thee, O Lord.
Lord, hear my voice:
Let thine ears be attentive
To the voice of my supplications.
If thou, Lord, shouldest mark iniquities,
O Lord, who could stand?
But there is forgiveness with thee,
That thou mayest be feared.

I wait for the Lord, my soul doth wait,
And in his word do I hope.
My soul waiteth for the Lord
More than the watchmen for the morning:
Yea, more than the watchmen for the morning.

Let Israel hope in the Lord:
For with the Lord there is lovingkindness,
And with him is plenteous redemption.
And he shall redeem Israel
From all his iniquities.

'There is forgiveness with thee.' If God were merciless in his relations to man, what man would care to worship such a pitiless Deity? But for man's sake and for his own glory God desires man to worship him; he desires that there should be such a thing as religion. He forgives that he may be feared. The word 'feared' is here used as a synonym for religion. God does not forgive in order that man may be in terror of him. That would be nonsense. But God would neither be worth reverence, nor

would it be worth while to revere him, unless he were forgiving. 'Not worth reverence,' because he would not be good; 'not worth while to revere,' because, as sin is for us inevitable, it would be hopeless to serve him. Who would not run away from and disown an unforgiving Father?

'Watchmen.' As the tired watchmen in the city yearn for the break of day, so Israel yearns for God to put an end to the long night of suffering which seems eternal.

§ 13. *The one hundred and thirty-first Psalm.*—A fascinating lyric of resignation and hope.

Lord, my heart is not haughty, nor mine eyes lofty
Neither do I exercise myself in great matters or in things too high for me.
Surely I have stilled and quieted my soul,
As a weaned child with his mother:
My soul within me is even as a weaned child.
Let Israel hope in the Lord
From henceforth and for ever.

We seem perhaps to understand this Psalm more completely than we actually do. What are those great matters or things too high (literally 'things too wonderful') with which the Psalmist does not concern himself? They are probably anxious problems and questions about the date and advent of the Messianic age, the continued rule of the foreigner, the greater prosperity of the lax and the indifferent, the sufferings of the righteous and the faithful. These puzzling perplexities the Psalmist leaves to the care and disposal of God, in whom he has brought himself to trust; in him he rests as quietly as a child in the arms of its mother.

We should be inclined to contrast the humble resignation of the Psalmist with a condition of anxious fretting and of worrying doubt. But the Psalmist seems to contrast it with pride. 'The heavens are the heavens of the Lord': to seek to fathom the meaning of problems to whose solution God alone can hold the key, to trouble oneself over the seeming non-fulfilment of divine promises—all this is to show not merely a lack of faith, but actual presumption. It is an overstepping of the human limit. Our Psalmist would not perhaps have sympathized with the mental wrestlings of Job. Profound humility is not, however, an impossible ally of the deepest philosophical investigation. But that happy peace and blissful contentment in God attained by the Psalmist still remain as an ideal for us all. Nor must we omit to notice the force of the image which he has chosen. The weaned

child is satisfied by the mere presence and nearness of its mother. So the Psalmist in his thought of God is not storm-tossed and agitated by a desire for earthly prosperities, for the punishment of his enemies, for the visible solution of life's perplexities; God himself is enough for him. In him he finds his rest. He does not cry to him for satisfaction. God *is* his satisfaction. In communion with Him he is at peace. The peace of God is no sleepy stupor or thoughtless ease: it is the peace which (for almost all who know it) lies on the *other side* of striving; noble deeds and holy living are both its presupposition and its fruit.

§ 14. *Psalms one hundred and thirty-three and one hundred and thirty-four.*—Of the two last pilgrimage songs the first (cxxxiii) celebrates the union of all classes and conditions of Israelites in common worship at Jerusalem. 'In the solemn feast which has brought them together to Zion, the scattered brethren of one faith enjoy the privilege of being near one another.' The two figures under which this 'pleasant' union is described are not quite easy. Does the first mean that the goodliness of the sight is as the goodliness of the sacred oil, or rather that the unbroken lines of the pilgrims are like the continuous flow of the oil? What is the dew of distant Hermon which flows down on Mount Zion? Does it mean dew as rich as that which falls on Hermon, and is the point of the comparison the reviving quality of the dew? The pilgrims gain fresh strength from their common worship even as the dew, goodly as Hermon's, which falls on Zion refreshes the herbage.

Professor Robertson-Smith, whose interpretation of the first two lines of the Psalm is quoted and adopted above, holds that the rest of it describes 'the scene under a figure. The long lines of the houses of Jerusalem, and the tents of the pilgrims, flow down the slopes of the Temple-hill even to the base, like the oil on Aaron's garments—a blessed sight. Nay, this gathering of all the piety of Israel is as if the fertilizing dews of great Hermon were all concentrated on the little hill of Zion.'

Behold, how good and how pleasant it is
That brethren should dwell together!
It is like the fine oil upon the head
That floweth down upon the beard, even Aaron's beard:
That floweth down to the skirts of his garments:
As the dew of Hermon, that floweth down upon the mountains of Zion:
For there the Lord hath appointed the blessing,
Even life for evermore.

The last song (cxxxiv) seems to be 'an interchange of greetings between the lay worshippers in the Temple and the priests and Levites appointed for the night service' (Cheyne). The first two sentences give the summons; the third is the priestly response.

Behold, bless ye the Lord, all ye servants of the Lord,
  Who by night stand in the house of the Lord.
Lift up your hands unto the sanctuary,
  And bless the Lord.

'The Lord bless thee out of Zion,
  He the maker of heaven and earth.'

CHAPTER VII

THE ROYAL PSALMS

§ 1. *The eighteenth Psalm: 'Diligam te, Domine.'*—In this chapter I bring together ten Psalms which, unlike in many respects, yet agree in this: that they either allude to, or are spoken by a ruler, a reigning prince, a king. Who this king may be is in each case a very difficult question to decide, and hence the 'royal' Psalms are among those which have given rise to the longest discussions and about which the most various theories have been suggested by the learned. It will obviously not be possible for me to refer to these discussions and theories except in the most cursory and summary manner.

The first Psalm to be cited in this group is the eighteenth. It bears the following heading: 'Of David, the servant of the Lord, who spake unto the Lord the words of this song on the day that the Lord delivered him from the hand of all his enemies, and from the hand of Saul.' This Psalm has been retained for David even by scholars who cannot see their way to admitting his claim to any other portion of the existing Psalter. But there is no good reason to make this exception, and the true bearing of the Psalm is veiled if we adhere to it. The Psalm is purely general, and the author of the heading was not unconscious of this, as we may gather from his curious phrase, 'on the day that the Lord delivered him from *all* his enemies.' There is, as Professor Wellhausen points out, 'a total absence of *definite* historical allusions.' The person of David is assumed by the poet, but it is in reality the community or the nation whose hopes and ideals are thus expressed. And these hopes and ideals are those with which we are already familiar. They are dependent upon the prophetic teaching; for this particular Psalm Mr. Gray has rightly called attention to a passage in the Second Isaiah (Part I, p. 509. 'I will make an everlasting covenant with

you, even the sure mercies of David. Behold, for a witness to the peoples I appointed him, a ruler and commander of the nations. Behold, thou shalt call a people that thou knowest not, and a people that know not thee shall run unto thee, because of the Lord thy God, and for the Holy One of Israel, for he hath glorified thee').

The Psalm is therefore Messianic. It depicts dramatically and by the anticipation of faith the scenes of the final deliverance and its results. The king is either the royal nation itself which enters upon the heritage of David, or it is the future king of Davidic lineage who is to rule over a redeemed and regenerate people. Mr. Gray adopts the first supposition; Professor Cheyne the second. The latter scholar says, 'From the very first the Psalmist transports us to the Messianic age. The judgement on the nations has taken place; Israel, with a Davidic king at its head, has been raised to the height of prosperity. It is this Davidic king who speaks in the Psalm. He has no private ambitions, and can therefore interpret the thoughts of the community; indeed, the Psalmist sometimes forgets the king, and speaks for the personified people.'

This Psalm, with another not included in our present Psalter, has also been inserted in the Second Book of Samuel, breaking the connexion between two historical passages. I have quoted the Psalm almost in full in Part I, and made some comments upon its teaching (pp. 264–269).

I love thee, O Lord, my strength.
The Lord is my rock and my fortress and my deliverer;
  My God, my rock, in whom I take refuge;
  My shield, the horn of my salvation and my stronghold.
I call upon the Lord, who is worthy to be praised:
  So am I saved from mine enemies.
The billows of death compassed me,
  And the floods of destruction made me afraid.
The nooses of Sheol compassed me about:
  The snares of death confronted me.
In my distress I called upon the Lord,
  And cried unto my God:
He heard my voice out of his temple,
  And my cry came before him, even into his ears.

Then the earth shook and trembled;
  The foundations also of the hills moved
  And were shaken, because he was wroth.

There went up a smoke out of his nostrils,
And fire out of his mouth devoured:
Coals were kindled by it.
He bowed the heavens and came down:
And darkness was under his feet.
And he rode upon a cherub, and did fly:
Yea, he did fly upon the wings of the wind.
He made darkness his secret place, his pavilion round about him;
Dark waters, thick clouds of the skies.
At the brightness that was before him thick clouds vanished;—
Hail stones and coals of fire!
The Lord thundered in the heavens,
And the Highest gave his voice.
Yea, he sent out his arrows, and scattered them;
And he shot out lightnings, and discomfited them.
Then the beds of the waters were seen,
And the foundations of the world were discovered,
At thy rebuke, O Lord,
At the blast of the breath of thy nostrils.
He stretched out from on high, he took me,
He drew me out of many waters.
He delivered me from my strong enemy,
And from them which hated me: for they were too strong for me.
They confronted me in the day of my calamity:
But the Lord was my stay.
He brought me forth into a large place;
He delivered me, because he delighted in me.
The Lord dealt with me according to my righteousness;
According to the cleanness of my hands hath he recompensed me.
For I kept the ways of the Lord,
And departed not wickedly from my God.
For all his ordinances were before me,
And I did not put away his statutes from me.
I was blameless before him,
And I kept myself from iniquity.
Therefore the Lord recompensed me according to my righteousness,
According to the cleanness of my hands in his eyesight.

With the loving thou shewest thyself loving;
With the upright thou shewest thyself upright;
With the pure thou shewest thyself pure;
And with the tortuous thou wilt shew thyself crooked.
For thou savest the humble people;
But high looks thou dost abase.
For thou lightest my lamp:
The Lord my God enlighteneth my darkness.
For by thee I run through a troop;
And by my God I leap over the wall.

As for God, his way is perfect:
The word of the Lord is pure:
He is a shield to all those that take refuge in him.
For who is God save the Lord?
Or who is a rock save our God?
The God that girdeth me with strength,
And maketh my way perfect.
He maketh my feet like hinds' feet,
And setteth me upon my high places.
He teacheth my hands to war,
So that a bow of brass is bent by mine arms.
Thou givest me the shield of thy salvation:
Thy right hand holdeth me up,
And thine help maketh me great.
Thou enlargest my steps under me,
That my feet do not slip.
I pursue mine enemies, and overtake them:
Neither turn I again till they are consumed.
I shatter them that they are not able to rise:
They are fallen under my feet.
For thou girdest me with strength unto the battle:
Thou subduest under me those that rise up against me.
Thou hast given me the necks of mine enemies;
That I may destroy them that hate me.
They cry, but there is none to save:
Even unto the Lord, but he answereth them not.
And I beat them small as the dust before the wind:
I cast them out as the dirt in the streets.
Thou deliverest me from the strivings of the peoples;
Thou makest me a head of nations:
A people whom I have not known serve me.

As soon as they hear of me, they obey me:
  Foreigners submit themselves unto me.
The foreigners fade away, (?)
  And come trembling out of their fastnesses.

The Lord liveth; and blessed be my rock;
  And let the God of my salvation be exalted.
Even the God that avengeth me,
  And subdueth the peoples under me.
He delivereth me from mine enemies:
  Yea, thou liftest me up above those that rise up against me:
  Thou deliverest me from the violent man.
Therefore will I give thanks unto thee, O Lord, among the nations,
  And sing praises unto thy name.
Great deliverance giveth he to his king;
  He sheweth lovingkindness to his anointed,
  To David, and to his seed for evermore.

'The billows of death.' 'The onslaught of the Psalmist's foes is compared to rising waters which threatened to overwhelm him; but Jehovah, in answer to his call, descended from heaven in a thunderstorm, and rescued him from their grasp' (Driver).

'The Lord dealt with me according to my righteousness.' The king is forgotten: it is the community which speaks, and moreover the community of the Messianic age which, partly by its own effort and partly by the grace of God, has shown itself worthy of the divine favour.

'With the loving thou shewest thyself loving.' I have made some comments upon this passage in Part I. In one sense the Psalmist's words are true. The laws of God are laws which in the long run make for righteousness. Wickedness in the long run is thwarted by them and turned aside. But in another sense the Psalmist's words are, we pray and believe, inadequate and even inaccurate. God is always the same. To none does he show himself 'crooked.' It is only man who changes. We may say that a man destitute of righteousness could form no conception of a righteous God, but the Divine Being, as Plato too has said, is in himself changeless for ever. And who would care to love God if he did not love us all? What son would love his father if he thought that his father only cared for him when he was good? And far more righteous and far more impartial and unwearying in his love than the most righteous and loving of human fathers is our Father who is in heaven. He is not unless he is perfect.

But one of my critics thinks that I have misapprehended the meaning of the Psalmist. In her opinion all that the Psalmist meant was 'that those persons who pursue tortuous paths will be pursued in those paths by God and stopped in their designs.' Sin in the long run fails and suffers shipwreck; righteousness 'succeeds.'

'To David, and to his seed for evermore.' This is that 'Messianic article of the Jewish creed which was held fast when faith and facts presented but slight correspondence with each other. The entire Psalm appears to have been composed for the purpose of strengthening the Messianic hope that the ideal image of David would be seen at last by his people' (Wellhausen).

§ 2. *The eighty-ninth Psalm.*—The second of these 'royal' Psalms is the eighty-ninth. Here the Psalmist contrasts the promises made to the Davidic house by Nathan the prophet (Part I, p. 238) with the mournful present. He wrote in the darker days of the Persian period or during the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes. The king to whom he refers is in one place the individual Messianic king of the future, but in another the royal people of Israel itself, who, as in the eighty-fourth Psalm, are described as the 'Lord's anointed.' The confusion is not difficult to explain. The 'king' was regarded as the representative, the *Inbegriff*, as the Germans say, of the people, while the people—far nearer and more important to the Psalmist than the monarch of the future—occupy the place of the king.

I will sing of the lovingkindness of the Lord for ever:
With my mouth will I make known thy faithfulness to all generations.
For I have said, 'Lovingkindness shall be built up for ever:
Thy faithfulness wilt thou establish in the very heavens.'
Thou hast made a covenant with thy chosen,
Thou hast sworn unto David thy servant:
'Thy seed will I establish for ever,
And build up thy throne to all generations.'

The heavens shall praise thy wonders, O Lord:
Thy faithfulness in the congregation of the holy ones.
For who in the heaven can be compared unto the Lord?
Who among the sons of the mighty can be likened unto the Lord?
God is greatly to be feared in the assembly of the holy ones,
And terrible above all them that are about him.

O Lord God of hosts, who is a strong Lord like unto thee?
And thy faithfulness is round about thee.
Thou rulest the raging of the sea:
When the waves thereof arise, thou stillest them.
Thou hast broken Rahab in pieces, as one that is slain;
Thou hast scattered thine enemies with thy strong arm.
The heavens are thine, the earth also is thine:
The world and the fulness thereof, thou hast founded them.
The north and the south, thou hast created them:
Tabor and Hermon rejoice in thy name.
Thou hast a mighty arm:
Strong is thy hand, and high is thy right hand.
Righteousness and justice are the foundation of thy throne:
Lovingkindness and truth go before thy face.
Happy is the people that know the festal shout:
They walk, O Lord, in the light of thy countenance.
In thy name they rejoice all the day:
And in thy righteousness they are exalted.
For thou art the glory of their strength:
And in thy favour our horn is exalted.
For our shield belongeth unto the Lord;
And our king to the Holy One of Israel.

Then thou spakest in vision to thy loving one,
And saidst, 'I have laid help upon one that is mighty;
I have exalted one chosen out of the people.
I have found David my servant;
With my holy oil have I anointed him:
With whom my hand shall be established:
Mine arm also shall strengthen him.
The enemy shall not overreach him;
Nor the son of wickedness afflict him.
And I will beat down his foes before his face,
And smite them that hate him.
My faithfulness and my lovingkindness shall be with him:
And in my name shall his horn be exalted.
I will set his hand also in the sea,
And his right hand in the rivers.
He shall cry unto me, "Thou art my father,
My God, and the rock of my salvation."
Also I will make him my firstborn,
Higher than the kings of the earth.

My lovingkindness will I keep for him for evermore,
And my covenant shall stand fast with him.
His seed also will I make to endure for ever,
And his throne as the days of heaven.
If his children forsake my law,
And walk not in my judgements;
If they break my statutes,
And keep not my commandments;
Then will I visit their transgression with the rod,
And their iniquity with stripes.
Nevertheless my lovingkindness will I not utterly take from him,
Nor suffer my faithfulness to fail.
My covenant will I not break,
Nor alter the thing that is gone out of my lips.
Once have I sworn by my holiness,
Surely I will not be false unto David:
"His seed shall endure for ever,
And his throne as the sun before me.
It shall be established for ever as the moon,
And the witness in heaven is faithful." ' (?)

But thou hast cast off and abhorred,
Thou hast been wroth with thine anointed.
Thou hast spurned the covenant of thy servant:
Thou hast profaned his crown even to the ground.
Thou hast broken down all his hedges;
Thou hast brought his strong holds to ruin.
All that pass by the way spoil him:
He is a reproach to his neighbours.
Thou hast exalted the right hand of his adversaries;
Thou hast made all his enemies to rejoice.
Thou hast turned back the edge of his sword,
And hast not made him to stand in the battle.
Thou hast made his glory to cease,
And cast his throne down to the ground.
The days of his youth hast thou shortened:
Thou hast covered him with shame.

How long, Lord? wilt thou hide thyself for ever?
How long will thy wrath burn like fire?
Remember how short my time is:
For what vanity thou hast created all the children of men!

What man is he that liveth, and will not see death,
Who will deliver his soul from the hand of Sheol?
Lord, where are thy former lovingkindnesses,
Which thou swarest unto David in thy truth?
Remember, Lord, the reproach of thy servants;
How I bear in my bosom the shame of many peoples;
Wherewith thine enemies have reproached, O Lord;
Wherewith they have reproached the footsteps of thine anointed.

Blessed be the Lord for evermore. Amen, and Amen.

'For I have said, Lovingkindness shall be built up for ever.' If the text be correct, we must explain with Wellhausen: 'In spite of all, I hold fast to my belief in God's fidelity.'

'The holy ones' and the 'sons of the mighty' are the angels.

'The festal shout.' 'The shout with which many religious festivities were celebrated' (Driver).

'Thy loving one,' i.e. David. The Hebrew text reads 'loving ones,' which might mean that the Psalmist regarded the prophecy for all intents and purposes as addressed to the nation.

'Thine anointed': in view of what follows, the 'anointed' is clearly the people of Israel. But the 'king' at the end of the third stanza must be explained to refer to the ideal or Messianic king, the hoped-for descendant of David. It may however be that Wellhausen is right in translating this verse like the Authorized Version: 'For the Lord is our shield; and the holy one of Israel is our king.'

The Psalm ends somewhat abruptly. Perhaps the real end has been lost. The words in italics are the doxology closing the third book and the second collection of the Psalms.

§ 3. *Psalms twenty and twenty-one.*—We now hark back to the first collection and halt at Psalms xx and xxi. Here the king appears to be actually existent. Who is he? Some scholars think that these Psalms must be pre-exilic, and suppose the king to be Hezekiah or Josiah. But there is nothing else in the Psalm to specially favour a pre-exilic date, and phraseological parallels would rather point in the contrary direction. Some have thought of Simon the Maccabee. Captain and high priest of the Jews as he was, an enthusiastic Psalmist might conceivably call him 'king.' Others, again, have supposed that the 'anointed one' is the High Priest, who is called 'king' by an inaccuracy which is rather verbal than real. For in the post-exilic period the High Priest

was the chief official or magistrate of the community. According to another hypothesis the 'king' may be the people, succeeding to the place formerly occupied by the Davidic line. And lastly, Professor Cheyne now holds that the king is the Messiah, 'who is supposed to be on the throne. In Psalm xx he is represented as just starting to fight with the enemies of Israel. It is perhaps his first campaign, for in Psalm xxi the church-nation, in praising God for the king's victory, represents the total destruction of the enemies as still future.' Between all these conflicting hypotheses I will not attempt to decide.

The Lord answer thee in the day of trouble;
  The name of the God of Jacob set thee up on high;
Send thee help from the sanctuary,
  And support thee out of Zion;
Remember all thy meal offerings,
  And accept thy burnt sacrifice;
Grant thee according to thine own heart;
  And fulfil all thy purpose.
We will rejoice in thy victory,
  In the name of our God we will exult:
  The Lord fulfil all thy petitions.

Now know I that the Lord saveth his anointed;
  He will answer him from his holy heaven
  With the saving strength of his right hand.
Some through chariots, and some through horses,
  But we will prevail through the name of the Lord our God.
They are brought down and fallen:
  But we are risen, and stand upright.

O Lord, save the king,
  And answer us on the day when we call.

The change of tone at the opening of the second stanza is usually explained to mean that 'a sacrifice has probably been just offered to make the war a "holy war."' The Psalmist is confident that his prayer is granted, and sees the victory in advance.

In Psalm xxi the invocation of the king seems couched in terms of oriental exaggeration, but Professor Cheyne notices that Pliny, in writing to Trajan, speaks of his 'aeternitas.' In the second stanza the commentators dispute whether the 'thy's' and 'thou's'

refer to God or the king. In either case the sentiment resembles that of the majority of warlike songs of other nations.

The king joyeth in thy strength, O Lord;
And in thy salvation how greatly doth he rejoice!
Thou hast given him his heart's desire,
And hast not withholden the request of his lips.
For thou meetest him with excellent blessings:
Thou settest a crown of pure gold on his head.
He asked life of thee, and thou gavest it him,
Even length of days for ever and ever.
His glory is great through thy salvation:
Honour and majesty hast thou laid upon him.
For thou makest him most blessed for ever:
Thou gladdenest him with joy before thy countenance.

For the king trusteth in the Lord,
And through the lovingkindness of the Most High he shall not be moved.
Thine hand shall find out all thine enemies:
Thy right hand shall find out those that hate thee.
Thou shalt make them as a fiery oven in the time when thou shewest thy face:
The Lord shall swallow them up in his wrath.
And the fire shall devour them.
Their fruit shalt thou destroy from the earth,
And their seed from among the children of men.
If they intend evil against thee,
If they imagine a mischievous device, they will not be able to perform it.
For thou wilt make them turn their back,
Thou wilt make ready thine arrows upon thy strings against the face of them.

Be thou exalted, Lord, in thine own strength:
So will we sing and praise thy power.

§ 4. *The sixty-first Psalm.*—In the next Psalm (lxi) the singer is far from the Temple, and yearns for the spiritual comfort which he had found within it. Yet even in his apparent dependence upon an outward building he was winning his way to inward freedom. Half unconsciously to himself the 'covert of God's wings' was

affording to him the protection which they are wide enough to give throughout the world.

Who the king may be is little less uncertain here than in Psalms xx and xxi.

Hear my cry, O God;
Attend unto my prayer.
From the end of the earth I cry unto thee, for my heart is overwhelmed:
Lead me to the rock that is too high for me.
For thou art my refuge,
And a strong tower from the enemy.
May I dwell in thy tent for ever:
May I take refuge in the covert of thy wings.

For thou, O God, hearest my vows:
Thou grantest the request of those that fear thy name.
Mayest thou prolong the king's life:
May his years be as many generations.
May he abide before God for ever:
Appoint thy lovingkindness and truthfulness to guard him. (?)
So will I sing praise unto thy name for ever,
As I daily perform my vows.

'Too high for me.' The rock of safety is too hard and high for him to climb by his own unaided powers. It is not mere physical safety to which the singer refers. He prays God to help him to inward as well as to outward security, to the confidence of faith as well as to protection from the enemy.

§ 5. *The seventy-second Psalm.*—Of the sixth Psalm of this group (lxxii) there are, as it seems to me, only two probable interpretations. Either the Psalm was written as a congratulatory ode upon the accession of some foreign potentate, of whose kingdom Judæa formed a province, or it refers to the Messiah. If the first hypothesis be true, the king is probably Ptolemy Philadelphus (285–247 B. C.). It may also be that when the Psalm was admitted into the second collection, it was given a Messianic interpretation, and was touched up and expanded to suit the new meaning. The second stanza may be such an addition. But it is also quite conceivable that the king was from the beginning (in the mind and intention of the original writer) the Messiah of the future.

Professor Cheyne, who had before argued for Ptolemy, now adopts the Messianic explanation, and to me too it appears the more probable.

Give the king thy judgements, O God,
And thy righteousness unto the king's son.
May he judge thy people with righteousness,
And thy poor with judgement.
May the mountains bear peace to the people,
And the hills righteousness.
May he judge the afflicted of the people,
May he save the children of the needy,
And crush the oppressor.
May they fear him as long as the sun
And the moon endure, throughout all generations. (?)
May he come down like rain upon the mown grass:
As showers that water the earth.
In his days may righteousness flourish;
And abundance of peace till the moon be no more.

May he have dominion also from Sea to Sea,
And from the River unto the ends of the earth.
May his foemen bow before him;
And his enemies lick the dust.
May the kings of Tarshish and of the isles bring presents:
May the kings of Sheba and Seba offer gifts.
May all kings fall down before him,
And all nations serve him.

For he delivereth the needy when he crieth;
The poor also, and him that hath no helper.
He spareth the poor and needy,
And saveth the souls of the needy.
He releaseth their soul from oppression and violence:
And precious is their blood in his sight.

May he live, and may there be given him of the gold of Sheba: (?)
Let prayer be made for him continually;
All day long let them bless him.
May there be abundance of corn in the land upon the top of the mountains;

The fruit thereof shall rustle like Lebanon:
And let them blossom out of the city like grass of the earth. (?)
May his name endure for ever:
May his name have increase as long as the sun:
May all nations bless themselves by him.

Blessed be the Lord God, the God of Israel,
Who alone doeth wondrous things.
And blessed be his glorious name for ever:
And let the whole earth be filled with his glory; Amen, and Amen.

'The king's son.' If the Messiah is meant, we have to assume that the 'Psalmist leaps over the interval between the last king of Judah and the accession of the Messiah, and represents the latter as the son of all the kings who have gone before' (Cheyne).

'May he judge.' These optatives can also be rendered by simple futures.

'The afflicted of the people.' If the king is Ptolemy, this is merely a synonym for the Jews. Undoubtedly the Jews of the post-exilic period frequently describe themselves as 'poor,' 'afflicted,' 'needy.'

'The River': the Euphrates. Wellhausen, who adopts the Ptolemaic explanation, comments thus: 'Palestine being included, this river must be mentioned as forming the north-eastern boundary. Consequently it is neither a Chaldaean, nor a Persian, nor a Seleucid king that is meant, but an Egyptian. His power extends over the islands of the Mediterranean, over Sheba (in Southern Arabia) and Seba (in Ethiopia): Egypt, then, is the centre.'

'For he delivereth.' We may equally well translate: 'for he will deliver.'

'May he live.' A difficult line. Wellhausen connects it with what precedes, translating, 'Their blood in his sight is precious, so that they live and give him gold of Sheba'; and his explanation is that it is the Jews who are spoken of, not the poor literally. 'These *poor* are rich: they promise the king that if he will treat them well, they will give him much gold and will pray for him. They pay tribute, and, in consideration thereof, enjoy protection.'

'Blessed be the Lord God': the doxology closing the second book of the five into which the Psalter is now divided.

The picture of the righteous king may be compared with that in the eleventh chapter of Isaiah (p. 336). Here as there the external blessings are the outward accompaniment of inward

worth. The true foundation of the throne are the two sovereign virtues of the Hebrew poets and seers: justice and compassion. And these remain the kingly virtues for all time.

§ 6. *The one hundred and first Psalm: 'Misericordiam et judicium.'*—The seventh Psalm (ci) of the group is 'a description of the ideal character of an Israelitish ruler, dramatically put into such a ruler's mouth.' Professor Cheyne maintains that this ruler is probably Jonathan or Simon the Maccabee. 'The early Maccabean rulers deemed themselves specially charged to expel from Jerusalem those Jews who were inclined to heathenism.' In its strength and in its weakness the Psalm would fit in with a Maccabean origin. It is unnecessary to explain (for it is obvious) wherein that weakness and strength consist.

I will sing of lovingkindness and justice;
Unto thee, O Lord, will I make melody.
I will give heed to the perfect way;
O when wilt thou come unto me?
I will walk within my house with a perfect heart.
I will set no wicked thing before mine eyes:
I hate the work of them that turn aside;
It shall not cleave to me.
A froward heart shall depart from me:
I will not know wickedness.
Whoso privily slandereth his neighbour, him will I cut off:
Him that hath an high look and a proud heart I will not suffer.
Mine eyes shall be upon the faithful of the land, that they may dwell with me:
He that walketh in a perfect way, he shall serve me.
He that worketh deceit shall not dwell within my house;
He that telleth lies shall not tarry in my sight.
Every morning will I destroy all the wicked of the land;
That I may cut off all wicked doers from the city of the Lord.

§ 7. *The second Psalm: 'Quare fremuerunt gentes?'*—The eighth Psalm (ii) of the ten was famous in old Christian theology, but is religiously of small value; the controversies connected with it, as well as the arguments based upon it, have lost their worth and their importance. Here the king is undoubtedly either the Messiah, or the people of Israel who are to fulfil

Messianic functions. The language partly recalls the words of Nathan to David (Part I, p. 238). Either the Messiah or the people of Israel can be and were regarded as the special son of God; 'begotten this day' would be a poetic paraphrase for the day of installation into the kingdom. The Psalmist, like the prophets before him, expects that the great Messianic age will dawn speedily, but his anticipations of it are somewhat worldly and material. The date of the Psalm is uncertain; it was probably written at some period of commotion, but not of pressing calamity. Doubtless many moments in the Persian or Greek epochs were of such a character. The fifth line in the last stanza is corrupt, and, as it stands, untranslatable. Hence my dots. The Authorized Version translates 'Kiss the son'; but this is impossible, because the Hebrew words do not bear that sense. Moreover, the following verbs refer to God. Probably something like 'seek his face' or 'receive instruction' stood in the original. In the third stanza the 'son' is the speaker.

Why do the nations rage,
And the peoples imagine emptiness?
The kings of the earth take counsel,
And the rulers consult together,
Against the Lord, and against his anointed, saying,
'Let us break their bands asunder,
And cast away their cords from us.'

He that sitteth in the heavens laugheth:
The Lord hath them in derision.
Then shall he speak unto them in his wrath,
And confound them in his sore displeasure:
'But I—I have appointed my king
Upon my holy hill of Zion.'

'I will declare the decree:
The Lord hath said unto me:
"Thou art my son;
This day have I begotten thee.
Ask of me, and I will give thee the nations for thine inheritance,
And the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession.
Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron;
Thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel."'

Be wise now therefore, O ye kings:
Be instructed, ye judges of the earth.
Serve the Lord with fear,
And quiver with trembling.

. . . . . .

Lest he be angry and ye perish,
For his wrath is kindled easily;
Happy are all they that take refuge in him.

Of the two possible interpretations of this Psalm, the one which interprets the 'son' to be the Messiah (i. e. the future King of the Davidic line) seems the more probable. It is adopted by both Professor Wellhausen and Professor Cheyne. The former says: 'The Messiah is the speaker, and the whole Psalm is composed in his name. It is not merely the hopes concerning the future to which he gives expression; it is the claims to world-wide dominion already cherished by the Jewish Theocracy. All the heathen are destined to obey the Jews; if they fail to do so, they are rebels. The Messiah is the incarnation of Israel's universal rule. He and Israel are almost identical, and it matters little whether we say that Israel *has* or *is* the Messiah. On the day when Jehovah founded the Theocracy, he gave it the right to unlimited earthly dominion. This right is involved in the very idea of the Theocracy. Zion, as being the seat of the divine rule, is *ipso facto* the seat of universal rule.'

Professor Cheyne translates the last few lines thus—

> 'Serve the Lord with fear,
> And do homage with trembling,
> Lest he be angry and your course end in ruin.'

The words translated in the Authorized Version, 'Kiss the son,' are, he says, 'due to a misunderstanding. "Kiss," i. e. "do homage," should certainly be substituted for "Rejoice" (see the Authorized Version) in the preceding line; "the son" is a supposed translation of what is really a fragment of the word rendered "with trembling"' (*Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, p. 112).

§ 8. *The one hundred and tenth Psalm.*—The next Psalm (cx) had, like its predecessor, an importance in olden days which has now vanished away. Religiously its worth, like that of Psalm ii, is small. The king is either the Messiah, or a Maccabean prince, possibly Simon, whose triumphs led the Psalmist to believe that he was to be the Messianic monarch prophesied of old. The Psalm ends abruptly; it is apparently a mere fragment.

The Lord said unto my lord,
'Sit thou at my right hand,
Until I make thine enemies thy footstool.'
The Lord will stretch forth thy mighty sceptre out of Zion:
'Rule thou in the midst of thine enemies.'
Thy people are full willing on the day of thy muster on the holy mountains:

. . . . . .

The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent,
'Thou art a priest for ever after the manner of Melchizedek.' (?)
The Lord at thy right hand
Shattereth kings in the day of his wrath.
He judgeth among the nations,
He filleth the wide land with corpses;
He shattereth the heads of . . .
He drinketh of the brook in the way;
Therefore will he lift up the head. (?)

In the last four lines the subject is apparently the king. If the text be sound, the words at the opening of the second stanza, translated, 'Thou art a priest for ever after the manner of Melchizedek,' refer to a story about Abraham which I have not included in Part I. A king of Salem (i. e. Jerusalem) is there called Melchizedek (*king of righteousness*), and he is also described as a priest of 'El Elyon,' 'God most high.' The ruler in the Psalm is to be both priest and prince, as was indeed the case with Simon the Maccabee. The story about Abraham runs as follows:—

'And it came to pass in the days of Amraphel king of Shinar, that Arioch king of Ellasar, Chedorlaomer king of Elam, and Tidal king of nations made war with Bera king of Sodom, and with Birsha king of Gomorrah, Shinab king of Admah, and Shemeber king of Zeboiim, and the king of Bela, which is Zoar. All these were joined together in the vale of Siddim, which is the salt sea. Twelve years they had served Chedorlaomer, and in the thirteenth year they rebelled. And in the fourteenth year came Chedorlaomer, and the kings that were with him, and smote the Rephaim in Ashteroth Karnaim, and the Zuzim in Ham, and the Emim in the plain of Kiriathaim, and the Horites in their mount Seir, unto El-paran, which is east of the wilderness. Then they returned, and came to En-mishpat, which is Kadesh, and smote all the country of the Amalekites, and also the Amorites, that dwelt in Hazezon-tamar.

'Then there went out the king of Sodom, and the king of Gomorrah, and the king of Admah, and the king of Zeboiim, and the king of Bela (the same is Zoar;) and they joined battle with them in the vale of Siddim; namely, with Chedorlaomer the king of Elam, and with Tidal king of nations, and Amraphel king of Shinar, and Arioch king of Ellasar; four kings against five. And the vale of Siddim was full of springs of naphtha; and when the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah fled, they fell into them; and they that remained fled to the mountain. And they took all the goods of Sodom and Gomorrah, and all their victuals, and went their way. And they took Lot, Abraham's brother's son, who dwelt in Sodom, and his goods, and departed.

'And there came one that had escaped, and told Abraham the Hebrew; for he dwelt by the oaks of Mamre the Amorite, brother of Eshcol, and brother of Aner: and these were confederate with Abraham. And when Abraham heard that Lot was taken captive, he mustered his trained servants, born in his own house, three hundred and eighteen, and pursued unto Dan. And he divided himself against them, he and his servants, by night, and smote them, and pursued them unto Hobah, which is north of Damascus. And he brought back all the goods, and also brought again his nephew Lot, and his goods, and the women also, and the people.

'And after he had smitten Chedorlaomer and the kings that were with him and was returning, the king of Sodom went out to meet him into the valley of Shaveh, which is the king's dale.

'And Melchizedek king of Salem brought forth bread and wine: and he was a priest of the most high God. And he blessed him, and said, Blessed be Abraham of the most high God, creator of heaven and earth: and blessed be the most high God, who hath delivered thine enemies into thy hand. And Abraham gave him tithes of all.

'And the king of Sodom said unto Abraham, Give me the persons, but keep the goods to thyself. And Abraham said to the king of Sodom, I lift up mine hand unto the Lord, the most high God, the creator of heaven and earth, that not a thread or a shoelatchet, even anything that is thine, will I take, lest thou shouldest say, I have made Abraham rich: save only that which the young men have eaten, and the portion of the men who went with me, Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre; let them take their portion.'

§ 9. *The forty-fifth Psalm.*—The last Psalm of this group is the forty-fifth. It is a grand song of congratulation to a king upon his marriage shortly after his accession to the throne.

Though the Psalmist writes as a courtier, he wears his court robes 'with a difference.' His conception of kingship and of its duties is no mean one. Who the king was is quite uncertain. Among the conjectures is Ptolemy Philadelphus, and he is perhaps as likely as any other. In the days of the Ptolemies it would not have been impossible for a Hebrew poet to have called Jehovah the God of the Egyptian king. We may compare the Second Isaiah's appellations of Cyrus. Jehovah is Ptolemy's God, though Ptolemy knew him not. The king's might is due to the only God who can grant it, for other god there is none.

Professor Cheyne, who used to hold that the king was Ptolemy Philadelphus, now believes that here too the Psalmist is depicting the Messianic age and the Messianic king. 'The Messiah (who is modelled upon the idealized Solomon) has come to the throne. To complete his happiness and to continue his line he is about to contract a marriage with a "king's daughter," or rather "royal maiden." The Psalm is an encomium on the royal pair, who are supposed to have just met. The imaginative licence of the poet is great. But he does not lose his hold on the main object of the Messiah's existence, which is not mere private happiness, but the conferring of benefits on the church-nation.' One cannot help wondering whether this explanation will hold its own and make its way. But thought and language make it almost certain that the Psalm is post-exilic and late: so the choice seems to lie between a foreign prince and the Messiah.

My heart bubbleth with a good matter;
I address my work unto the king;
My tongue is the pen of a ready scribe.
Thou art fairer than the children of men:
Grace is poured upon thy lips:
Therefore God hath blessed thee for ever.

Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, O hero,
Even thy glory and thy majesty.
Ride forth prosperously
On behalf of truth and humility and righteousness;
And thy right hand shall teach thee terrible things.
Let thine arrows be sharp
In the heart of the king's enemies;
Let the peoples fall under thee.
Thy throne shall endure for ever and ever:
The sceptre of thy kingdom is a sceptre of equity.

Thou lovest righteousness, and hatest wickedness:
Therefore the Lord thy God hath anointed thee
With the oil of gladness above thy fellows.

All thy garments smell of myrrh and aloes and cassia,
Out of the ivory palace stringed instruments make thee glad.
King's daughters are within thy walls:
Upon thy right hand standeth the queen in gold of Ophir.
'Hearken, O daughter, and behold, and incline thine ear;
Forget thine own people, and thy father's house;
And let the king desire thy beauty,
For he is thy lord—bow down unto him.
And the daughter of Tyre shall come with a gift;
The rich among the peoples shall intreat thy favour.'

All glorious is the king's daughter:
Of pearls set in gold is her raiment.
In broidered apparel is she brought unto the king:
The virgins her companions do follow her:
With gladness and rejoicing they are led along:
They enter into the king's palace.

Instead of thy fathers shall be thy children,
Whom thou mayest make princes in all the earth.
I will make thy name to be remembered in all generations:
Therefore shall peoples praise thee for ever and ever.

Professor Cheyne is a Christian, and naturally uses the word 'Christian' as equivalent to 'truly or ideally religious.' A Jewish commentator would use Jewish in a precisely similar way. With that proviso in our minds as regards the *first* use of the word Christian in the passage I am about to quote, I do not think that we can find a truer eulogy of our forty-fifth Psalm than his. 'A philosopher has called the Jews the most optimistic race in history. Elastic, indeed, was their optimism; it adjusted itself to disillusionments without number, and it rested on the truth that righteousness tendeth to life, and is the only secure basis of an empire. And is not this truth a profoundly Christian one? and, as we read the "goodly words" of the forty-fifth Psalm, may we not join hands with the author across the centuries, and acknowledge a still present power in his words to delight and to

instruct? Lovers of the Psalms cannot admit that chivalry is a purely Christian conception. Long ages before Arthur, "truth, humility and righteousness" formed the Hebrew ideal of kingship, and for that grand fifth verse of our Psalm I know no better parallel than the song of Arthur's knights :—

Blow trumpet! he will lift us from the dust.
Blow trumpet! live the strength and die the lust!
Clang battle-axe and clash brand! Let the King reign.'

CHAPTER VIII

DIDACTIC PSALMS

§ 1. *The fifteenth Psalm: 'Domine, quis habitabit?'*—I pass from the Royal Psalms to a very different category. For this chapter will be devoted to Didactic Psalms, songs of teaching. Some of the finest Psalms in the Psalter fall under this head. I shall include twelve Psalms in the group, of varied character and probably of various dates, but yet all didactic. Sometimes the teaching is direct, and sometimes it is, as it were, that indirect teaching which the record of personal experience can afford.

The first Psalm in the group (xv) sets forth the conditions for closer intimacy with God. Who may be God's 'guest'? The Hebrew word is no noun but a verb, and the question is, Who may 'sojourn' in the divine tent? But the verb—'*Gur*'—has close connexions with the noun—*Ger*. *Ger*, as we know, is usually translated *stranger*; the *ger* is the foreigner who has settled in Israel's land. In one sense we are all God's '*Gerim*,' for he is the world's owner (Part I, p. 277). But in a narrower sense only they may secure the inviolability and security of guestship with God who conform to God's demands. These demands are not physical but moral, just as God's tent (here suggested by the Temple) is not physical but spiritual. You cannot get near to God locally; you cannot touch the ropes or pegs of his tent and so secure protection. You can only approach him spiritually and morally. It is goodness alone which gives you a passport, inviolable and abiding. As it is not only in days of old that 'the symbol has been placed above the thing signified and a superstitious efficacy attached to the externals of worship, this Psalm has an equal value for every age, in keeping before the mind the great lesson that sanctity of life and truth of heart are the absolute essentials of a spiritual religion' (*The Four Friends*).

Lord, who may sojourn in thy tent?
Who may dwell in thy holy hill?
He that walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness,
And speaketh the truth in his heart.
He that backbiteth not with his tongue,
Nor doeth evil to his neighbour,
Nor uttereth a reproach against his neighbour.
In whose eyes a vile person is despised;
But he honoureth them that fear the Lord.
He that sweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not.
He that putteth not out his money to usury,
Nor taketh a bribe against the innocent.
He that doeth these things shall never be moved.

'A vile person is despised,' be his wealth and station what they may.

'He that sweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not.' A doubtful translation of a doubtful text. If it is correct, it must mean: If you have made an agreement with anybody, the agreement must be carried out, even though, contrary to your original anticipation, it should turn out to your own loss or damage.

Note the strong indictment of 'usury,' which does not merely mean 'usury' in our sense, but any 'interest' whatever. The law had forbidden 'interest' to a fellow-citizen; here it is forbidden generally. To receive money from money, to let gold bear gold, seemed to ancient moralists unnatural and wicked. All interest on money is condemned by Aristotle. We know now that such condemnation rests on a misapprehension, but the truth is that the 'interest' with which our Psalmist was acquainted *was* probably usury in our sense, and he was right to condemn it.

§ 2. *The twenty-fourth Psalm: 'Domini est terra.'*—Closely similar to the fifteenth is the first part of the twenty-fourth Psalm, to which another psalm-fragment has apparently been added by the compiler. The added fragment seems to be a part of a processional song of victory, in which God is represented metaphorically as returning 'to his sanctuary after fighting for and delivering his people.' Fine as the fragment is, the first part of the Psalm is religiously far finer. The reason why the second part has been added to the first would seem to be that the idea of the 'holy place' connects them. The 'hill' leads to the 'gates' through which the 'place' is entered. But in the first part the

'holy place' is semi-metaphorical. The Temple suggests the idea, but the idea is not limited to the Temple.

The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof;
The world, and they that dwell therein.
For he hath founded it upon the seas,
And established it upon the floods.

Who may go up unto the hill of the Lord?
Or who may stand in his holy place?
He that hath clean hands, and a pure heart;
Who hath not set his soul upon wickedness,
Nor sworn deceitfully.
He shall receive blessing from the Lord,
And righteousness from the God of his salvation.
Such is the generation of them that seek him,
That seek thy face, O God of Jacob.

Lift up your heads, O ye gates,
And be ye lift up, ye ancient doors,
That the King of glory may come in.

'Who is the King of glory?'

The Lord, strong and mighty,
The Lord mighty in battle.
Lift up your heads, O ye gates,
Yea, lift them up, ye ancient doors,
That the King of glory may come in.

'Who is the King of glory?'

The Lord of hosts, he is the King of glory.

'Clean hands and a pure heart': a fine summing up of the noble character. Deed and thought correspond. Wellhausen renders: 'sinless hands and a pure conscience.'

'Who hath not set his soul upon wickedness.' The phrase is not quite easy. Wellhausen renders: 'Who cherishes no longing for evil;' Driver: 'who hath not lifted up his soul unto unreality,' and 'unreality' he explains as 'what is either frivolous or insincere.'

§ 3. *The thirty-second Psalm.*—The third Psalm in this group (xxxii) strikes another note. It deals with the great central

problem of religion, which is Sin. We might on another plan of grouping unite it with the fifty-first. The Psalmist, who speaks in his own individual person of personal experience, tells a tale of his soul. The main facts are not outward but inward. Or rather, even if the facts be outward, it is the inner feelings accompanying them which alone gave to these facts their value and their meaning. The Psalmist had sinned, and had obstinately sought to 'conceal' his sin from God by refusing to recognize it to himself. Then calamity overtook him. But he refused to show penitence or to feel it. He persisted perchance in evildoing—in evilbeing. And yet his soul was sore: anguish, unacknowledged but yet real, possessed him. Silent before God, his guilty conscience 'roared' within him. Then at last he found the remedy. He poured forth his soul's burden unto God, and the wall of severance fell. He was once more 'at one' with God. The removal of his outward calamity accompanied his inward peace and testified to God's forgiveness. Therefore he bids all who, in spite of human frailty, love God to pray unto him when distress and danger overtake them. The great waters shall not reach them. Here the Psalm may seem to sink to lower levels. For all the words imply is that God will save the humble worshipper in times of peril. To the Psalmists the consciousness of guilt was often awakened by the presence of trouble, so that the Hebrew word for 'guilt' is sometimes almost equivalent to 'punishment.' Nevertheless it would not seem overstrained to give the first three stanzas of the poem the more spiritual interpretation. Even if 'guilt' in the last line of the third stanza includes punishment, it certainly *also* includes the inward feeling of alienation from God. And the opening adjective means more than 'fortunate.' It implies inward contentment and joy.

Happy is he whose transgression is forgiven,
  Whose sin is covered.
Happy is the man unto whom the Lord reckoneth not iniquity,
  And in whose spirit there is no guile.

When I kept silence, my bones wasted away
  Through my roaring all the day long.
For day and night thy hand was heavy upon me:
  My sap was turned into the drought of summer.
I acknowledged my sin unto thee, and mine iniquity I hid not:
  I said, 'I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord;'
  And thou forgavest the guilt of my sin.

Therefore let every loving one pray unto thee in a time
of distress;
When the flood of great waters is heard, they will not
reach him.
Thou art my hiding place; thou wilt preserve me from
trouble;
Thou dost encompass me with security. (?)

I will instruct thee and teach thee in the way which thou
shalt go:
I will direct mine eyes upon thee. (?)
Be ye not as the horse, or as the mule, which have no
understanding:
Who must be held in with bit and bridle,
Else they will not come near unto thee.
Many sorrows have the wicked:
But he that trusteth in the Lord, lovingkindness shall
compass him about.
Be glad in the Lord, and rejoice, ye righteous:
And shout for joy, all ye that are upright in heart.

'In whose spirit there is no guile.' The guileless man here is he who has freely and unreservedly confessed his whole sin unto God.

'Thy hand was heavy upon me.' There seems to have been a combination of outward and inward trouble. God sent misfortune, but this misfortune was not humbly accepted as the punishment of sin. Nevertheless the Psalmist was ill at ease: he tried to deny his sin to himself and to God. But the more he did so, the more the inward conflict, sharpened by the outward trouble, raged within him. When he confessed his sin, he was at peace with God, and the removal of his punishment showed him that God had forgiven him. The words of the Psalm are not satisfactorily accounted for on the supposition that the whole experience was inward, and that there is no question of external calamity at all; on the other hand, a purely outward interpretation is still less adequate. We have apparently to assume a double and parallel process both at the outset and the close: the punishment sharpens, but does not cause, the inward conflict; the peace of confession is followed and increased by the removal of the punishment—the outward and visible sign of God's forgiveness.

The first five lines of the last stanza (beginning 'I will instruct thee') are somewhat obscure. Is God or the Psalmist the speaker? The transition too seems abrupt.

'Be ye not as the horse.' The meaning seems to be that there is no absolute necessity for man to undergo the lessons of adversity. He who trusts in God and gives good heed (in other words, he who tries his best) will not need to be brought back from a sinful life by the bit and bridle of calamity. He need not enter on the life of sin at all. And there is truth in this doctrine. No man is sinless, but prosperity need not necessarily make a man a sinner, nor is calamity the necessary precedent of righteousness. And yet the highest developments of human character have been produced by calamity, just as without suffering there could be no sacrifice. And sacrifice is love's opportunity.

The gladness of the opening is repeated chorus-like at the close. Professor Cheyne is right when he notes that the religion of the Hebrew Bible 'is throughout one of joy.' But he is wrong when he says that 'the final ruin of the outward forms of Judaism' (i.e. temple and state) 'alone destroyed this joyousness.' Religious joy has ever been a characteristic of Judaism, and it was probably deeper and more widely spread *after* the destruction of the Temple than before it. There is a deep meaning in the words of the Midrash: 'The Holy Spirit does not rest where there is sloth or despondency or jesting or frivolity or vanity, but it rests only where there is joy.' As strangers can rarely know the inner joy of a home, so outsiders can rarely understand the joy and rapture of a religion which is not their own.

§ 4. *The thirty-fourth Psalm: 'Benedicam Domino.'*—The following Psalm (xxxiv) is alphabetical, like the twenty-fifth, with which it has other affinities. The last verse was added subsequently in order that the Psalm might not end inauspiciously. The fine thoughts explain themselves, and need no commentary.

I will bless the Lord at all times:
  His praise shall continually be in my mouth.
My soul shall make her boast in the Lord:
  The humble shall hear thereof, and be glad.
O magnify the Lord with me,
  And let us exalt his name together.
I sought the Lord, and he heard me,
  And delivered me from all my fears.
O look unto him, and shine with joy:
  And your faces will not be ashamed.
This poor man cried, and the Lord heard him,
  And saved him out of all his troubles.

The angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear him,
And delivereth them.
O taste and see that the Lord is good:
Happy is the man that trusteth in him.
O fear the Lord, ye his saints:
For there is no want to them that fear him.
The young lions do pine, and suffer hunger:
But they that seek the Lord shall not want any good thing.
Come, ye children, hearken unto me:
I will teach you the fear of the Lord.
What man is he that desireth life,
And loveth many days, that he may see good?
Keep thy tongue from evil,
And thy lips from speaking guile.
Depart from evil, and do good;
Seek peace, and pursue it.
The face of the Lord is against them that do evil,
To cut off the remembrance of them from the earth.
The eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous,
And his ears are open unto their cry.
They cry, and the Lord heareth,
And delivereth them out of all their troubles.
The Lord is nigh unto them that are of a broken heart;
And saveth such as are of a contrite spirit.
Many are the afflictions of the righteous:
But the Lord delivereth him out of them all.
He keepeth all his bones:
Not one of them is broken.
Calamity shall slay the wicked:
And they that hate the righteous shall be condemned.
The Lord redeemeth the soul of his servants:
And none of them that trust in him shall be condemned.

§ 5. *The thirty-seventh Psalm: 'Noli aemulari.'*—Another 'alphabetic' Psalm follows (xxxvii). It deals with, or perhaps I should rather say, it touches on, the same subject as the Book of Job, but hardly rises very far above the doctrine of the friends. The wicked end miserably; the righteous are rewarded. Many verses in the Psalm we can still accept with profit, but many others we have to interpret in a sense other than that intended by their author. Only so can we make them accord with the truths of experience. And religion cannot be ultimately

in disaccord with facts; it is rather their synthesis and interpretation; the light which transfigures them; the bond which holds them together.

Fret not thyself because of evildoers,
Neither be thou envious against the workers of iniquity.
For they shall soon fade away like the grass,
And wither as the green herb.

Trust in the Lord, and do good;
Dwell in the land, and pursue fidelity.
Delight thyself also in the Lord;
And he shall give thee the desires of thine heart.

Commit thy way unto the Lord;
Trust also in him; and he shall bring it to pass.
And he shall bring forth thy righteousness as the light,
And thy judgement as the noonday.

Rest in the Lord, and wait patiently for him:
Fret not thyself because of him who prospereth in his way,
Because of the man who bringeth wicked devices to pass.

Cease from anger, and forsake wrath:
Fret not thyself; it leadeth only to evildoing. (?)
For evildoers shall be cut off:
But those that wait upon the Lord, they shall inherit the earth.

For yet a little while, and the wicked shall not be:
Thou shalt give heed to his place, and he shall not be there.
But the meek shall inherit the earth;
And shall delight themselves in the abundance of peace.

The wicked plotteth against the just,
And gnasheth upon him with his teeth.
The Lord laugheth at him:
For he seeth that his day is coming.

The wicked have drawn out the sword, and have bent their bow,
To cast down the poor and needy,
And to slay such as are upright of way.

Their sword shall enter into their own heart,
And their bows shall be broken.

A little that a righteous man hath
Is better than the great riches of the wicked.
For the arms of the wicked shall be broken:
But the Lord upholdeth the righteous.

The Lord knoweth the days of the upright:
And their inheritance shall be for ever.
They shall not be ashamed in the evil time:
And in the days of famine they shall be satisfied.

For the wicked shall perish,
And the enemies of the Lord shall be as the kindling of the furnace:
They are consumed like smoke; they are consumed.

The wicked borroweth, and payeth not again:
But the righteous sheweth mercy, and giveth.
For such as are blessed of him shall inherit the earth;
And they that are cursed of him shall be cut off.

The steps of a man are ordered by the Lord,
Even of him in whose way he delighteth.
Though he fall, he shall not lie prone:
For the Lord upholdeth his hand.

I have been young, and now am old;
Yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread.
He is ever merciful and lendeth;
And his seed is blessed.

Depart from evil, and do good;
And dwell for evermore.
For the Lord loveth justice,
And forsaketh not his loving ones.

The unrighteous are destroyed for ever:
And the seed of the wicked shall be cut off.
The righteous shall inherit the land,
And dwell therein for ever.

The mouth of the righteous speaketh wisdom,
And his tongue talketh of justice.
The law of his God is in his heart;
None of his steps slide.

The wicked watcheth the righteous,
And seeketh to slay him.
The Lord will not desert him in his calamity,
Nor condemn him when he is judged.

Wait on the Lord, and keep his way,
And he shall exalt thee to inherit the land:
When the wicked are cut off, thou shalt see it.

I have seen the wicked in great power,
And spreading himself like a green cedar:
I passed by, and, lo, he was not:
Yea, I sought him, but he could not be found.

Keep integrity and pursue uprightness;
For there is a posterity to the man of peace.
But the transgressors shall be utterly destroyed:
The posterity of the wicked shall be cut off.

The salvation of the righteous is of the Lord:
He is their strength in the time of trouble.
And the Lord helpeth them, and delivereth them:
He delivereth them from the wicked, and saveth them,
Because they taketh refuge in him.

'Fret not thyself.' A famous phrase and a noble thought. The Hebrew means literally: 'Be not incensed.' To the injunction we have now to give a deeper reason. Whether the wicked prosper or fail, their 'wellbeing' is hollow.

'Delight thyself also in the Lord.' The means is the end. So far as feeling goes, this delight is the goal of religion.

'Rest in the Lord.' This is the rendering of the Authorized Version. Coverdale has 'Hold thee still in the Lord,' which is somewhat more literal and equally significant.

'The Lord laugheth at him.' All anthropomorphisms are false, but there are good ones and bad ones. This is a bad one. At human wickedness God rather weeps than laughs.

'I have been young, and now am old,' &c. Mr. Abrahams, than

whom there is no more competent authority, tells me that no verse in the Bible has been dearer to the Jews in their varied and terrible sufferings than this one. And yet these very sufferings continually contradicted it. Faith and hope prevailed over experience, and spiritual interpretations were substituted for the literal meaning. What a lesson have we here! The worst sufferers are the best believers; sorrow deepens fidelity: the persecuted cling with all the greater confidence to the loving watchfulness of God.

§ 6. *The forty-ninth Psalm: 'Audite haec, omnes gentes.'*—The thought of the next Psalm (xlix) is far deeper. The writer is, as it were, trembling on the verge of the larger hope; the veil is lifting; some would say that it has lifted. The subject is very similar to that of the previous Psalm; unfortunately the Hebrew is difficult, and in places corrupt.

The belief in immortality was reached in Israel by more than one converging pathway. One way was the different treatment which God would show to the good and the bad, to the faithful and the apostates, to Israel and its foes. The wicked would be gathered into Sheol for ever. What then of the righteous? The answers are various and come but slowly. In the days of Messiah death shall be no more. In the days of Messiah the righteous dead shall be quickened back into life eternal. But there was another way, better and more spiritual. The wicked and the 'foolish' are far from God, and the end of their 'pomp' is Sheol. But the righteous are near God now; and he will be near them for ever. How then can *they* go down to Sheol? *They* can never be separated (like the shades in Sheol) from God. Near the source of life, they will continue to live. What can death do unto them? Death is forgotten; death is ignored; death is overcome. Such seems to be the thought near which our Psalmist is hovering, but no one can mark with certainty the precise deductions which he has drawn for himself, or the exact point in the spiritual journey to which he had attained.

Hear this, all ye peoples;
  Give ear, all ye inhabitants of the world:
Both low and high,
  Rich and poor, together.
My mouth shall speak of wisdom;
  And the meditation of my heart shall be of understanding.
I will incline mine ear to a parable:
  I will open my dark saying upon the harp.

Wherefore should I fear in the days of evil,
When the guilt of my foes surroundeth me,
Even of such as trust in their wealth,
And boast themselves in the multitude of their riches?
Surely none can redeem himself,
Nor give to God his ransom,
That he should still live for ever,
And not see the pit.
For the redemption of his soul is too costly,
He must let that alone for ever. (?)
For . . . . . .
The fool and the brutish perish,
And leave their wealth to others.
The graves are their houses for ever,
And their dwelling places to all generations,
Who called their lands after their own names. (?)
Man in his pomp abideth not:
He is like the beasts that perish.

This is the way of fools;
Yet after them men approve their speech. (?)
Like sheep they sink down unto Sheol;
Death is their shepherd;
[And the upright shall have dominion over them in the morning;]
Their form soon falleth to decay,
Sheol is become their dwelling. (?)
But God will redeem my soul;
From the grasp of Sheol he will take me.

Be not thou afraid when one groweth rich,
When the glory of his house is increased;
For when he dieth he shall carry nothing away:
His glory shall not descend after him.
Though while he lived he blessed his soul
(And forsooth men praise thee, when thou doest well to thyself):
He shall go to the generation of his fathers;
He shall never see the light.
Man in his pomp, but without understanding,
Is like the beasts that perish.

'None can redeem himself.' 'Redeem' in its literal and etymological sense: 'buy off,' 'deliver.'

'The redemption of his soul.' It is always to be remembered that '*soul*' is never used in the Psalter in its modern sense, as the spiritual and abiding personality. It means merely the 'self,' or the 'life.'

'For . . . . .' The Hebrew reads: 'For he will see that wise men die'—a doubly inapposite thought. 'He,' the rich 'fool,' or evil one, does not make this observation. He forgets the end of his pomp. And if 'he will see' is emended, and we read 'For the prudent and wise men die,' the difficulty remains that the death of the wise (or righteous) is just what the Psalmist ignores or denies. It might be argued that the 'wise' in this passage are they who are 'wise in their own sight,' whose wisdom is folly. But this is very doubtful. I therefore fully believe that the text is corrupt.

'And leave their wealth to others.' Note a certain animus against the rich, elsewhere also observable. The poor and the afflicted, the humble and the needy, are synonymous, and any of these again are equivalent to the righteous. The poor and righteous sufferers are opposed both to the rich indifferentists and apostates within Israel and to Israel's ruling oppressors without. Worldly prosperity is now fully realized to be no sign of divine favour.

'Man in his pomp' is man in his folly; compare the second form of the refrain. Such men abide not; but the righteous and the needy, what of them? The inference is near. Unlike lives will meet with unlike destiny.

'The upright shall have dominion.' An obscure passage. Is the 'morning' the Messianic age? And what sort of dominion is intended? The words, according to Wellhausen, 'represent an interpolation which is extremely inappropriate here. But they show most characteristically the longing of the Jews for Messianic rule.'

'God will redeem my soul.' 'It would be,' said Professor Cheyne, 'the weakest of explanations to say that the Psalmist rejoices thus in the prospect of mere deliverance from the danger of death. A few years later, and the danger will return in a heightened degree.' No! the Psalmist has practically attained the highest; death is overcome by the assured salvation of God. 'The poet has that religious intuition which forms the kernel of the hope of immortality.' It should be stated, however, that Professor Cheyne has now abandoned this interpretation, and believes, with several other scholars, that the speaker is the

community. Israel will endure for ever. For several reasons I cannot concur. One reason I have already given in a note on Psalm xvi (p. 503). The Psalmists rarely, if ever, put into the mouth of Israel what they cannot, as Israelites, appropriate at least partially for themselves. The Psalmist enunciates no formulated doctrine of immortality, but he is moving forwards toward a conception of life and death in which Sheol, for those who love God and love righteousness, can have no place.

§ 7. *The seventy-third Psalm.*—My next 'didactic' Psalm (lxxiii) deals once more with the same problem, which is at once so old and so new. The difficulty of the thought is unfortunately accompanied, as is so frequently and naturally the case, by uncertainties of text. The solution in which the Psalmist rests is among the highest to which we can attain. After the last two Psalms we are, as Professor Cheyne says, 'no strangers to the problem which disturbs him, but nowhere, even in Job, do we find a more striking treatment of it.'

Surely God is good to Israel,
To such as are pure of heart.
But as for me, my feet had almost fallen,
My steps had well nigh slipped.
For I was envious at the boasters,
When I saw the prosperity of the wicked.

For they have no torments;
Sound and stalwart is their body.
They have no troubles as other men,
Neither are they plagued like other mortals.
Therefore pride is about their neck,
Violence covereth them as a garment.
From their fatness their iniquity cometh forth,
The imaginations of their heart overflow.
They mock and speak wickedly,
They talk loftily of oppression.
They set their mouth in the heavens,
And their tongue walketh through the earth.
Yet they are satisfied with bread;
And they drink water in abundance.
And they say, 'How doth God know?
And is there knowledge in the Most High?'

Behold, such are the ungodly;
Always secure, they increase in riches.

'Verily I have cleansed my heart in vain,
And washed my hands in innocency.
And all the day long have I been stricken,
And chastened every morning.'
If I were to have spoken thus,
I should have been faithless to the generation of thy children. (?)
But when I pondered to understand this,
It was a sore travail in mine eyes.
For my heart was embittered,
And I was pained within me.
For I was brutish and knew not;
I was as a beast toward thee.
Until I went into the sanctuary of God;
And considered their latter end.
Surely thou settest them in slippery places:
Thou castest them down into destruction.
How are they brought into desolation, as in a moment!
They are utterly consumed with terrors.
As a dream when one awaketh;
So, O Lord, when thou awakest, thou wilt despise their semblance. (?)

But I am continually with thee:
Thou holdest me by my right hand.
Thou wilt guide me according to thy purpose,
And afterward receive me with glory. (?)
Whom have I in heaven but thee?
And there is naught upon earth that I desire beside thee.
My flesh and my heart faileth:
Yet God is the rock of my heart and my portion for ever.
For, lo, they that are far from thee shall perish:
Thou destroyest all them that go astray from thee.
But as for me to be near unto God is my good;
I have put my refuge in the Lord God,
That I may declare all thy works.

'Surely God is good.' He begins with the end. To the pure in heart God is good, in spite of sorrows. For he is a possession which no outward fortune can take away.

The description of the wicked in their pride and contempt of God reminds us of Job.

'Verily I have cleansed my heart in vain.' If such is the world's government, what is the use of piety? Moreover, in addition to contemplating the prosperity of the wicked, the Psalmist had to suffer trouble and calamity. He was 'stricken all day.' The four lines in inverted commas are what the author was tempted to say, what the prosperity of the wicked and his own misfortunes suggested to him: the doubt born of experience.

'I should have been faithless.' 'He means, a traitor to the principle on which the community of the godly relies, namely, that God makes a distinction between the righteous and the wicked, and that the community of the godly is not left unaided by him' (Wellhausen).

'The sanctuary of God.' The Hebrew has the plural. The meaning is either the Temple, where we know that the Psalmists were wont to go for spiritual enlightenment and communion, or the holy purposes of God, the plans of providence. So Wellhausen, who translates: 'Until I penetrated the mysteries of God.'

'Considered their latter end.' The first part of the solution is thus on the old, bitter lines. The wicked's prosperity is but for a season. Calamitous death comes suddenly.

'So, Lord, when thou awakest.' That is, when God 'awakes' for judgement.

'But I am continually with thee.' Here comes the second and truer part of the solution. The joy of nearness to God is the guarantee and reward of piety. Those who feel it can be indifferent to outward fortune and its seemingly unjust disproportion. Only the pure in heart can know and have the highest; only they can be 'with' God. And this communion is abiding.

'Thou wilt guide me.' God has a purpose in the lives of his friends. Their path is not haphazard.

'And afterward receive me.' These words could only refer to a life of blessedness after death, but it is very doubtful whether the Hebrew can mean this, or whether indeed the Hebrew which we have is Hebrew at all. Apart from this line we may truly say that in this Psalm, as in Psalm xlix, the death of the righteous is ignored and forgotten, the life with God triumphing over it, but yet immortality in our sense is rather implied than asserted.

Professor Cheyne, as in his explanation of Psalm xlix, again presses the Messianic and communal interpretation. He emends the text and reads: 'According to thy counsel thou wilt guide me, and make known to me the path of glory.' This 'path of glory' is the Messianic age, when the divine glory will be revealed

upon the earth. I do not think this explanation accounts for that note of personal experience which seems so clearly implied in this wonderful passage.

'Whom have I in heaven but thee?' Perhaps the most rapturous expression of spiritual religion in the Hebrew Bible.

'My flesh and my heart faileth.' This may mean, My physical strength is failing; nevertheless, God will always be my portion. Again, the Psalmist seems to hover on the brink of faith's greatest dogma. The verse may also, and perhaps ought to be rendered—

'Though my flesh and my heart should have wasted away,
God would be my rock and my portion for ever.'

Come what may, he trusts in God; come what may, God is his 'portion'—his joy and his assurance—for ever. 'God's in his heaven; all's right with the world.' 'For ever:' up to death, in death, and beyond death, if life beyond death there be. May we not thus interpret our great Psalmist's words?

§ 8. *The fiftieth Psalm.*—In the following Psalm (l) the writer sets his teaching in a kind of prophetic framework. This is not unreasonable, for his doctrine is in accordance with the fundamental lessons of the prophets. Two classes of Israelites are before his mind; first, the formalists; secondly, the actual sinners. In its great utterance about sacrifices the Psalm must be closely compared with Psalms li and xl.

God, even God the Lord, hath spoken,
And called the earth from the rising of the sun unto the going down thereof.
Out of Zion, the perfection of beauty,
God hath shined forth.
Fire devoureth before him,
And it is very tempestuous round about him.
He calleth to the heavens above,
And to the earth, that he may judge his people.
'Gather my loving ones together unto me;
Those that made a covenant with me by sacrifice.'
And the heavens declare his righteousness:
For God is about to judge.

'Hear, O my people, and I will speak;
O Israel, and I will testify against thee:
The Lord thy God am I.

I will not reprove thee for thy sacrifices,
  Thy burnt offerings are continually before me.
I will take no bullock out of thy house,
  Nor he-goats out of thy folds.
For every beast of the forest is mine,
  And the cattle upon the hills of God.
I know all the birds of the mountains:
  And the moving creatures of the plain are in my mind.
If I were hungry, I would not tell thee:
  For the world is mine, and the fulness thereof.
Do I eat the flesh of bulls,
  Or drink the blood of goats?
Sacrifice unto God thanksgiving;
  And pay thy vows unto the Most High:
And call upon me in the day of trouble:
  I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me.'

But unto the wicked, God saith,
  'What business hast thou to declare my statutes,
  Or to take my covenant in thy mouth?
Seeing thou hatest instruction,
  And castest my words behind thee.
When thou seest a thief, thou runnest after him,
  And with adulterers is thy portion.
Thou givest thy mouth to evil,
  And thy tongue frameth deceit.
Thou sittest and speakest against thy brother;
  Thou slanderest thine own mother's son.
These things hast thou done, and I have kept silence;
  Thou thinkest that I am altogether such an one as thyself;
  But I will chastise thee, and set it before thine eyes. (?)

'Now consider this, ye that forget God,
  Lest I tear you in pieces, and there be none to deliver.
Whoso sacrificeth thanksgiving glorifieth me:
  And to him that is upright in his way I will shew the
    salvation of God.'

'Gather my loving ones.' The phrase is sarcastic. They are only duteous outwardly: the covenant which secured God's loving-kindness (*Chesed*) and demanded man's is on their side but formally obeyed.

Two of my helpful critics deny that any sarcasm is here intended.

One writes: 'It seems to me that because they do love God, they are to be taught what is truly acceptable to him. The wicked are addressed in quite a different fashion.' And the other writes: 'I cannot see the sarcasm. A child might give his parent a toy, wishing to show his love. Without really thinking about it, he imagines that a toy will please his father even as it satisfies and pleases himself. And God in this passage is virtually telling his "loving ones" to *think*: to make their gifts to him in fitting form. Quite otherwise does he speak to them who are evil in heart and mind, and have no love for him at all.'

'A covenant with me by sacrifice.' It should be made by something deeper, more spiritual. 'I desired lovingkindness and not sacrifice,' as Hosea said in the olden days.

'Sacrifice unto God thanksgiving.' True praise and true gratitude: these are the true sacrifice. And this inward thanksgiving is as the payment of our vows. 'Vowing too has become spiritualized' (Cheyne). This interpretation rests on the presupposition that the verb 'sacrifice' (*zabach*) is here used in a metaphorical sense, and also that the second line of the distich means virtually, 'and *so* pay thy vows unto the Most High,' i.e. your gratitude to God is equivalent to the payment of a vow. It should be stated that Dr. B. Jacob most strongly combats and denies this interpretation. According to him the Psalmist desires to attack that false conception of sacrifice as if it were a present offered to God, a present by which man can get some advantage in his turn. The only form of sacrifice which is free from such a superstitious misconception is a thank-offering rendered for some deliverance or mercy already vouchsafed to us by God. Moreover, if any vow has been promised, it must be performed. So the Psalmist makes God say: 'Sacrifice the thank-offering and pay your vows, then you may (again) call on me in the day of trouble (no vows are needful), and I will deliver you, and you may honour me again (by a thank-offering). For he who sacrifices a thank-offering does me honour.' Ingenious and plausible as Dr. Jacob's interpretation is, I hardly think it does justice to the deeper thought of the Psalmist.

'Whoso sacrificeth thanksgiving.' The same questions crop up again. The second line of the distich is obscure. Some would translate the existing Hebrew text by: 'He who prepares his way,' i. e. prepares it rightly; but this rendering puts more in the words than they can bear. The emendation I have chosen only involves the change of a single letter. It is also adopted by Professor Cheyne, who translates: 'He that sacrifices thanksgiving glorifies me, and to him that is of blameless life, I will show

the deliverance of God.' 'Here,' he says, 'we have not only sacrifices, but even vows, which affected daily life still more than sacrifices, abrogated by being spiritualized. The only right vows are vows of amendment of life; the only right sacrifice is thanksgiving for God's innumerable mercies to Israel.'

§ 9. *The ninety-first Psalm.*—The following Psalm (xci) is familiar to us from its liturgical use. Some would regard it as the consoling answer to its predecessor, Psalm xc, with which let the reader by all means compare it. It sets forth the high faith of the believer to which all Israel may attain. False to experience literally (for the good suffer as well as the wicked), there is an ideal sense in which the believer has ever striven to say, 'Whatever befall me, I am with thee; therefore whatever befall me, it is well.'

(Happy is) he that dwelleth in the secret place of the Most
High,
That abideth under the shadow of the Almighty.
Who sayeth unto the Lord, 'He is my refuge and my fortress:
My God, in whom I trust.'

For he shall deliver thee from the snare of the fowler,
And from the noisome pestilence.
He shall cover thee with his pinions,
And under his wings shalt thou take refuge:
His faithfulness shall be thy shield and buckler.

Thou shalt not be afraid of the terror by night;
Nor of the arrow that flieth by day;
Nor of the pestilence that walketh in darkness;
Nor of the plague that wasteth at noonday.
A thousand shall fall at thy side,
And ten thousand at thy right hand;
But it shall not come nigh unto thee.
Only with thine eyes shalt thou behold it,
And see the retribution of the wicked.

But as for thee, the Lord is thy shelter,
Thou hast made the Most High thy refuge.
There shall no evil befall thee,
Neither shall any plague come nigh thy dwelling.
For he shall give his angels charge concerning thee,
To keep thee in all thy ways.

They shall bear thee on their hands,
Lest thou strike thy foot against a stone.
Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder:
The young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet.

'Because he hath set his love upon me, therefore will I deliver him:
I will set him on high, because he knoweth my name.
When he calleth upon me, I will answer him:
I will be with him in trouble;
I will deliver him, and honour him.
With long life will I satisfy him,
And shew him my salvation.'

§ 10. *The one hundred and seventh Psalm: 'Confitemini Domino.'*—To group the following Psalm (cvii) accurately is again most difficult. It could with reasonable justification be regarded as one of the Psalms of thanksgiving, or again as one of the Psalms of praise. But perhaps the main intention is didactic, and so it may claim a place here.

Its date is doubtful; it may belong to the Grecian period, or it may be earlier. It refers to 'deliverances,' but it is not certain whether any, and if so what, special deliverances are intended. There is always in such post-exilic retrospects a general allusion either to the return from Babylon or to the Exodus from Egypt.

The main part of the Psalm (in stanzas two, three, four and five) gives four typical examples of deliverance, and urges gratitude to the Divine Saviour. In the last stanza 'the treatment becomes more meagre, the connexion less cared for, and the thought less original. The refrains too are dropped' (Cheyne). It is indeed not certain (so elastic are Hebrew tenses) what the relation of this last stanza to the foregoing five may actually be.

'O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good:
For his lovingkindness endureth for ever.'
Let the redeemed of the Lord say so,
Whom he hath redeemed from the hand of the enemy;
And gathered them out of the lands,
From the east, and from the west, from the north, and from the south.

They wandered in the wilderness and the desert,
They found no city to dwell in;

Hungry and thirsty,
Their soul fainted within them:
Then they cried unto the Lord in their trouble,
And he delivered them out of their distresses.
And he led them forth by a straight way,
That they might go to a city of habitation.
Oh let these give thanks unto the Lord for his goodness,
And for his wonderful works to the children of men!
For he hath satisfied the longing soul,
And hath filled the hungry soul with good.

They who sat in darkness and in the shadow of death,
Being bound in affliction and iron,—
Because they had rebelled against the words of God,
And reviled the counsel of the Most High:
So that he humbled their heart with travail;
They stumbled, and there was none to help—
Then they cried unto the Lord in their trouble,
And he saved them out of their distresses.
He brought them out of darkness and the shadow of death,
And brake their bands in sunder.
Oh let these give thanks unto the Lord for his goodness,
And for his wonderful works to the children of men!
For he hath broken the gates of brass,
And cut the bars of iron in sunder.

Sick men because of their transgression,
And because of their iniquities, are afflicted;
Their soul abhorreth all manner of food;
And they draw near unto the gates of death;
Then they cry unto the Lord in their trouble,
And he saveth them out of their distresses.
He sendeth his word, and healeth them,
And delivereth them from their graves.
Oh let these give thanks unto the Lord for his goodness,
And for his wonderful works to the children of men!
And let them sacrifice the sacrifices of thanksgiving,
And declare his works with rejoicing.

They that go down to the sea in ships,
That do business on the great waters;
These have seen the works of the Lord,
And his wonders in the deep.

For he commandeth, and raiseth the stormy wind,
Which lifteth up the waves:
They mount up to the heaven, they go down again to the depths:
Their soul is melted because of trouble.
They reel to and fro, and stagger like a drunken man,
And all their craft faileth them.
Then they cry unto the Lord in their trouble,
And he bringeth them out of their distresses.
He turneth the storm into a calm,
So that the waves of the sea are stilled.
Then are they glad because they are quiet;
That he bringeth them unto their desired haven.
Oh let these give thanks unto the Lord for his goodness,
And for his wonderful works to the children of men!
Let them exalt him in the congregation of the people,
And praise him in the assembly of the elders.

He turneth rivers into a wilderness,
And watercourses into dry ground;
A fruitful land into barrenness,
For the wickedness of them that dwell therein.
He turneth the wilderness into a standing water,
And dry ground into watercourses.
And there he maketh the hungry to dwell,
That they may found a city for habitation;
And sow the fields, and plant vineyards,
Which may yield fruits of increase.
He blesseth them also, so that they are multiplied greatly;
And suffereth not their cattle to decrease.
He poureth contempt upon nobles,
And maketh them to wander astray in pathless deserts,
So that they are diminished and brought low
By the oppression of evil and sorrow.
But he setteth the poor on high out of affliction,
And maketh him families like a flock.
The righteous see it, and rejoice:
And all iniquity stoppeth its mouth.

Whoso is wise, let him observe these things,
Let him give heed to the lovingkindness of the Lord.

'They who sat in darkness.' It is disputed whether the darkness and the prison are meant literally or metaphorically. Probably the former.

'Sick men.' The sickness, if meant literally, is regarded (however strange it may seem to us) as the punishment of sin. Compare the speech of Elihu in Job (p. 182).

'They that go down.' The Jews are ceasing to be purely agriculturists. They are also traders. How grand is the description of the storm! The commentators aptly compare from Ovid (*Tristia*, i. 2):—

> 'Me miserum, quanti montes volvuntur aquarum;
> Iamiam tacturos sidera summa putes.
> Quantae diducto subsidunt aequore valles!
> Iamiam tacturas Tartara nigra putes.
> Rector in incerto est, nec quid fugiatve petatve
> Invenit, ambiguis ars stupet ipsa malis.'

But 'they mount up to the heaven' refers in the Psalm to the sailors, not to the waves.

'He turneth rivers.' Some think that this is a foretelling of what God will do, in the Messianic future, to Israel and to Israel's enemies. Others suppose that 'the hymn of praise for God's manifold deliverances is succeeded by specimens of God's equally manifold providential dealings with countries and nations' (Cheyne). There are many imitations of earlier writers, such as the Second Isaiah.

The closing verse gives the didactic stamp to the whole Psalm. How divine omnipotence is controlled and directed by justice and mercy—such seems to be its burden.

§ 11. *Psalms one hundred and eleven, and one hundred and twelve.*—My last two Psalms in this group hang closely together, but only the second could perhaps properly be called 'didactic.' The first is rather a hymn of praise. Yet they are, as Professor Cheyne calls them, 'twin Psalms,' identical in structure (both being alphabetic on the same method of two letters to a verse) and closely parallel in thought. The first (cxi) praises God for his goodness to Israel, the second (cxii) praises the righteous man whose character and actions reflect, so far as this is within man's power, the actions and character of God. But as God to this Psalmist is in no quite complete sense the equal Father of all, for the 'nations' are somewhat less to him than Israel, so God's worshipper is not conscious of any evil thought in wanting to 'see his desire' upon his enemies, even as they doubtless want to see

their desire upon him. Yet within this limit justice and mercy are the twin virtues that distinguish alike the human nature and the divine. And the weakness which we have noted is capable of easy remedy. Let the national barriers fall, let it once be seen and realized that all men are God's children, that the divine spirit is in man as man, and not in man as Israelite or Gentile, and then it will also be realized that the highest law of the community as of the individual must be to return good for evil.

I will give thanks unto the Lord with my whole heart,
In the assembly and congregation of the upright.
The works of the Lord are great,
To be studied of all that delight therein.
His work is magnificent and glorious:
And his righteousness endureth for ever.
He hath made his wonderful works to be remembered:
The Lord is gracious and full of compassion.
He hath given food unto them that fear him:
He will ever be mindful of his covenant.
He hath shewed his people the power of his works,
In that he gave them the heritage of the nations.
The works of his hands are faithfulness and justice;
All his commandments are trustworthy.
They stand fast for ever and ever,
And are done in faithfulness and uprightness.
He sent deliverance unto his people:
He hath commanded his covenant for ever:
Holy and reverend is his name.
The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom:
A good insight have all they that do his commandments:
His praise endureth for ever.

'He hath made his wonderful works to be remembered.' More literally, 'A memorial has he made for his wonderful works': i. e. 'He has made his deeds an everlasting monument of his omnipotence' (Wellhausen).

'He hath commanded his covenant for ever,' i. e. to endure for ever. 'At one time the heathen meant to abolish the Jewish ordinances, which they deemed absurd; the greater part of the Jews also doubted whether their Law was destined to hold good for ever. The Law appeared to be then in imminent danger. But it was firmly re-established through the *deliverance* (from the heathen) which Jehovah *sent* (by the Maccabees, 167 B.C.).' Wellhausen's note.

Happy is the man that feareth the Lord,
That delighteth greatly in his commandments.
His seed shall be mighty upon earth:
The generation of the upright shall be blessed.
Substance and riches shall be in his house:
And his righteousness endureth for ever.
As a light in darkness he dawneth unto the upright:
He is gracious, and full of compassion, and righteous. (?)
Well is it with the man who sheweth pity and lendeth,
Who manageth his affairs with justice. (?)
For he shall not be moved for ever:
The righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance.
He shall not be afraid of evil tidings:
His heart is fixed, trusting in the Lord.
His heart is established, he shall not be afraid,
Until he see his desire upon his enemies.
He hath dispersed, he hath given to the poor;
His righteousness endureth for ever;
His horn is exalted with glory.
The wicked see it, and is grieved;
He gnasheth with his teeth, and melteth away;
The desire of the wicked shall perish.

'That delighteth greatly in his commandments.' Such from the time of the Psalmist and up till now has been the Jewish conception of piety. The truly religious man fulfils the commandments of God not from compulsion, not from terror, but because he believes them to be good, ordered by Divine Goodness for beneficent ends, because he finds in them his purest satisfaction, his holiest delight. And it may be safely asserted that there have been in every generation from the time of the Psalmist a number of pious persons whose lives answered to this ideal, who have greatly delighted in the commandments of God. And the ideal is still good and true. What God's commandments are we may interpret somewhat differently from the mediaeval Rabbi. They are not to us the commandments, be they moral, be they ritual, of a particular book. They are the moral law, which is indeed partly contained in a book, but which in its fullness is greater than any book—that moral ideal, law and aspiration in one, which is seen clearer, and realized more fully and purely, as humanity advances with painful and faltering steps in the path of progress and of enlightenment, but which exists, consummate and complete from eternity and to eternity, as the very being of God.

CHAPTER IX

THE PRAISE OF THE LAW

§ 1. *The one hundred and nineteenth Psalm: 'Beati immaculati.'*—There are two Psalms in the Psalter which might reasonably be included in the 'didactic' group, but which from their special subject and character are perhaps justifiably treated in a chapter to themselves.

They are devoted to the Law and sing its praises. The whole Psalter probably dates from a period when the Law was gradually becoming a dominant force in the religious life of Israel. The Psalter may indeed be regarded as the joint product of the Prophets and the Law. The Law is the constant condition on which the spiritual life of the Psalmist depends. But not many Psalms directly mention it; it is, as it were, taken for granted; the services of the Temple constitute a considerable proportion of its subject-matter, and without the Temple a large proportion of the Psalms would be unintelligible. Nor must we limit too precisely the meaning of the word *Law* or *Torah*, as used in the two Psalms which hymn its perfections. In the first place *Torah* has not lost its old meaning of 'teaching,' and it can be used to indicate the teaching of God as available and recorded in written words. And therefore, in the second place, *Torah* or Law need not necessarily be limited to the Pentateuch, but may include all sacred Scripture recognized and accepted as embodying the Divine Will. The Law is God's will as expressed in words.

Of the two Psalms which form the present chapter one (cxix) is the longest in the Psalter. Eight successive verses begin with the same letter of the alphabet, so that, as there are in Hebrew twenty-two letters, there are in this Psalm no less than 176 verses. It is apparently the *moral* ordinances of the Law which the Psalmist sets himself to praise. These are the 'commandments,' the 'statutes,' the 'testimonies,' the 'judgements,' the 'words,' the 'ways,' which are mentioned in almost every verse. The writer frequently

identifies himself with Israel or with the pious in Israel; sometimes again more individual references are discernible. The date of the Psalm is tolerably clear and certain. For it contains obvious 'traces of that internal struggle of growing intensity' between the Hellenists and the strict followers of the Law which preceded the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes.

The religious value of the Psalm has been variously estimated. There is little connexion of thought or sequence of ideas. There is much repetition, and the elaborate mechanism of the acrostic gives a certain stiffness and artificiality to the whole. Yet fine thoughts shine through; and beneath a formal framework and ceaseless verbal iterations, which make one think that it would have been all the same to the writer whether the alphabet contained twenty letters or a hundred, there are sometimes discernible the eager passion and the spiritual rapture of a true religious believer.

Mr. Ker in his admirable book, *The Psalms in History and Biography*, from which I have frequently quoted already, observes that Psalm cxix 'might supply of itself endless incidents, from which only some can be given.

'Mr. Spurgeon quotes two from men of different temperament. In the midst of a London season, and in the stir and turmoil of a political crisis, 1819, William Wilberforce writes in his diary: "Walked from Hyde Park Corner repeating Psalm cxix in great comfort." And again John Ruskin in *Fors Clavigera*: "It is strange that of all the pieces of the Bible which my mother taught me, that which cost me most to learn, and which was to my child's mind most repulsive, Psalm cxix, has now become, of all, the most precious to me in its overflowing and glorious passion of love for the law of God."

'There is frequent reference to the Psalm in the diary of Henry Martyn: "Found some devotion in learning a part of Psalm cxix." "In the evening grew better by reading Psalm cxix, which generally brings me into a spiritual frame of mind." "Again in a fretful frame; it was not till I learned some of Psalm cxix that I could return to a proper spirit."

'It drew to it the special admiration of Pascal, who, as his sister Madame Périer says, often spoke with such feeling about it "that he seemed transported," "*qu'il paraissait hors de lui-même.*"'

The *Four Friends* justly say of this Psalm: 'If we would fathom the depth of meaning in the written Law of Israel, if we would measure the elevation of soul, the hope, the confidence even before princes and kings, which pious Jews derived from it, we must turn to this Psalm. Here is an epitome of all true

religion as conceived by the best spirits of the time. To such a loving study and meditation on the Law, the alphabetical arrangement is not inappropriate, and if the poem be necessarily somewhat cramped, it is nevertheless pervaded by the glow of love and abounds in spiritual life.'

א ALEPH.

Happy are they whose way is blameless,
Who walk in the law of the Lord.
Happy are they that keep his testimonies,
And that seek him with their whole heart;
Who do no iniquity:
And walk in his ways.
Thou hast ordained thy precepts,
That we should keep them diligently.
O that my ways were directed
To keep thy statutes!
Then shall I not be ashamed,
When I have respect unto all thy commandments.
I will give thanks unto thee with uprightness of heart,
When I shall have learned thy righteous ordinances.
I will keep thy statutes:
O forsake me not utterly.

ב BETH.

Wherewithal shall a young man cleanse his way?
By taking heed thereto according to thy word.
With my whole heart have I sought thee:
O let me not wander from thy commandments.
Thy word have I hid in mine heart,
That I might not sin against thee.
Blessed art thou, O Lord:
Teach me thy statutes.
With my lips have I declared
All the ordinances of thy mouth.
I rejoice in the way of thy testimonies,
Above all riches.
I will meditate in thy precepts,
And have respect unto thy ways.
I will delight myself in thy statutes:
I will not forget thy word.

ג GIMEL.

Deal bountifully with thy servant, that I may live,
And keep thy word.
Open thou mine eyes, that I may behold
Wondrous things out of thy law.
I am a stranger in the earth:
Hide not thy commandments from me.
My soul is crushed with longing
For thine ordinances at all times.
Thou abhorrest the proud,
Who do err from thy commandments.
Remove from me reproach and contempt;
For I have kept thy testimonies.
Though princes sit and speak against me,
Thy servant museth on thy statutes.
Thy testimonies also are my delight,
And thy statutes my counsellors.

ד DALETH.

My soul cleaveth unto the dust:
Quicken thou me according to thy word.
I have declared my ways, and thou heardest me:
Teach me thy statutes.
Make me to understand the way of thy precepts:
So will I meditate on thy wondrous works.
My soul melteth for sorrow:
Strengthen thou me according unto thy word.
Remove from me the way of falsehood:
And be gracious unto me with thy law.
I have chosen the way of faithfulness;
Thine ordinances have I set before me.
I have stuck unto thy testimonies:
O Lord, put me not to shame.
In the way of thy commandments I take pleasure;
For thou dost enlarge my heart.

ה HE.

Teach me, O Lord, the way of thy statutes;
And I will keep it as a reward. (?)
Give me understanding, and I will keep thy law;
Yea, I will observe it with my whole heart.

Make me to go in the path of thy commandments;
For therein do I delight.
Incline my heart unto thy testimonies,
And not to covetousness.
Turn away mine eyes from beholding vanity;
And quicken thou me in thy way.
Stablish unto thy servant thy word,
Which leadeth unto thy fear.
Turn away my reproach which I fear:
For thine ordinances are good.
Behold, I long after thy precepts:
Quicken me through thy righteousness.

ו VAU.

Let thy lovingkindness come unto me, O Lord,
Even thy salvation, according to thy word.
So shall I have wherewith to answer him that reproacheth me:
For I trust wholly in thy word.
And take not the word of truth out of my mouth;
For I have hoped in thy judgements.
So shall I keep thy law continually
For ever and ever.
And I shall walk at large:
For I seek thy precepts.
And I will speak of thy testimonies before kings,
And will not be ashamed.
And I will delight myself in thy commandments,
Which I have loved.
My hands also will I lift up unto thy commandments;
And I will meditate on thy statutes.

ז ZAIN.

Remember thy word unto thy servant,
Seeing that thou hast caused me to hope.
This is my comfort in my affliction:
For thy word hath quickened me.
The proud have me greatly in derision:
Yet have I not declined from thy law.
I remember thine ordinances of old, O Lord;
And I comfort myself.

Burning zeal hath taken hold upon me because of the wicked
That forsake thy law.
Thy statutes have been my songs
In the house of my pilgrimage.
I have remembered thy name, O Lord, in the night,
And have kept thy law.
This hath been my good,
That I have kept thy precepts.

ח CHETH.

This is my portion, O Lord:
That I may keep thy words.
I intreat thy favour with my whole heart:
Be merciful unto me according to thy word.
I have thought on my ways,
And turned my feet unto thy testimonies.
I have made haste, and delayed not
To keep thy commandments.
The bands of the wicked have surrounded me:
But I have not forgotten thy law.
At midnight I will rise to give thanks unto thee
Because of thy righteous ordinances.
I am a companion of all them that fear thee,
And of them that keep thy precepts.
The earth, O Lord, is full of thy lovingkindness:
Teach me thy statutes.

ט TETH.

Thou hast dealt well with thy servant,
O Lord, according to thy word.
Teach me insight and knowledge:
For I trust in thy commandments.
Before I was afflicted I went astray:
But now I keep thy word.
Thou art good, and doest good;
Teach me thy statutes.
The proud have forged a lie against me:
But I will keep thy precepts with my whole heart.
Their heart is as fat as grease;
But I delight in thy law.

It is good for me that I have been afflicted,
That I might learn thy statutes.
The law of thy mouth is better unto me
Than thousands of gold and silver.

י JOD.

Thy hands have made me and fashioned me:
Give me understanding, that I may learn thy commandments.
Let them that fear thee be glad when they see me;
Because I have hoped in thy word.
I know, O Lord, that thy judgements are right,
And that thou in faithfulness hast afflicted me.
Let, I pray thee, thy lovingkindness be for my comfort,
According to thy word unto thy servant.
Let thy tender mercies come unto me, that I may live:
For thy law is my delight.
Let the proud be ashamed; for they oppress me without a cause:
But I will meditate on thy precepts.
Let those that fear thee turn unto me,
And they shall know thy testimonies. (?)
Let my heart be sound in thy statutes;
That I be not ashamed.

כ CAPH.

My soul fainteth for thy salvation:
I hope in thy word.
Mine eyes fail for thy word;
When wilt thou comfort me?
For I am become like a wine-skin in the smoke;
Yet do I not forget thy statutes.
How many are the days of thy servant?
When wilt thou execute judgement on them that persecute me?
The proud have digged pits for me,
Who are not after thy law.
All thy commandments are faithful:
Falsely do they persecute me; help thou me.
They had almost consumed me upon earth;
But I forsook not thy precepts.

Quicken me after thy lovingkindness;
So shall I keep the testimony of thy mouth.

ל LAMED.

Thy word, O Lord, endureth for ever;
It is fixed as the heaven.
Thy faithfulness is unto all generations:
Thou hast established the earth, and it abideth.
They continue this day according to thine ordinances:
For all are thy servants.
Unless thy law had been my delight,
I should have perished in mine affliction.
I will never forget thy precepts:
For with them thou hast kept me alive.
I am thine, save me;
For I have sought thy precepts.
The wicked have waited for me to destroy me:
But I consider thy testimonies.
I have seen an end to all perfection:
But thy commandment is exceeding broad.

מ MEM.

O how I love thy law!
It is my meditation all the day.
Thy commandment maketh me wiser than mine enemies:
For it is mine for ever.
I have more discernment than all my teachers:
For thy testimonies are my meditation.
I understand more than the aged,
Because I keep thy precepts.
I have refrained my feet from every evil way,
That I might keep thy word.
I have not departed from thy judgements:
For thou hast taught me.
How sweet are thy words unto my taste!
Yea, sweeter than honey to my mouth!
Through thy precepts I get understanding:
Therefore I hate every false way.

נ NUN.

Thy word is a lamp unto my feet,
And a light unto my path.

I have sworn, and I will perform it,
That I will keep thy righteous judgements.
I am afflicted very much:
Quicken me, O Lord, according unto thy word.
Accept, I beseech thee, the freewill offerings of my mouth, O Lord,
And teach me thine ordinances.
My life is continually in my hand:
Yet do I not forget thy law.
The wicked have laid a snare for me:
Yet have I not erred from thy precepts.
Thy testimonies have I taken as an heritage for ever:
For they are the rejoicing of my heart.
I have inclined mine heart to perform thy statutes;
Their reward endureth for ever.

ס SAMECH.

I hate the double-minded; (?)
But thy law do I love.
Thou art my hiding place and my shield:
I hope in thy word.
Depart from me, ye evildoers:
For I will keep the commandments of my God.
Uphold me according unto thy word, that I may live:
And let me not be ashamed of my hope.
Hold thou me up, and I shall be safe:
And I will have delight in thy statutes continually.
Thou rejectest all them that err from thy statutes:
For their deceit is vain.
I account all the wicked of the earth like dross:
Therefore I love thy testimonies.
My flesh shuddereth for fear of thee;
And I am afraid of thy judgements.

ע AIN.

I have done judgement and justice:
Leave me not to mine oppressors.
Be surety for thy servant for good:
Let not the proud oppress me.
Mine eyes fail for thy salvation,
And for thy righteous promise.

Deal with thy servant according to thy lovingkindness,
And teach me thy statutes.
I am thy servant; give me understanding,
That I may know thy testimonies.
It is time for thee, Lord, to work:
For they have made void thy law.
Therefore I love thy commandments
Above gold, yea, above fine gold.
Therefore I have chosen thy precepts;
And I hate every false way.

ס PE.

Thy testimonies are wonderful:
Therefore doth my soul keep them.
The unfolding of thy words giveth light; (?)
It giveth understanding unto the simple.
I open my mouth, and pant:
For I long for thy commandments.
Look thou upon me, and be merciful unto me,
As is just unto those that love thy name.
Establish my steps in thy word:
And let not any iniquity have dominion over me.
Deliver me from the oppression of man:
So will I keep thy precepts.
Make thy face to shine upon thy servant;
And teach me thy statutes.
Rivers of waters run down mine eyes,
Because they keep not thy law.

צ TZADDI.

Righteous art thou, O Lord,
And upright are thy judgements.
Thy testimonies that thou hast commanded are righteous
And very faithful.
My zeal hath consumed me,
Because mine enemies have forgotten thy words.
Thy word is very pure:
Therefore thy servant loveth it.
I am small and despised:
Yet do not I forget thy precepts.

Thy righteousness is an everlasting righteousness,
And thy law is truth.
Trouble and anguish have taken hold on me:
Thy commandments are my delight.
Thy testimonies are righteous for ever;
Give me understanding, and I shall live.

ק KOPH.

I have cried with my whole heart: hear me, O Lord,
I will keep thy statutes.
I cry unto thee: save me,
That I may keep thy testimonies.
I forestall the dawn, and cry;
I hope in thy word.
Mine eyes forestall the night watches,
That I may meditate on thy word.
Hear my voice according unto thy lovingkindness:
O Lord, quicken me according to thine ordinances.
My persecutors draw near in malice;
They are far from thy law.
Thou art near, O Lord;
And all thy commandments are truth.
Long since have I known from thy testimonies
That thou hast founded them for ever.

ר RESH.

Behold mine affliction, and deliver me:
For I do not forget thy law.
Plead my cause, and deliver me:
Quicken me according to thy word.
Salvation is far from the wicked:
For they seek not thy statutes.
Great are thy tender mercies, O Lord:
Quicken me according to thy judgements.
Many are my persecutors and mine enemies;
I have not swerved from thy testimonies.
I see the transgressors, and I loathe them,
Because they keep not thy word.
Consider how I love thy precepts:
Quicken me, O Lord, according to thy lovingkindness.

The sum of thy words is truth;
And every one of thy righteous ordinances endureth for ever.

ש SHIN.

Princes have persecuted me without a cause:
But my heart standeth in awe of thy word.
I rejoice at thy word,
As one that findeth great spoil.
I hate and abhor lying:
But thy law do I love.
Seven times a day do I praise thee
Because of thy righteous ordinances.
Great peace have they who love thy law:
And for them there is no stumbling-block.
Lord, I have hoped for thy salvation,
And done thy commandments.
My soul hath kept thy testimonies;
Yea, I have loved them exceedingly.
I have kept thy precepts and thy testimonies:
For all my ways are before thee.

ת TAU.

Let my cry come near before thee, O Lord:
Quicken me according to thy word.
Let my supplication come before thee:
Deliver me according to thy word.
My lips shall pour forth praise,
For thou teachest me thy statutes.
My tongue shall speak of thy word:
For all thy commandments are righteousness.
Let thine hand help me;
For I have chosen thy precepts.
I have longed for thy salvation, O Lord;
And thy law is my delight.
Let my soul live, and it shall praise thee;
And let thine ordinances help me.
I wander like a lost sheep; seek thy servant,
For I do not forget thy commandments.

I cannot attempt anything like a commentary on this long Psalm. Most of it happily is quite easy. Just a few verses seem to call for special remark.

(Aleph) 'Happy are they that keep his testimonies.' 'Testimonies' might perhaps better be rendered 'decrees' or 'exhortations.'

(Gimel) 'Wondrous things out of thy Law.' We may note the beginning of the Rabbinical conception that every sentence and letter of the Law was full of deep spiritual meaning, only to be discovered by prolonged investigation and divine help.

'Though princes sit and speak against me.' The writer sometimes speaks in his own person, and sometimes identifies himself (as here) with the pious community of Israel.

(Daleth) 'Quicken me according to thy word.' A constantly recurring prayer. The Psalmist, as the spokesman of faithful Israel, is outworn by the pressure of adversity. He prays for both outward and inward strengthening and revival.

(He) 'And I will keep it as a reward.' A fine thought, if the text be sound and its rendering accurate. The keeping of the Law is its own reward.

And this indeed we notice throughout the Psalm: to 'study' the Scriptures and to live the life which they enjoin—these are the highest blessings and the supremest privilege which the Psalmist knows. Outward prosperity seems desired as a proof of God's justice, as an evidence of his love which shall be patent to all the world, rather than as a good in itself to those who enjoy it. To them, both in fair days and foul, the Law with all which it implies is and ever will be the *summum bonum*, the supreme good.

(Zain) 'In the house of my pilgrimage': that is, upon the earth.

(Teth) 'Before I was afflicted.' There may be here an individual, as there is certainly a national reference. Is the allusion to the early days of the Syrian persecutions, which prevented the gradual growth of Hellenism and infused new life into Judaism? Yet the Psalm can hardly have been written so late. The highest use of sorrow is indicated in these lines. Man's noblest is evoked by suffering.

(Jod) 'In faithfulness hast thou afflicted me.' Israel needed affliction for its own spiritual regeneration. In order that the divine promises to Israel might be fully realized, the bracing influence of sorrow was needful. Hence the Psalmist realizes that the afflictions of his community, in which he too has suffered, were the outcome of God's fidelity to Israel and to himself. And the thought can easily be expanded. In this grand and simple line lies the true explanation, as we may humbly trust, of much human woe.

(Lamed) 'Unless thy Law had been my delight.' No single statement could more accurately sum up the reason how and why the Jews have been preserved through ages of persecution. One could expand that text into a long narrative. But a variant will also hold good, and we in England should remember it. 'Unless thy Law be my delight, I shall perish in my prosperity.'

The higher spiritual life prevented persecution causing either degradation or dissolution. The Jews were not only preserved by their fidelity to a religious cause, but ennobled by it. Their lives were one long voluntary sacrifice. Religion supplied to them the place of all other goods, whether spiritual or material. They had no art, no citizenship, and scarcely any science which was not merely ancillary to theology. But religion was their citizenship, their art and their science; they sharpened their wits by its study; they fed their imaginations by its hopes and visions; by its ordinances and obligations they kept their lives clean and their hearts pure and brave. Prosperity has its dangers no less than adversity; these dangers are even more corrosive and corrupting. Will religion keep us free from these? No race or community is more liable to ethical disintegration when the ennobling influence of religion is removed than the Jews. Unless religion be our stay and our delight, we shall degenerate and fall to pieces.

'An end to all perfection.' Again a notable saying, if the Hebrew words will bear the English interpretation. 'All earthly perfection has a boundary, and is therefore limited: only God's law is unlimited in its contents and its value' (Baethgen).

(Mem) 'More discernment than all my teachers.' A difficult verse. It is probably ironical, the reference being to the new Grecian 'wisdom,' which the Psalmist regards as dross compared with the fine gold of true religion. His 'enemies' are the Grecian party among the Jews, who aped the manners, the shallow wisdom and the superficial enlightenment of their Hellenized masters. 'They regarded the Law as antiquated, and preached Culture and Emancipation' (Wellhausen).

(Nun) 'My life is continually in my hand,' i.e. I am in constant danger. The speaker identifies himself with his community.

(Samech) 'The double-minded.' 'That is, sceptics or doubters. The Hebrew word (*Se'iphim*) (which should probably be pronounced *so'phim*) was perhaps chosen because of its phonetic resemblance to the Greek *Sophoi*' (wise men) (Wellhausen). 'Who are the *se'iphim*?' says the Midrash. 'They are those who reckon their religion from their sufferings, and not from love. But David (i.e. the author of the Psalm) said, I do not imitate them: not

from compulsion and not from fear, but from love [do I serve God], as it is written, But thy Law do I love.'

(Ain) 'They have made void thy Law.' The allusion apparently is to the growing number of Jews who, under Hellenistic influences, neglected the strict performance of the ritual, and sometimes also of the moral injunctions of the Law.

(Koph) 'Thou art near, O Lord.' Israel's enemies may be near, but the Psalmist knows that God is nearer. Therefore he never loses hope.

(Shin) 'Great peace have they.' No outward peace is meant, for the Psalmist speaks of persecution and enmity, but the inward peace of the soul—the peace of God. So too as to the 'stumbling-block.' It refers to the difficulties of religion: the prosperity of the wicked and the calamities of the righteous. Over these the lovers of the Law rise superior. They feel and know 'that all is well.'

(Tau) 'I wander like a lost sheep.' Israel apparently is meant, who was still scattered over many a land.

As to the tenses of the Psalm, they usually can either be translated by the present or by the perfect: e. g. either 'I love' or 'I have loved.' They signify a state of continuance, which reaches back into the past and will go on into the future.

The apparent 'self-righteousness' of the Psalm must be judged by considerations which have been already indicated. The Psalmist speaks not merely for himself, but for the true Israel, of whom he is one, which as a matter of fact did try to live according to the Law, which as a matter of fact did find in the Law its highest good, and which as a matter of fact was content, for the sake of that Law, to suffer and to die. It would be unjust to the writer to accuse him of boasting, or to suppose that he believed that he, his friends and his party, had reached the limits of moral well-being.

The frequent petitions to God for understanding and for help in order that his Law may be kept more perfectly show that the Psalmist was very far from thinking himself (or Israel) morally flawless. He asks from God more than external deliverance. If he follows after the divine word, it is that very 'word' which sheds the light by the help of which he walks. His strength and his goodness are not wholly his own; even such as they are, they are God-given.

§ 2. *The nineteenth Psalm: 'Coeli enarrant.'*—The second of the two Psalms which glorify the Law is joined on to a beautiful fragment which celebrates the glory of God in the heavens. The praise of God in nature is succeeded by the praise of God as revealed to man. Originally the two portions

of this Psalm (xix) must have been distinct; they are written in different metres, and there is no real connexion between the first part and the second. But *perhaps* one and the same man wrote the second part and prefixed the first part to it. Did he desire to supplement the praise of God's glory in nature by praising the glory of the divine law? Or was it only 'by an afterthought that the two parts of the Psalm were brought into relation, the Sun being regarded as a type of the Law of God?' The commentators aptly compare the great saying of Kant, that there were only two things which were a perpetual marvel to him: the starry heavens 'above' and the moral law 'within.'

The heavens declare the glory of God;
  And the firmament telleth his handiwork.
Day poureth forth speech unto day,
  And night proclaimeth knowledge unto night.
(There is no speech, neither are there words;
  Their voice cannot be heard.)
Their voice hath gone out through all the earth,
  And their words to the end of the world.—
  In them hath he set a tent for the sun.
And he, as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber,
  Rejoiceth, as a mighty man, to run his course.
His going forth is from one end of the heaven,
  And his circuit unto the ends of it;
  And there is nothing hid from his heat.

* * *

The Law of the Lord is perfect, reviving the soul:
  The testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple.
The statutes of the Lord are right, rejoicing the heart:
  The commandment of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes.
The Fear of the Lord is pure, enduring for ever:
  The ordinances of the Lord are true, and righteous altogether.
More to be desired are they than gold, yea, than much fine gold:
  Sweeter also than honey and the honeycomb.

Moreover by them is thy servant warned:
  And in keeping of them there is great reward.

As for errors--who can mark them?
Absolve thou me from hidden faults.
Spare thy servant from the proud:
Let them not have dominion over me:
Then shall I be blameless,
And I shall be guiltless of great transgression.
Let the words of my mouth and the meditation of my heart
be acceptable in thy sight,
O Lord, my rock and my redeemer.

'Day poureth forth speech.' The idea is that one day tells to another day what it has to say. There is a constant vocal stream of divine glory poured on from day to day and from night to night. Wellhausen, however, would interpret: 'The blue vault tells it by day, the starry heavens teach it by night.'

'There is no speech.' This, the most probable rendering of the Hebrew, would appear to mean that there is no *real* speech; the voice of the heavens, though real, is yet inarticulate. Some scholars hold that such an intimation that an obvious metaphor is not to be taken literally can only be regarded as a gloss. Might one perhaps suppose that the Psalmist meant to suggest that the teaching of the heavens could only be apprehended by the inner ear? To those whose inner ear is closed they say nothing; sun and stars are merely spots which shine or twinkle. The translation of the Authorized Version, 'There is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard,' cannot be got from the Hebrew.

'In them hath he set.' 'In them' does not refer to any of the words which precede. 'A clause seems to have fallen out which mentioned the antipodean world, the waters of the ocean where the sun spends the night' (Wellhausen).

'As a bridegroom.' So vigorous and joyful.

'The fear of the Lord.' Apparently this phrase means here *true religion*, of which the 'fear of the Lord' is the basis.

'As for errors.' The writer here alludes to any infractions of the law due to heedlessness; while 'hidden faults' are those committed in ignorance. The ritual as well as the moral law seems included.

Addison, in No. 399 of the *Spectator*, finds a fuller meaning in this verse. He regards it as a prayer against hypocrisy—'that hypocrisy by which a man does not only deceive the world, but very often imposes on himself; that hypocrisy which conceals his own heart from him, and makes him believe he is more virtuous than he really is, and either not attend to his vices, or mistakes

even his vices for virtues. It is this fatal hypocrisy and self-deceit which is taken notice of in those words: Who can understand his errors? Cleanse thou me from secret faults.'

I may here add the fine paraphrase which Addison, in a later number of the *Spectator* (465), gives of the first verses of our Psalm.

The spacious firmament on high,
With all the blue ethereal sky
And spangled heavens, a shining frame,
Their great Original proclaim:
Th' unwearied sun, from day to day,
Does his Creator's power display,
And publishes to every land
The work of an Almighty Hand.

Soon as the evening shades prevail,
The moon takes up the wondrous tale,
And nightly to the listening earth
Repeats the story of her birth:
Whilst all the stars that round her burn,
And all the planets in their turn,
Confirm the tidings as they roll;
And spread the truth from pole to pole.

What though, in solemn silence, all
Move round the dark terrestrial ball?
What though no real voice, nor sound
Amid their radiant orbs be found?
In reason's ear they all rejoice,
And utter forth a glorious voice,
For ever singing, as they shine,
'The Hand that made us is Divine.'

'The proud.' This prayer may mean that the Psalmist fears that, if the proud apostates gain the upper hand, he and his friends may become guilty of anger and revenge. Or (more probably) it may mean: If the apostates rule and set the tone, even true believers may be forced or tempted to break the law. 'The Psalmist prays to be saved from the oppression of the proud and godless, lest he should be tempted even to deny God. Cp. Psalm cxix, *Ain*; and note how often "the proud" are mentioned in that Psalm, and how the thought of faithfulness to the Law in the teeth of mockery and persecution is emphasized' (Kirkpatrick).

'Then shall I be blameless,' may mean 'Then shall I continue to be blameless,' or 'Then shall I not fall into sin.' Another interpretation explains the 'I' more strictly as Israel. So Wellhausen: 'The *Arrogant* are the heathen; the *Servant* is Israel. If the heathen bear rule, this is a proof of Israel's guilt; if the reverse be the case, Israel knows itself to be righteous before God, and *free from gross transgression*.'

There seems a certain scrupulosity in this short Psalm respecting the keeping of the law which was absent from Psalm cxix. And this undoubtedly was sometimes an evil effect of the rule of the Law that for the commoner order of minds it tended to split up goodness into separate fragments, to each of which an equal value might be assigned. Thus a mere ritual ordinance could be co-ordinated with the supreme maxims of morality. In other cases the conscience became uneasy; the possibility of 'hidden faults' harassed the soul. A man is not likely to develop a free big nature if he is over anxious; he will not become nobly good if he thinks too often whether he have stepped an inch on this side of the 'strait pathway' or on that. But, on the other hand, the Psalm shows us also the strength of the Law. Men loved it and rejoiced in it. Its rule was a rule of joy; its service was freely rendered. *In* the keeping of it there was great reward. And this was the predominant experience as well as the predominant belief of the Rabbis about the Law. They felt about the Law what Ben Sira felt about wisdom. 'Bring thy feet into her fetters, and thy neck into her chain. Put thy shoulder under her, and bear her, and be not grieved with her bonds. Come unto her with all thy soul, and keep her ways with thy whole power. Search and seek, and she shall be made known unto thee; and when thou hast got hold of her, let her not go. For at the last thou shalt find her rest; and she shall be turned for thee into gladness. And her fetters shall be to thee for a covering of strength, and her chains for a robe of glory. For there is a golden ornament upon her, and her bands are a riband of blue. Thou shalt put her on as a robe of glory, and shalt array thee with her as a crown of rejoicing.' Let none of my readers believe a word of it if they read in non-Jewish books that the Law was a burden and a bondage. That is historically false. Outsiders can only discern the fetters and the chain; but to the immense majority of those who wore them they were transfigured into the robe of glory and the crown of joy.

CHAPTER X

PSALMS OF PRAISE

§ 1. *The twenty-ninth Psalm: 'Afferte Domino.'*—My last group of Psalms is now before us. It is the group containing those Psalms which praise in various ways and for various reasons the goodness and glory of God. And among these I will place first two or three beautiful Psalms which sing the praise of God in nature, and so link on to the first part of the nineteenth Psalm with which our last group ended.

My first Psalm in this group celebrates the majesty of God as revealed in the storm. To all races thunder and lightning have seemed to be the special operation of the divine powers, but to the Psalmist the sensuous images which he applies to God are consciously metaphorical. Some scholars believe that this twenty-ninth Psalm was imitated by the writer of the ninety-sixth.

It is, however, by no means certain that the Psalm is merely a description of a storm and of the marvels of nature. It is quite possible that, like the 'accession Psalms,' the song now before us celebrates the great 'judgement' which marks the opening of the Messianic age. The storm is the prelude to the Divine Assize which is to follow. Finally, God takes his seat as supreme sovereign and judge. Israel will at last be rescued from all its troubles.

Give unto the Lord, O ye sons of God,
  Give unto the Lord glory and strength.
Give unto the Lord the glory due unto his name;
  Worship the Lord in hallowed array.

The voice of the Lord is upon the waters:
  The God of glory thundereth:
  The Lord is upon great waters.
The voice of the Lord is powerful;
  The voice of the Lord is full of majesty.

The voice of the Lord breaketh the cedars;
  Yea, the Lord breaketh the cedars of Lebanon.
He maketh them also to skip like a calf;
  Lebanon and Sirion like a wild ox in its youth.
The voice of the Lord cleaveth [the rocks];
  [The voice of the Lord sendeth forth] flames of fire.
The voice of the Lord shaketh the wilderness;
  The Lord shaketh the wilderness of Kadesh.
The voice of the Lord pierceth the oaks,
  And strippeth the forest bare:
  But in his temple every one saith: Glory!
The Lord sat enthroned at the Flood;
  Yea, the Lord sitteth as king for ever.
The Lord will give strength to his people,
  The Lord will bless his people with peace.

'Sons of God' are the angels. The thunderstorm comes up from the sea.

'Cleaveth the rocks.' Some words seem to have fallen out: those in brackets are supplied conjecturally by Wellhausen.

'The Lord sat enthroned at the Flood.' A difficult verse, which, as Professor Cheyne has shown, is capable of four different translations. As rendered above, the meaning must be, God showed or revealed his kingship at the Flood, and God has continued and will continue his kingship from then till now, and for all time to come. But the whole reference to the story of the Flood is very sudden and inappropriate. Professor Cheyne thinks the Hebrew word *mabul* can be here translated 'storm,' and translates: 'At the storm the Lord sat enthroned; the Lord is enthroned as king for ever'; and Professor Wellhausen, who adopts the idea of the grand assize, renders: 'The Lord has taken his judgement-seat to bring on a deluge, and as king he is throned to all eternity.'

'The Lord will bless his people with peace.' After a storm comes the calm: true in 'nature' and true in human life and experience. The storm may even give birth to peace: it may, as we say, 'clear the air'; and the greater the storm, the greater the peace. And the storm may strengthen. It may give knowledge. We may learn to 'know the Lord' through tempest; to render to the Divine Ruler the 'glory due unto his name.'

§ 2. *The eighth Psalm: 'Domine, Dominus noster.'*—With Psalms xix and xxix the commentators frequently associate Psalm viii, which connects nature with man. To the vastness and majesty of nature such a frail creature as man would seem

to stand in contrast. And yet it has pleased God that man should be even more wonderful than the greatest works of God's hands. And the Psalmist finds in man as the ruler of earth, a further theme in which to celebrate the divine glory. Man is God's best witness and praise. His greatness, not his smallness, testifies to the divine majesty. The Psalmist's point of view should be compared with an opposite conception in the Book of Job, where the hero seems to quote or parody the very words of our Psalmist (p. 137).

O Lord, our Lord,
How glorious is thy name in all the earth!
. . . thy glory upon the heavens.
Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou founded a power
Because of thine enemies.
That thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger.

When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers,
The moon and the stars, which thou hast established,
What is man, that thou art mindful of him,
And the son of man, that thou watchest over him?
For thou hast made him little lower than the angels,
And hast crowned him with glory and honour.

Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of thy hands;
Thou hast put all things under his feet:
All sheep and oxen,
Yea, and the beasts of the field;
The birds of the air, and the fish of the sea,
Which pass through the paths of the seas.
O Lord, our Lord,
How glorious is thy name in all the earth!

The Hebrew in the third line is partly untranslatable.

'Out of the mouth,' &c. A most obscure verse. Are the babes real babes or a metaphor (as Professor Cheyne thinks) for 'poor and humble believers'? Israel's praises are an adequate bulwark against the enemy. This seems very dubious; not less so the view that the glory of God is revealed by the inarticulate speech of infants, which is in itself a confutation of those who would deny God. Such a thought seems totally out of place in this

connexion. A baby, with all the promise and potency of manhood or womanhood concealed within it, is indeed a divine marvel, but a clearer expression of such a thought would be necessary when so suddenly introduced. Baethgen would partly combine both interpretations. 'If Israel, and even the youngest and smallest in Israel, proclaim God's praise, this will serve to put an end to paganism which has not yet acknowledged God's glory. Even the heathen will at last not be able to resist the impression of this glory, so revealed to them.' Wellhausen's note runs: 'The continued adoration of God is ensured by the next generation. Enemies trouble themselves in vain.'

Compare with this Psalm the praise of man that falls from the lips of Hamlet: 'What a piece of work is a man! how noble in reason! how infinite in faculty! in form and moving how express and admirable! in action how like an angel! in apprehension how like a god! the beauty of the world! the paragon of animals!'

The greatness of man is truer than his littleness. For is he not endowed with reason, and capable through reason of knowledge, of beauty and of love?

§ 3. *The one hundred and third Psalm.*—The greatest of the 'Nature Psalms' is the one hundred and fourth. But it cannot be separated from its immediate predecessor, for the two form part of a 'great hymn to providence,' in the first division of which 'the author speaks in the name of Israel, in the second, in that of the world' (Cheyne). Both Psalms have already been quoted in Part I. But they, no less than the few others to be also found there, well deserve repetition. I place Psalm ciii first. It is sometimes argued that the verbs in the first stanza, and the corresponding ones in the second and third, should be rendered in the perfect instead of in the present, and interpreted as referring to some special national deliverance (e.g. the return from Babylon). But more probably the thought is general. Professor Wellhausen says: 'This Psalm does not owe its origin to any particular historical occurrence, but it has an historic background. It is full of thanksgiving for the forgiveness of iniquity, that is, for the deliverance of the community out of great peril, for the renewal of youth in the time of old age.' We are able to give to this exquisite Psalm a meaning still more universal, and to interpret it almost exclusively of the inward or spiritual life of all mankind.

Bless the Lord, O my soul:
And all that is within me, bless his holy name.

Bless the Lord, O my soul,
And forget not all his benefits:
Who forgiveth all thine iniquities;
Who healeth all thy diseases;
Who redeemeth thy life from the pit,
Who crowneth thee with lovingkindness and tender mercies;
Who satisfieth thy desire with good things;
So that thy youth is renewed like the eagle's.

The Lord executeth righteousness
And judgement for all that are oppressed.
He made known his ways unto Moses,
His acts unto the children of Israel.
The Lord is merciful and gracious,
Slow to anger, and plenteous in lovingkindness.
He will not always chide:
Neither will he keep his anger for ever.
He doth not deal with us after our sins;
Nor requite us according to our iniquities.

For as the heaven is high above the earth,
So great is his mercy toward them that fear him.
As far as the east is from the west,
So far doth he remove our transgressions from us.
Like as a father pitieth his children,
So the Lord pitieth them that fear him.
For he knoweth our frame;
He remembereth that we are dust.
As for man, his days are as grass:
As a flower of the field, so he blossometh.
When the wind passeth over it—it is gone;
And the place thereof shall know it no more.
But the lovingkindness of the Lord is from everlasting to everlasting,
And his righteousness unto children's children;
To such as keep his covenant,
And to those that remember his commandments to do them.

The Lord hath prepared his throne in the heavens;
And his kingdom ruleth over all.

Bless the Lord, ye his angels,
  Ye mighty in strength, that do his word.
Bless ye the Lord, all ye his hosts;
  Ye ministers of his, that do his pleasure.
Bless the Lord, all his works
  In all places of his dominion:
  Bless the Lord, O my soul.

'So that thy youth is renewed like the eagle's.' The Hebrew word translated *eagle* is *nesher*, and it seems that the bird is not strictly an eagle at all, but is the Griffon or Great Vulture (*Gyps fulvus*). The verse is commonly explained 'as an allusion to the popular belief of the ancients that the eagle moults in his old age, and renews his feathers' (Cheyne). But Dr. Tristram in his interesting book, *The Natural History of the Bible*, believes that it merely refers to the creature's longevity. In either case there seems a contrast between what is here said, and the description of man's frailty and shortlivedness in stanza three. The explanation must, I suppose, be that in the first stanza the Psalmist is thinking of Israel as a community, which springs up after trouble and calamity to fresh life and vigour, while in the third stanza he is referring to the individuals of whom Israel or any other community is composed. These pass quickly away; the nation abides; it works out the mission which God has given it to accomplish.

§ 4. *The one hundred and fourth Psalm.*—And now follows the magnificent praise of God as the Creator of Nature and as the Spirit who sustains it.

Bless the Lord, O my soul.
  O Lord my God, thou art very great;
  Thou art clothed with splendour and majesty.
He covereth himself with light as with a garment:
  He stretcheth out the heavens like a curtain:
He layeth the beams of his upper chambers in the waters:
  He maketh the clouds his chariot:
  He walketh upon the wings of the wind:
He maketh winds his messengers;
  Flaming fire his ministers.

He set the earth upon its foundations,
  That it should not be moved for ever.
Thou didst cover it with the deep as with a garment:
  The waters stood above the mountains.

At thy rebuke they fled;
At the voice of thy thunder they hasted away—
The mountains rose, the valleys sank—
Unto the place which thou hadst founded for them.
Thou didst set a bound that they might not pass over,
Nor turn again to cover the earth.

He sendeth forth springs into the valleys;
They run between the hills.
They give drink to every beast of the field;
The wild asses quench their thirst.
The trees of the Lord are satisfied;
The cedars of Lebanon which he hath planted.
Where the birds make their nests,
The stork, whose house is in the fir trees.
Upon them dwell the birds of the heaven,
They sing among the branches.

The high hills are for the wild goats,
The rocks are a refuge for the conies.
He watereth the hills from his upper chambers,
The earth is satisfied with the fruit of thy works.
He causeth grass to sprout for the cattle,
And herb for the service of man,
That he may bring forth bread from the earth;
And wine that maketh glad his heart,
And oil to make his face to shine,
And bread to strengthen his heart.

He appointed the moon for seasons;
He causeth the sun to know its going down.
Thou makest darkness, and it is night,
Wherein all the beasts of the forest do roam.
The young lions roar after their prey,
And seek their food from God.
The sun riseth, they go back,
And lay them down in their dens.
Man goeth forth unto his work,
And to his labour unto the evening.

How manifold are thy works, O Lord!
In wisdom hast thou made them all:
The earth is full of thy creatures.

There is the sea, so great and wide and broad,
  Therein are things moving innumerable,
  Living creatures, both small and great.
There go the ships,
  There is Leviathan whom thou hast formed to play therein.
These wait all upon thee,
  That thou mayest give them their food in due season.
Thou givest them—they gather;
  Thou openest thine hand—they are filled with good;
Thou hidest thy face—they are troubled,
  Thou gatherest in their breath—they die,
  And turn again to their dust.
Thou sendest forth thy breath, they are created,
  And thou renewest the face of the earth.

May the glory of the Lord endure for ever;
  May the Lord rejoice in his works!
Who looketh on the earth, and it trembleth,
  Who toucheth the mountains, and they smoke!
I will sing unto the Lord as long as I live,
  I will make melody to my God while I have my being.
May the sinners be consumed out of the earth,
  And may the wicked be no more.
  Bless thou the Lord, O my soul.

Parts of the Psalm should be compared with the account of creation in the first chapter of Genesis (Part I, p. 559).

In the second stanza the poet conceives the earth formed and fashioned, but still covered with primaeval waters. As the waters subsided, the mountains appeared above them, and the valleys seemed to sink. The line ('the mountains rose, the valleys sank') is parenthetical.

My friend Mr. Burkitt has suggested an ingenious emendation and correction in this passage of the Psalm which he has allowed me to mention here. He points out that, in accordance with the description in the first chapter of Genesis, a current notion of creation was that the earth was originally covered with waters (the primaeval 'deep'). These waters were partly driven by God into the ocean, and partly pent up above the firmament. Therefore the divine work of creation was not to cover the earth with the deep, but precisely the reverse. Hence, by a small emendation of one Hebrew word, Mr. Burkitt renders:—

He founded earth on its bases,
It shall not be shaken for ever and ever.
The deep as a garment covered it up,
The waters stood upon the mountains.
At thy rebuke they fled;
At the voice of thy thunder they hastened away;
They went up mountains, they went down valleys,
To whatever place thou hast founded for them.

The last distich would then mean that some of the waters rushed up from below, up and beyond the mountain-tops into the sky ('the waters above the firmament'), while others were driven off into the sea.

'Cony' is an old word for rabbit. (It is the same word as the Latin *Cuniculus*, or the German *Kaninchen*.) But the animal meant in the Hebrew is not really a rabbit at all. It does not burrow, but lives in crannies or holes. It is allied to the rhinoceros, but is like a rabbit in size and appearance. The Latin name is *Hierax Syriacus*; it has been called in English the *rock badger*. 'Herbs' 'include all vegetable foods, which, as in the first chapter of Genesis, are regarded as the natural food of the human race. Corn, wine, and oil are the three great products of the soil of Palestine.' 'Service' means 'use.'

In the last stanza the poet remembers that there is one glaring disharmony in God's beautiful world: it is the sinner and his sin. The Psalmist has no philosophical theory or explanation of sin; he only realizes that it is a blot upon the earth. But the sinners whom he has in his mind are presumably the external foes of Israel, and the apostates or indifferentists within the pale. A touch of human anger mingles with his prayer. Contrast the Talmudic story quoted in Part I, p. 601. To the Psalmist the lovingkindness of the Lord is limited to those who keep his covenant, and we ourselves are far from believing that there is not a necessary difference between the good and the bad, whether in this life or in another. The supremest bliss can surely only be known unto the good, whether on earth or beyond the grave. But who is wholly good, and who is wholly bad, and is there not hope for the vilest and the worst? Had you or I been born of evil parents and grown up in vile environment, might we not have turned out as bad? Not merely or mostly for those who do his commandments, or rather not for them *in so far as* they do his commandments (for who does them all or always?), are God's lovingkindness and pity required. Nay, it is the sinner and the outcast who may claim them. The prayer, 'may the sinners be consumed,' is in contradiction to the statement: 'Who forgiveth all thine iniquities,' for assuredly we are sinners all. And the statement,

'Who forgiveth all thine iniquities,' is to be thus interpreted: at last he will purify thy soul.

'I will sing unto the Lord as long as I live.' Compare the striking close of the striking chapter of Epictetus on Providence (Arrian's *Discourses of Epictetus*, I. xvi): 'If I were a nightingale, I would do the work of a nightingale; if I were a swan, I would do like a swan. But now I am a rational creature, and I ought to praise God: this is my work; I do it, nor will I desert this post, so long as I am allowed to keep it; and I exhort you to join in this same song.'

§ 5. *The sixty-fifth Psalm: 'Te decet hymnus.'*—The following Psalm (lxv) has been placed in this group mainly because of its concluding stanzas. It might equally well have been placed among the Psalms of thanksgiving. But thanksgiving and praise run into each other. Professor Cheyne describes our Psalm as 'a song of praise, composed in the spring, when the "pastures" were already green, the "meadows" clothed with flocks, and the "valleys" covered with swelling corn. Not long before, a great national deliverance (from one of the troubles that befell Judah, say, under Artaxerxes I, 465–425) had probably occurred, but this is not directly mentioned. The most prominent blessings in the mind of the Psalmist are the early and the latter rain.'

Praise is meet for thee, O God, in Zion:
And unto thee let the vow be performed.
O thou that hearest prayer,
Unto thee may all flesh come.

Iniquities prevail against us:
Our transgressions thou wilt purge away.
Happy is the man whom thou choosest,
And causest to approach unto thee, that he may dwell in thy courts:
That we may be satisfied with the goodness of thy house,
Even of thy holy temple.

By terrible things in righteousness dost thou answer us,
O God of our salvation;
Who art the confidence of all the ends of the earth,
And of the islands that are afar;
Who by his strength setteth fast the mountains,
Being girded with power;
Who stilleth the roaring of the seas,
The roaring of their waves, and the tumult of the peoples;

So that they who dwell in the uttermost parts are afraid at thy tokens:
Thou makest the risings of the morning and evening to rejoice.

Thou hast visited the earth, and watered it;
Thou hast greatly enriched it:
With the river of God, which is full of water,
Thou hast prepared them corn.
Thou hast watered the furrows thereof abundantly;
Thou crushest its clods;
Thou hast made it soft with showers;
Thou hast blessed the sprouting thereof.
Thou hast crowned the year of thy goodness;
And thy paths drop with fatness.
Yea, the pastures of the prairie do drop;
And the hills gird themselves with joy,
The meadows are clothed with flocks;
And the valleys are covered over with corn;
They shout for joy, they also sing.

'Iniquities prevail.' A very obscure verse. The tenses are uncertain. If to translate by the present be right, does it mean: Of themselves and in their own weight, our iniquities would be too heavy for us to get rid of. It is thou, O God, who must cancel them, and remit the punishment which is their due. Or should we translate, 'had prevailed,' and 'thou purgest,' or 'hast purged'? And is the meaning then: Our iniquities caused our calamities, but thou hast delivered us of these, and this deliverance betokens the forgiveness of our sins?

'Thy courts.' 'By the "temple" and its "courts" the Psalmist means not merely the temple in Zion, but also that spiritual temple of which the Psalmist had conceived the idea while using to the full the means of grace provided for him in the visible sanctuary. On the other hand, by the "goodness" (i.e. the good things) of God's house, he cannot mean in any degree the meats of the sacrificial feasts; he refers to the blessings common to all the true Israel, as well those of the material as those of the spiritual order' (Cheyne).

'Who art the confidence.' 'The wonderful history of Israel (such is the faith of the Psalmist) has impressed, or is sure to impress, the nations outside first with fear, and then with confidence' (Cheyne).

'Setteth fast the mountains.' 'The God of nature and the God of history are one. There may be also a secondary symbolic reference, the mountains suggesting the colossal power, and the seas the restless character of the world-empires which so often troubled Israel' (Cheyne).

'The river of God.' A mythic survival. The rain was supposed to come from a heavenly ocean or river beyond the sky.

'The year of thy goodness.' 'The fruitful rain promises a rich harvest. Hence the year may already be called a year of God's goodness' (Baethgen).

The Midrash on this Psalm has some pretty thoughts. On the verse, 'Unto thee may all flesh come,' it observes: 'A king of flesh and blood can listen to two or three persons at once but not to everybody, but the Holy One, even though all flesh prays at once, hearkens to the prayer of each. The ear of flesh and blood becomes satiated with hearing, and the eye becomes satiated with seeing, but the eye of the Holy One is never sated of seeing, nor is his ear sated of hearing.' And on the verse, 'By terrible things in righteousness dost thou answer us,' the Midrash has a quaint discussion on the difference between prayer and repentance. One Rabbi says: 'The gates of prayer are sometimes open and sometimes shut, but the gates of repentance are always open. As the sea is never shut, but every one who wishes to bathe in it can bathe therein at any hour according to his will, so is it also with repentance. At all times when a man repents, the Holy One accepts his repentance, but for prayer there are fixed seasons and times.' But other Rabbis say: 'The gates of prayer are never shut likewise.'

§ 6. *The thirty-sixth Psalm.*—Perhaps the noblest and most spiritual praise of God in the whole Psalter is contained in a portion of Psalm xxxvi. The verses which now precede it, here omitted, may originally not have formed a part of the Psalm. Anyway, one is glad to have these five verses by themselves. I have also omitted the last three verses of the Psalm.

Thy lovingkindness, O Lord, is unto the heavens;
  And thy faithfulness reacheth unto the skies.
Thy righteousness is like the mountains of God;
  Thy judgements are like the great deep:
  Man and beast thou savest, O Lord.

How precious is thy lovingkindness, O God!
  The children of men take refuge under the shadow of
    thy wings.

They feast upon the fatness of thy house;
And thou makest them drink of the river of thy pleasures.
For with thee is the fountain of life:
Through thy light we see light.

It is a dragging down of the Psalmist's spirituality to suppose that he is here thinking of the material Temple with its sacrifices and peace-offerings. The fatness and the river are just as purely metaphorical as the fountain and the light. Suggested by existing ritual and vanished mythology, they refer solely to the spiritual and the unseen. I do not think that we should seek to explain too definitely the precise meaning of the final phrase of rapture: 'Through (or "in") thy light we see light.' Let us be careful lest an explanation in prose becomes prosaic. Could the poet have given a prosy paraphrase of his feeling? Such explanations are apt, as Mr. Casaubon said of motives, 'to become feeble in the utterance: the aroma is mixed with the grosser air.' It is better that each one of us should attempt to realize the meaning himself, to prove the statement's truth by feeling it. He who lives the life of righteousness and humility, with the love of God and man as its motive, will find the fullest truth in the Psalmist's words. When ordinary and average people are at their best, they will best appreciate them. God is the light of all our seeing; the saintly life reveals him most clearly, is most conscious of his presence and his grace.

§ 7. *The ninety-second Psalm: 'Bonum est confiteri.'*—The next Psalm of praise (xcii) is very familiar to us from its use in the Sabbath liturgy. That use is very old, as we may gather from the title, 'A song for the Sabbath day.' Israel is the speaker. The ethical teaching is not wholly satisfactory. The pious believers look with satisfied desire upon the overthrow of their foes. As the enemies of Israel were supposed to be the enemies of God, the triumph seemed religiously justified, but, as we know, this very justification was a hindrance to the doctrines of God's universal fatherhood and the fraternity of man.

It is a good thing to give thanks unto the Lord,
And to sing praises unto thy name, O most High:
To shew forth thy lovingkindness in the morning,
And thy faithfulness every night,
Upon an instrument of ten strings, and upon the harp;
Upon the sounding strings of the lyre.

For thou, Lord, hast made me glad through thy work:
I will triumph in the works of thy hands.
O Lord, how great are thy works!
And thy thoughts are very deep.
A brutish man knoweth not;
Neither doth a fool understand this:
When the wicked sprout as the grass,
And when all the workers of iniquity blossom,
It is that they may be destroyed for ever.

But thou, O Lord, art on high for evermore.
For, lo, thine enemies, O Lord,
For, lo, thine enemies shall perish;
All the workers of iniquity shall be scattered.
But my horn thou exaltest like the horn of a wild-ox;
I am anointed with fresh oil.
Mine eye also hath beheld (its desire) upon mine enemies,
And mine ears have heard (of the fall of) those that rose up against me.

The righteous shall flourish like the palm tree:
He shall grow like a cedar in Lebanon.
Planted in the house of the Lord,
They shall flourish in the courts of our God.
They shall still bring forth fruit in old age;
They shall be full of sap and green;
To declare that the Lord is upright:
My rock, in whom there is no unrighteousness.

With many other scholars Professor Wellhausen regards the Psalm as the 'opening hymn' to the accession Psalms to which we have already listened.

'They (the righteous) shall still bring forth fruit in old age.' According to Professor Wellhausen this refers to 'Israel, which, at the very time when it seemed to be falling into decay, under Greek dominion, entered upon a second spring-tide, more glorious and important than its first under David.' If this interpretation be correct, the Psalm is Maccabean, and the 'prelude' would be later than the Psalms to which it is now prefixed. But it is quite as likely that the deliverance alluded to in the Psalm may be an earlier one. Again, 'a single great national mercy may be intended, or possibly a series of experiences' (Cheyne).

In our use of this Psalm we must change, like Beruria, the

sinners into sin, and the wicked into wickedness. Every triumph of righteousness is a sign of God. And because there is such a thing as righteousness, therefore God must be. And if God is, righteousness must prevail.

'That God, which ever lives and loves,
One God, one law, one element,
And one far-off divine event,
To which the whole creation moves.'

§ 8. *The one hundred and thirty-ninth Psalm.*—The following Psalm (cxxxix) is one of the greatest in the Psalter. 'This Psalm is very glorious,' says Ibn Ezra, the great Jewish commentator and philosopher of the twelfth century; 'in these five books there is none like it.' Its subject is the omniscience and omnipresence of God, which at first and in contrast with his own limited knowledge is an almost terrifying thought to the Psalmist, but which at the end he appears to realize as the condition and the source of that inward support and illumination which God alone can give.

The noble grandeur and deep thought of this Psalm have been praised by many writers both ancient and modern. I will quote the comments of the *Four Friends*. 'No human pen or tongue has ever expressed more vividly or more profoundly the idea of the omnipresence of God. In all places, in all time, man is beset and encompassed by God; in him we live and move and have our being; our every thought is guided, our every thought controlled. But the thought produces no sense of oppression, no desire to escape from the eye of God. On the contrary, all is light and liberty. There is an undertone of bright acquiescence; an instinctive recognition by man's spirit of the inevitable control of the kindred Spirit of God, in whose likeness his own spirit was made. This calm satisfaction in the presence of God makes the whole Psalm one of the greatest lessons of life for all time. By its teaching we learn that it is only by rejoicing in that presence, by resting lovingly on that love, by clinging with childlike affection to the fatherly arms which surround us in life, which "ordered our days when as yet there was none of them,"—that man can fulfil the end of his being.'

Between the third and fourth stanzas there is in the original an outburst of hostility against the 'wicked,' Israel's enemies and God's. The four verses containing this outburst I have here omitted. Not that they are without connexion with the rest of the Psalm. It is no mere vulgar hatred of personal enemies that we find in this or indeed in any other portion of the Psalter. The

'enemies' are hated because, rightly or wrongly, they are supposed to be wicked, not merely because they are enemies. Hence the *Four Friends* are not unjustified when they proceed to say: 'This sense of the close dependence of man upon God and the possibility of close communion between the human and the divine spirit produces in the Psalmist the feeling which it always arouses when it breaks in all its fulness upon the soul. Evil in the soul and in the world around is felt to be appalling and intolerable. The mystery of iniquity becomes more and more unintelligible. What fellowship can there be between light and darkness? Surely God will "put on the garments of vengeance for clothing, and be clad with zeal as a cloak; according to their deeds will he repay them, fury to his adversaries and recompence to his enemies" (Isa. lix. 17, 18). Thus the apparently unconnected outburst at the close of the Psalm is seen to be in necessary connexion with the preceding meditation on God's ways. For desire for the reformation of the world and for the sanctification of the spirit, the longing to see the world verily the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and to be ourselves perfect even as our Father in heaven is perfect, is the necessary result in every man of a real conviction of God's presence in the world and in the soul.'

O Lord, thou hast searched me, and knowest me.
Thou knowest my downsitting and mine uprising,
  Thou understandeth my thought afar off.
Thou siftest my path and my lying down,
  And art familiar with all my ways.
For before a word is on my tongue,
  Lo, thou, O Lord, knowest it altogether.
Thou hast beset me behind and before,
  And laid thine hand upon me.
Such knowledge is too wonderful for me;
  It is too high; I cannot attain unto it.

Whither shall I go from thy spirit?
  Or whither shall I flee from thy presence?
If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there:
  If I make Sheol my bed, behold, thou art there.
If I should take the wings of the morning,
  And alight in the uppermost parts of the sea;
Even there would thy hand lead me,
  And thy right hand would hold me.
If I say, Let the darkness cover me,
  And night be the light about me:

Yet even darkness is not too dark for thee;
But the night shineth as the day;
The darkness is even as the light.

I give thanks unto thee, for thou art fearfully wonderful:
Marvellous are thy works;
And that my soul knoweth right well.
For thou didst form my reins:
Thou didst weave me together.
My bones were not hid from thee,
When I was made in secret,
And curiously wrought in the deeps of the earth.
Thine eyes did see my shapeless mass;
And in thy book all my days were written,
Even the days which were fashioned already,
When as yet there was none of them. (?)

How hard are thy thoughts unto me, O God!
How great is the sum of them!
If I would count them, they are more in number than the sand:
When I awake, I am still with thee.

Search me, O God, and know my heart,
Try me, and know my thoughts:
And see if there be any way of pain in me,
And lead me in a way everlasting.

'Thou hast beset me' (more literally, 'Thou hast shut me in'). Man is wholly within the purview and cognizance of God. He cannot do or think anything which God does not know.

'Such knowledge.' To understand this divine omniscience is too hard for me. It is by man inconceivable in its methods and operation.

'If I ascend up into heaven.' There is a curious phraseological parallel in Plato, perhaps, as Professor Cheyne observes, the Psalmist's contemporary. It is in a passage in the *Laws*, where Plato, in a semi-mythological manner, is speaking of the inevitable 'reward' or 'punishment' of the soul after the life on earth. 'If you say:—I am small and will creep into the depths of the earth, or I am high and will fly up to heaven, you are not so small or so high but that you shall pay the fitting penalty, either here or in the world below, or in some still more savage place whither you shall be conveyed.'

'And in thy book,' &c. A very obscure verse. The text is probably corrupt or incomplete, and the translation is most uncertain. The rendering adopted would mean that to God (for whom past, present and future are needless distinctions) the Psalmist's days were already foreknown, even before his birth.

'How hard are thy thoughts unto me!' Does this mean: Whereas God knows all man's thoughts and counsels, the purposes of God are mysterious and unknowable to man? Their complexity is no less crushing than their obvious unlimitedness in number. But many commentators take 'unto me' in close connexion with the adjective 'hard.' 'How weighty and mysterious are all thy purposes and thoughts in regard to me.' The divine purpose, even in respect to one single individual, is full of complexity. But in view of the strong expression 'more in number than the sand,' the other interpretation, according to which the Psalmist is referring to the incomprehensibility and infinitude of the divine thoughts as a whole or in general, seems easier and preferable.

'When I awake.' Apparently this means that the Psalmist fell asleep thinking about God and awoke with the same thoughts in his mind. But the text is very doubtful.

'Search me.' Finally, then, the Psalmist asks God to do what at the beginning he had asserted that God always does. He will trust in God completely. Nay more, he will ask for his help. For God's help is needed in order that the Psalmist may stand the test. The 'way of pain' is contrasted with the 'way everlasting.' The one means conduct which leads to suffering and death; the other means that course of action which maintains him who pursues it in life. A life after death is not alluded to, but both the thought and the wording show that men's minds were moving forward towards that larger hope.

§ 9. *Psalm one hundred and forty-five.*—The next hymn of praise, familiar to us from its prominent place in our liturgy, is an alphabetical Psalm, though one letter is wanting in the Hebrew (cxlv).

I will extol thee, my God, O king;
And I will bless thy name for ever and ever.
Every day will I bless thee;
And I will praise thy name for ever and ever.
Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised;
And his greatness is unsearchable.

One generation shall praise thy works to another,
And shall declare thy mighty acts.
They shall speak of the glorious honour of thy majesty,
And I will descant on thy wondrous works.
They shall speak of the might of thy terrible acts:
And I will declare thy greatness.
They shall abundantly utter the memory of thy great goodness,
And shall sing of thy righteousness.

The Lord is gracious, and full of compassion;
Slow to anger, and of great lovingkindness.
The Lord is good to all:
And his tender mercies are over all his works.
All thy works shall give thanks unto thee, O Lord;
And thy loving ones shall bless thee.
They shall speak of the glory of thy kingdom
And talk of thy power;
To make known to the sons of men thy mighty acts,
And the glorious majesty of thy kingdom.
Thy kingdom is an everlasting kingdom,
And thy dominion endureth throughout all generations.

The Lord upholdeth all that fall,
And raiseth up all those that are bowed down.
The eyes of all wait upon thee;
And thou givest them their food in due season.
Thou openest thine hand,
And satisfiest every living thing with favour.
The Lord is righteous in all his ways,
And holy in all his works.
The Lord is nigh unto all them that call upon him,
To all that call upon him in truth.
He will fulfil the desire of them that fear him:
He will hear their cry, and will save them.
The Lord preserveth all them that love him:
But all the wicked will he destroy.
My mouth shall speak the praise of the Lord:
And let all flesh bless his holy name for ever and ever.

This Psalm sums up the prevailing doctrine of the Psalmists and of Judaism about God. It is perfectly simple and straightforward;

given a belief in a 'personal' God, it is suited alike for the philosopher and the child. The only point we should desire to emend would be the penultimate verse, for our prayer and our hope are that there is no human wickedness which separates from God for ever. We believe in the ultimate purification of the wicked and not in his final and absolute annihilation. Perhaps too it might be added that though we know that many human beings have perished from want, yet none the less do we believe in the goodness of God. Human love and human goodness are no phantasm, no mirage, no unreality; their earthly antecedents cannot fully explain them, and still less can they explain them away. One thing alone is their true and sufficing explanation—an ultimate and eternal goodness, an ultimate and eternal love. And these are God.

§ 10. *The thirty-third Psalm: 'Exultate, justi.'*—The next Psalm (xxxiii) comes from the first collection, but has affinities with one at least of the five grand 'Hallelujah' hymns which conclude the Psalter. Therefore I have placed it immediately before them. A great deliverance has recently been wrought for Israel (so that the Psalm of praise is also a Psalm of thanksgiving). Is it the return from Babylon or, as Professor Cheyne thinks, a triumph of Maccabean heroes?

Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous:
For praise is comely for the upright.
Give thanks unto the Lord with the lyre;
Make melody unto him with the ten-stringed harp.
Sing unto him a new song;
Play skilfully with a loud noise.

For the word of the Lord is right;
And all his works are done in faithfulness.
He loveth righteousness and justice;
The earth is full of the goodness of the Lord.
By the word of the Lord were the heavens made;
And all the host of them by the breath of his mouth.
He gathereth the waters of the sea together as in a bottle;
He layeth up the floods in store-rooms.
Let all the earth fear the Lord:
Let all the inhabitants of the world stand in awe of him.
For he spake, and it was;
He commanded, and there it stood.

The Lord hath brought the purpose of the nations to nought:
He hath frustrated the devices of the peoples.
The purpose of the Lord standeth for ever,
The thoughts of his heart to all generations.
Happy is the nation whose God is the Lord;
And the people whom he hath chosen for his own inheritance.
The Lord looketh from heaven;
He beholdeth all the sons of men.
From the place of his habitation he looketh
Upon all the inhabitants of the earth:
He who fashioneth their hearts alike;
Who giveth heed to all their works.

A king is not saved by the multitude of an host:
A mighty man is not delivered by much strength.
An horse is a vain thing for safety:
Neither shall he deliver any by his great strength.
Behold, the eye of the Lord is upon them that fear him,
Upon them that hope for his lovingkindness;
To deliver their soul from death,
And to keep them alive in famine.
Our soul waiteth for the Lord:
He is our help and our shield.
For our heart shall rejoice in him,
Because we have trusted in his holy name.
Let thy lovingkindness, O Lord, be upon us,
According as we hope in thee.

'Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous.' This verse is put to very noble use in a striking passage in the Sifra, an old Midrashic commentary upon the Book of Leviticus. It says in that book, 'Ye shall keep my statutes and my judgements; which if *a man* do he shall live in them.' The Sifra goes on to observe: 'Rabbi Jeremiah says, Wouldest thou know whence we may infer that a heathen who does (i.e. follows) the Law is equal to the High Priest? Because it says, "which if *a man* do he shall live in them." And it does not say, "This is the law of the Priests or the law of the Levites or the law of Israel"; but it says, "This is the law of *man*, O Lord God" (playing upon 2 Sam. vii. 19). And it does not say, "Open ye the gates, that the Priests and Levites and Israelites may enter in"; but it says, "Open ye the gates, that

the righteous heathen may enter in" (Isa. xxvi. 2). And it does not say, "This is the gate of the Lord, the Priests and Levites and Israelites shall enter therein"; but it says, "This is the gate of the Lord, the righteous shall enter therein." And it does not say, "Rejoice, ye priests and Levites and Israelites in the Lord"; but it says, "Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous." And it does not say, "Do good, O Lord, to the Priests, to the Levites and to the Israelites"; but it says, "Do good, O Lord, unto *the good*" (Ps. cxxv. 4). Hence we may know that even a heathen who does the Law is equal to the High Priest.' I owe this passage to Professor Lazarus' new and interesting book, *Die Ethik des Judenthums.*

§ 11. *The one hundred and forty-sixth Psalm: 'Lauda, anima mea.'*—We come now to the last five Psalms of this my last group, which are also the last five Psalms in the Psalter (cxlvi–cl). They form a little group by themselves, and were probably written at one and the same period. The very reminiscences and borrowings which these Psalms contain from other hymns, themselves not among the oldest, point to this period being a late one in the history of Israel. Many scholars believe that they were written to commemorate glorious episodes in the story of the Maccabees. Note how in the first of these Psalms (cxlvi) the special 'mercy' which prompted the singer is nobly generalized in his song.

Praise ye the Lord.
Praise the Lord, O my soul.
While I live I will praise the Lord:
I will sing praises unto my God while I have my being.
Put not your trust in princes,
Nor in the son of man, in whom there is no help.
His breath goeth forth, he returneth to his earth;
In that very day his thoughts perish.

Happy is he that hath the God of Jacob for his help,
Whose hope is in the Lord his God:
Who made heaven, and earth,
The sea, and all that therein is:
Who keepeth truth for ever:
Who executeth judgement for the oppressed:
Who giveth food to the hungry.
The Lord looseth the prisoners;
The Lord openeth the eyes of the blind.

The Lord raiseth them that are bowed down;
The Lord loveth the righteous.
The Lord preserveth the strangers;
He sustaineth the fatherless and widow;
But the way of the wicked he turneth aside.
The Lord shall reign for ever,
Even thy God, O Zion, unto all generations.
Praise ye the Lord.

'The Lord loveth the righteous.' The Midrash remarks: 'A man may wish to become a priest or a Levite, but he cannot, because his father was not one; but if he wishes to become righteous he can do so, even if he be a heathen, for righteousness is not a matter of descent. Thus it is written, "*House* of Aaron and *House* of Levi," but of them that fear God it says, "ye who fear the Lord, bless ye the Lord," and it does not say, "*House* of those who fear the Lord." For the Fear of the Lord is not a matter of inheritance, but of themselves men may come and love God, and God loves them in return. Therefore it says: "The Lord loveth the righteous."'

'The Lord preserveth the strangers.' The Psalmist gives in a few broad simple touches the main attributes of the God of goodness. It is interesting to find that the Greek translators render the Hebrew by *prosêlutoi*, proselytes. And in fact the Hebrew word *Gêrim* acquired in post-biblical Hebrew the meaning of *proselytes*. It is in that sense that the Midrash explains it. 'The Holy One loves the *Gêrim* exceedingly. To what is the matter like? To a king who had a flock of sheep and goats which went forth every morning to the pasture and returned in the evening to the stable. One day a stag joined the flock and grazed with the sheep, and returned with them. Then the shepherd said to the king: There is a stag which goes out with the sheep and grazes with them, and comes home with them. And the king loved the stag exceedingly. And he commanded the shepherd, saying: Give heed unto this stag, that no man beat it; and when the sheep returned in the evening, he would order that the stag should have food and drink. Then the shepherds said to him, My lord, thou hast many goats and sheep and kids, and thou givest us no directions about these, but about this stag thou givest us orders day by day. Then the king replied: It is the custom of the sheep to graze in the pasture, but the stags dwell in the wilderness, and it is not their custom to come among men in the cultivated land. But to this stag who has come to us and lives with us, should we not be grateful that he has left the

great wilderness, where many stags and gazelles feed, and has come to live among us? It behoves us to be grateful. So too spake the Holy One: I owe great thanks to the stranger, in that he has left his family and his father's house, and has come to dwell amongst us; therefore I order in the Law: Love ye the stranger (*Gêr*).'

§ 12. *The one hundred and forty-seventh Psalm: 'Laudate Dominum.'*—The second Psalm (cxlvii) of our five is little less general than the first, and yet it is perhaps equally prompted and conditioned by special events and even by a special season; a hard winter seems passing into a gentle spring.

Praise ye the Lord, for he is good;
Make melody unto our God, for it is pleasant;
Praise is seemly unto him.
The Lord buildeth up Jerusalem:
He gathereth together the outcasts of Israel.
He healeth the broken in heart,
And bindeth up their wounds.
He counteth the number of the stars;
He calleth them all by their names.
Great is our Lord, and of great power:
His understanding is infinite.
The Lord sustaineth the humble;
He casteth the wicked down to the ground.

Sing unto the Lord with thanksgiving;
Sing praise upon the lyre unto our God:
Who covereth the heaven with clouds,
Who prepareth rain for the earth,
Who maketh grass to grow upon the mountains.
Who giveth to the beast its food,
And to the young ravens which cry.
He delighteth not in the strength of the horse:
He taketh not pleasure in the legs of a man.
The Lord taketh pleasure in them that fear him,
In those that hope for his goodness.

Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem;
Praise thy God, O Zion:
For he hath strengthened the bars of thy gates,
He hath blessed thy children within thee.

He maketh peace in thy borders,
And satisfieth thee with the fat of wheat.
He sendeth forth his commandment unto the earth,
His word runneth very swiftly.
He giveth snow like wool,
He scattereth hoar frost like ashes.
He casteth forth his ice like crumbs;
Who can stand before his cold?
He sendeth out his word, and melteth them;
He causeth his wind to blow, and the waters flow.
He declared his word unto Jacob,
His statutes and his ordinances unto Israel.
He hath not dealt so with any nation,
And as for his ordinances, they do not know them.
Praise ye the Lord.

The 'humble' are the Israelites; the 'wicked' are their heathen enemies. In the heat of fight and in the glory of triumph religion became fiercely national. But the one Lord of nature is the one Lord of man. And not merely the one Lord but the All-Father. A coalescence of religion and nation has often prevented the message of God in nature from reaching men's ears and minds. In the Maccabean age the enemies of Israel and Israel's religion were almost inevitably identified with the enemies of God. It was both patriotic and religious to fight for country and for God; could it be expected that the warriors who bled for their religion should bless those who sought to trample it under foot? If the oppressors sought to destroy the rites and the knowledge of the true God, his defenders gloried in the exclusive possession of both.

§ 13. *The one hundred and forty-eighth Psalm: 'Laudate Dominum de caelis, laudate eum in excelsis.'*—Now follows the famous psalm, widely known as the *Laudate Dominum in excelsis*, the grandest perhaps of all the Hymns of Praise (cxlviii). The general summons to all nature to the praise of God as the Lord of the Universe scarce leaves the Psalmist room to celebrate the particular occasion which moved him to his appeal.

Praise ye the Lord.
Praise ye the Lord from the heavens,
Praise him in the heights.
Praise ye him, all his angels;
Praise ye him, all his hosts.

Praise ye him, sun and moon;
Praise him, all ye stars of light.
Praise him, ye heavens of heavens,
And ye waters that are above the heavens.
Let them praise the name of the Lord,
For he commanded and they were created;
He maintaineth them for ever and ever,—
He gave them a law which they cannot transgress.

Praise the Lord from the earth,
Ye monsters and all deeps;
Fire and hail, snow and smoke;
Stormy wind, fulfilling his word;
Mountains and all hills,
Fruit-trees and all cedars;
Wild beasts and all cattle,
Creeping things and winged birds;
Kings of the earth, and all peoples,
Princes and all judges of the earth;
Both young men and maidens,
Old men and children;
Let them praise the name of the Lord,
For his name alone is exalted,
His majesty is above the earth and the heaven.
And he hath lifted up a horn to his people,
A theme of praise for all his loving ones,
Even for the children of Israel, the people near unto him:
Praise ye the Lord.

§ 14. *The one hundred and forty-ninth Psalm: 'Cantate Domino.'*—Of the next Psalm (cxlix) the Maccabean origin and nature are clearly apparent. It shows us the religious strength and the religious weakness of the entire movement.

Praise ye the Lord.
Sing unto the Lord a new song,
And his praise in the congregation of his loving ones.
Let Israel rejoice in his Maker,
Let the children of Zion be joyful in their King.
Let them praise his name with the dance,
Let them make melody unto him with the timbrel and lyre.

For the Lord taketh pleasure in his people,
He adorneth the humble with victory.
Let the loving ones exult and give glory,
Let them sing aloud upon their beds.
Let the high praises of God be in their throat,
And a two-edged sword in their hand;
To execute vengeance upon the nations,
And punishments upon the peoples;
To bind their kings with chains,
And their nobles with fetters of iron;
To execute upon them the judgement written:
An honour this to all his loving ones:
Praise ye the Lord.

'Loving ones' or 'the pious' is an inadequate translation of the Hebrew *Chasidim*: 'saints' or 'holy ones' would be no better. The word *chesed* means kindness or lovingkindness, and this virtue is the special characteristic of God in his covenant relation to Israel, and of Israelites in their relation to each other and to God. In the Maccabean period, however, the *Chasidim* became the name of a party, as we shall hear in the next section. Professor Cheyne's note to the use of *Chasidim* in this Psalm runs thus: 'The word means, of course, those who display "lovingkindness" to their fellows as well as to Jehovah; but "who *is* my neighbour?" At the period of the Psalmist, love to God was more than ever preponderant over love to man.' It would perhaps be more just to say that war and persecution had inevitably dimmed the mind to the recognition of the bond which links man to man. Within the ranks of the *Chasidim* themselves there was no lack of brotherly affection.

The 'humble' or the 'afflicted' (cognate and interchangeable adjectives) has become a fixed term for Israel.

'The judgement written.' This probably refers to certain passages in the prophetical literature regarding the doom of the nations at the Messianic age. The danger of these lower and merely national vaticinations was now revealed. And this very Psalm was used to stimulate and justify appalling cruelties and massacres in the religious wars of the Reformation. Rightly do the *Four Friends* say that the 'use which has been made in later times of this and similar Psalms shows how easily devotion to the most sacred associations and zeal for the most spiritual religion may become the ministers of human prejudice and passion.'

§ 15. *The final Hallelujah: Psalm one hundred and fifty.*—And now we have arrived at the last Psalm of our group and

the last Psalm of the Psalter (cl). In it we breathe a purer air; we leave national limitations far below us. All flesh shall join in a common praise of the one Divine Father.

Praise ye the Lord,
Praise God in his sanctuary,
  Praise him in the firmament of his power;
Praise him for his mighty acts,
  Praise him according to his manifold greatness;
Praise him with the peal of the trumpet,
  Praise him with the harp and the lyre;
Praise him with the timbrel and dance,
  Praise him with strings and with pipe;
Praise him upon the loud cymbals,
  Praise him upon the high sounding cymbals;
Let everything that hath breath praise the Lord:
  Praise ye the Lord.

What nobler end for a Psalter than this; what nobler expression of adoring faith: 'Let everything that hath breath praise the Lord'!

SECTION V

THE MACCABEAN UPRISING

CHAPTER I

FROM THE BEGINNINGS OF THE MOVEMENT TO THE DEATH OF MATTATHIAS

§ 1. *A return to history.*—In this last section we return once more to history. But the history is not taken from the Bible. We saw that the Hebrew Bible contains no direct historical narrative beyond the second visit of Nehemiah to Jerusalem (432 B.C.). On the other hand, we know that if everything which was written after Nehemiah were to be removed from the Bible, we should remove from it a very considerable portion of all that which this second volume of mine includes. The latest Hebrew words in the Bible were perhaps written 300 years after Nehemiah. But the historical narrative of which this section will largely be composed deals only with the last thirty-five years of those three centuries. The narrative is not in the Hebrew Bible. It is a narrative in the Apocrypha, that collection of historical and religious writings of which I have spoken before. But soon after the beginning of those thirty-five years a mysterious book was written which *is* in the Bible; its name is the Book of Daniel. To understand both the historical narrative in the Apocrypha (it is the story of the Maccabees) and the mysterious book in the Bible, it is necessary to recall to mind some of the main events which had happened in Palestine, or which had affected Palestine, between Alexander the Great and the first beginnings of the Maccabean revolt (323–170 B.C.)—an interval of 153

years. It is with this revolt and its causes that our thirty-five years begin.

§ 2. *The first successors of Alexander the Great.*—Alexander the Great died at Babylon in the year 323 B.C. Of his generals who carved out from his mighty empire separate satrapies, and soon independent kingdoms of their own, Syria was specially concerned with four: Laomedon, Ptolemy, Antigonus and Seleucus. But of these four Laomedon drops out quickly. To him Syria (including Palestine) had been assigned as his portion at the first division immediately after Alexander's death, when the fiction of a united empire was still for appearances' sake maintained by all, and Alexander's infant was still the nominal lord of every part of it. But after three years Ptolemy of Egypt wrested Syria from Laomedon's hands. And for a full half and more of the 190 years from Alexander's death to the days when the last Hebrew words were perhaps added to the Bible (323–133 B.C.), Palestine and the Jews were under the jurisdiction of Ptolemy and his successors. But only five years of Egyptian rule followed at first successively (320–315 B.C.), and before its renewal, about 301 B.C., there were some fourteen years in which Judæa, with the rest of lower Syria (known as Coele-Syria or the Hollow Syria), belonged to the great but short-lived kingdom of Antigonus.

I cannot give the story of the wars of Antigonus with Ptolemy and the other 'Diadochoi' (i.e. successors), who combined against his ever-growing power. Seleucus had fled to Egypt as a fugitive in 316 B.C., and in 315 B.C. Antigonus laid hold of all Syria and Palestine. In 312 B.C. was fought the battle of Gaza, in which Ptolemy won a complete victory over Demetrius, the fascinating son of Antigonus, whose biography forms one of the most delightful of Plutarch's immortal lives. All Palestine and Syria were reconquered by Ptolemy, but this first Egyptian occupation only lasted a few months, for Demetrius with a fresh army once more compelled Ptolemy to withdraw his troops, and Palestine and Syria were again in Antigonus' power. But 312 B.C. is nevertheless an important date. For after the battle of Gaza Ptolemy dispatched Seleucus with a small force to recover Babylon and his former satrapy, and the year 312 marks the formal founding of the 'Seleucid' kingdom and the beginning of the 'Seleucid era.' Palestine must have suffered a good deal in those years from imposts and occupations and marchings to and fro. Finally, at the great battle of Ipsus in Phrygia (301 B.C.), Antigonus was worsted and slain. The soldiers of three kings (Cassander, Lysimachus and Seleucus) united to work the overthrow of one.

§ 3. *The kingdom of Seleucus.*—The chief gainer from the fight was Seleucus, the 'satrap' of Babylon, who now proceeded to reorganize the vast and varied provinces under his control. He moved his capital to Antioch, and his kingdom, known, from the name of its founder, as the 'Seleucid' kingdom of Syria, included a changing and ill-defined collection of territories to the east and north and west. But not for 100 years were Coele-Syria and Palestine to be contained within it. For though it was arranged by the conquerors of Ipsus that these lands should fall to the share of Seleucus, this arrangement turned out to be a reckoning without the host. When Seleucus marched westwards after Ipsus, he found that this coveted district had already been occupied by the wary Ptolemy. Seleucus allowed Ptolemy to maintain his hold, but the Seleucid claims to Coele-Syria were not abandoned, and in after-years the successors of the two kings waged many a war for its possession. The map will show how it lay, together with Palestine, between their kingdoms as a veritable apple of discord and bone of contention.

§ 4. *Wars between Ptolemy II and Antiochus II.*—Ptolemy I (Sotêr) abdicated in 285 and died in 283 B.C. His son, Ptolemy II (Philadelphus), reigned from 285 till 246 B.C. The first two successors of Seleucus were Antiochus I (281–261 B.C.) and Antiochus II (261–246 B.C.). The second Ptolemy and the second Antiochus waged wars with each other of which hardly anything is known. Finally in 248 B.C. they made peace. Antiochus married Ptolemy's daughter Berenicê, and to this end divorced his first wife Laodicê. But evil followed. Antiochus recalled Laodicê, who nevertheless sought her revenge. Antiochus II was poisoned; Berenicê and her infant son were slain. Laodicê's son became king as Seleucus II. Ptolemy II seems to have lived to hear of this catastrophe, though not to avenge it. That duty fell to his successor. (Note that during the reign of Antiochus II the first Punic war was being fought by Rome, and that the year which saw the death of Antiochus saw the birth of Hannibal, 246 B.C.)

§ 5. *Further campaigns between the Egyptian and Syrian kings.*—Seleucus II reigned from 246 to 226 B.C.; Ptolemy III (Euergêtês) from 246 to 222 B.C. Ptolemy opened his reign by a successful campaign against Seleucus. He captured Antioch and penetrated far into the eastern territories of his rival, and brought back with him many spoils to Egypt. Internal troubles in his own kingdom hastened his return. Then Seleucus in his turn advanced into Coele-Syria, but was beaten and forced to withdraw. Soon after

a peace seems to have been patched up between the two kings. But this interlude of quiet did not last long.

Seleucus II was followed upon the throne of Syria by his two brothers, Seleucus III (226–222 B.C.) and Antiochus III, the Great (222–187 B.C.). In Egypt Ptolemy III died in 222 B.C., and was succeeded by his son Ptolemy IV (Philopator), who reigned till 205 B.C.

Antiochus III, in spite of many distracting difficulties and revolts in his own kingdom, soon attempted anew the conquest of Coele-Syria, and by the year 218 B.C. he was in occupation of the whole country. (In that year too Hannibal crossed the Alps.) But in the following year (217 B.C.) Ptolemy gained a great victory at Raphia near Gaza, and all Coele-Syria fell again into his hands. (In Italy the year 217 witnessed the battle of Thrasimene.) It is, however, doubtful whether Jerusalem suffered or changed hands during the campaigns of 219–217 B.C. Ptolemy IV was supposed to have shown some weakness in making peace with Antiochus soon after the battle of Raphia.

§ 6. *Palestine lost to the Ptolemies.*—In 205 B.C. Ptolemy IV died; his successor, Ptolemy V (Epiphanês), was a child four years old. Antiochus III saw his opportunity. He and Philip, king of Macedonia, made a league together for the partition of the dominions of Egypt among them. Antiochus entered and occupied Coele-Syria and Palestine. Jerusalem was taken. Scopas the Aetolian, general of the Egyptian forces, reconquered the province for a short time in 202 B.C. (the year of Zama), but in 198 B.C. at the battle of Panion, on the upper Jordan, Antiochus vanquished Scopas, and from this time forth Coele-Syria and Palestine were finally lost to the Ptolemies and to Egypt. Antiochus once more occupied Jerusalem, and afterwards besieged and captured Sidon and Gaza. The claims of Seleucus I were made good by his great-great-grandson.

§ 7. *The appearance of Rome in Asia.*—I cannot discuss the attitude of the Jews towards these warring kingdoms. Whichever side won, they remained equally dependent. The Messianic age, so confidently anticipated by many a prophet and psalmist to be near at hand, remained as distant and dreamy as ever. The main body of the Jews favoured their old masters the Ptolemies, but there was also a Seleucid party, who for various reasons, on which I cannot dwell here, seems to have been mainly recruited from and led by those who were laxer in religious observance and keener to adopt Grecian culture and Grecian ways. This party obtained the upper hand after Panion, as was not unnatural, and

Josephus says that 'the Jews of their own accord went over to Antiochus, and received him into their city, and gave plentiful provision to all his army and to his elephants, and readily assisted him when he besieged the garrison that had been left by Scopas in the citadel of Jerusalem.'

One or two years after Panion, Antiochus made peace with Egypt. He betrothed his daughter Cleopatra to young King Ptolemy V, and it was agreed that her dowry should consist of the revenues of Coele-Syria and Palestine, while the lands themselves remained in the possession of Antiochus. On the other hand, Antiochus was apparently to retain various conquered cities in Asia Minor which hitherto had either belonged to Egypt or been within its 'sphere of influence.' Another reason which may have urged Antiochus to make peace was—Rome.

For Hannibal had been vanquished at Zama (202 B.C.), and Philip of Macedon at Cynoscephalae (197 B.C.), and the Romans were free to attend to the affairs of Asia and of Egypt. The latter had been for some time an allied and protected state, of growing importance to Rome because of its corn supplies.

Three years after her betrothal, Cleopatra (a name which now first enters into Egyptian history, the great Cleopatra being the 'sixth') was married to Ptolemy V with much pomp at Raphia (193 B.C.). Any further schemes of Antiochus against Egypt, which his daughter's marriage may have been intended to prepare or to mask, were never carried out. Antiochus drifted into war with Rome, and was vanquished by Lucius Cornelius Scipio at Magnesia in 190 B.C. The cities of Asia Minor were lost to him, but he was suffered to retain Coele-Syria and Palestine.

In 187 B.C. Antiochus III attempted to plunder the treasures of a temple in the district of Elymais, and was slain by the inhabitants. He was succeeded by his son Seleucus IV (187–175 B.C.). A story is told that he sent Heliodorus, his chief minister, to Jerusalem to plunder the treasures of the Temple, but that, alarmed by some strange apparition, the minister quitted the city without having accomplished the mandate of the king. Ptolemy V died in 181 B.C., and was succeeded by his son Ptolemy VI, who apparently only lived a few weeks after his accession, and was followed by his child-brother Ptolemy VII (Philometor) under the regency of his mother Cleopatra. The land seems to have quietly prospered under her rule. She died in 173 B.C.

Meanwhile Seleucus IV was murdered in 175 B.C., in consequence of a conspiracy hatched by Heliodorus. His brother Antiochus had been sent as a hostage to Rome after Magnesia; but he happened to be on his way home when his brother was murdered,

for Demetrius, Seleucus' son, had been dispatched to Rome as hostage in his place. Antiochus now managed to secure the kingdom. He is known in history as Antiochus IV (Epiphanes).

§ 8. *The character of Antiochus Epiphanes.*—Antiochus IV is so important a figure in Jewish history that it may not be without interest to quote the strange description of his character given by Polybius (the Greek historian, 203–121 B.C., his contemporary) and Livy. 'Antiochus Epiphanes, nicknamed from his actions Epimanes (the Madman), would sometimes steal from the court, avoiding his attendants, and appear roaming wildly about in any chance part of the city with one or two companions. His favourite place to be found was the shops of the silversmiths or goldsmiths, chatting and discussing questions of art with the workers of art, with the workers in relief and other artists; at another time he would join groups of the people of the town and converse with any one he came across, and would drink with foreign visitors of the humblest description. Wherever he found any young men carousing together he would come to the place without giving notice, with fife and band, like a rout of revellers, and often by his unexpected appearance cause the guests to rise and run away. He would often also lay aside his royal robes, and, putting on a toga, go round the market-place as though a candidate for office, shaking hands and embracing various people, whom he entreated to vote for him, sometimes as aedile and sometimes as tribune. And when he got the office and took his seat on an ivory curule chair, after the fashion of the Romans, he heard law cases which came on in the agora, and decided them with the utmost seriousness and attention. This conduct was very embarrassing to respectable people, some of whom regarded him as a good-natured, easy-going man, and others as a madman. In regard to making presents, too, his behaviour was on a par with this. Some he presented with dice made of gazelle horn, some with dates, others with gold. There were even instances of his making unexpected presents to men whom he met casually, and whom he had never seen before. In regard to public sacrifices and the honours paid to the gods, he surpassed all his predecessors on the throne; as witness the Olympieium at Athens and the statues placed round the altar at Delos. He used also to bathe in the public baths, when they were full of the townspeople, pots of the most expensive unguents being brought in for him; and on one occasion, on some one saying, "Lucky fellows, you kings, to use such things and smell so sweet!" without saying a word to the man, he waited till he was bathing the next day, and then

coming into the bath caused a pot of the largest size and of the most costly kind of unguent, called stactê, to be poured over his head, so that there was a general rush of the bathers to roll themselves in it; and when they all tumbled down, the king himself among them, from its stickiness, there was loud laughter' (xxvi. 1, Mr. Shuckburgh's translation. The passage most unfortunately breaks off here. It is a mere fragment, preserved by Athenaeus).

Yet Polybius elsewhere indicates that Antiochus, apart from these eccentricities, was a man of ability and energy. He had a keen interest in the artistic side of Hellenism at any rate, and was a profuse worshipper of the gods. Livy declares: 'In two great and honourable ways his mind was truly royal, in gifts to the Greek cities and in the cult of the gods. He promised he would surround the city of Megalopolis with a wall, and actually gave the greater part of the cost in money; he undertook to make a magnificent theatre of marble at Tegea; for the Prytaneum of Cyzicus, where those who obtain the honour dine at the public expense, he gave gold plate for one of the tables. To the Rhodians he gave not indeed one such remarkable gift, but many, according as their needs required them. Of his munificence to the gods, the temple of Olympian Jove at Athens, the only one on earth designed in accordance with the greatness of that deity, may serve as a witness; but Delos also he adorned with splendid altars and a crowd of statues, and at Antioch the magnificent temple of Capitoline Jove not only had its ceiling gilded, but all the walls were covered with thin plates of gold' (xli. 21).

§ 9. *Why Antiochus Epiphanes became a persecutor of the Jews.*— How and why did Antiochus become the persecutor of the Jews? The causes seem to have been chiefly these: first, the character and aims of Antiochus himself; secondly, the internal party strife in Judæa and Jerusalem; thirdly, the relations of Antiochus with Egypt and Rome.

Antiochus was a Hellenist run to seed, but not without traces of genuineness. He wanted to hellenize and unify all the varied peoples of his kingdom, the Jews among the rest. Now the word 'hellenize' includes a religious reference, for religion and religious rites entered frequently and openly into Greek life and customs. But Judaism, while it could and did absorb elements of Hellenic thought, could not possibly adopt or assimilate the outward symbols and visible embodiment of Hellenic religion. The image of Zeus could have no place in the pure worship of the One and Only God.

So much for the first cause. The second and third bring us quickly to our history.

There was party strife at this time going on in Jerusalem. The high priest Onias III seems to have belonged to the party which would have liked to see Palestine again under the rule of Egypt. That party apparently included the more observant and religious Jews, opposed to all extremer hellenizing. Over against them was a Seleucid party, whose leaders, Simon and his brother Menelaus, seem to have been relatives of Onias. Jason (a Hellenized form of Joshua), the brother of Onias, was their ally. This Seleucid party would naturally include all those Jews who desired to introduce many Hellenic customs, and to break down the religious barriers and safeguards which kept the Jews aloof from the Greeks.

It would appear that Simon and Menelaus desired to obtain the office of high priest for one of themselves, but that, at first, not seeing their way to this, as they did not belong to the direct male line of succession, used Jason as their tool. As a result, Jason dispossessed Onias and was appointed high priest by making offers specially grateful to Antiochus. This is what we are told in the following quotation from the so-called Second Book of the Maccabees, a less trustworthy compilation than the First Book, from which I shall shortly have many long extracts to make. (I desire here to add that the extracts from the Books of Maccabees are made from the Text of the Revised Version by the kind permission of the University Presses of Oxford and Cambridge.)

But when Seleucus was deceased, and Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes, succeeded to the kingdom, Jason the brother of Onias supplanted his brother in the high priesthood, having promised unto the king at an audience three hundred and threescore talents of silver, and out of another fund eighty talents; and beside this, he undertook to assign a hundred and fifty more, if it might be allowed him through the king's authority to set him up a Greek place of exercise and form a body of youths to be trained therein, and to register the inhabitants of Jerusalem as citizens of Antioch.

And when the king had given assent, and he had gotten possession of the office, he forthwith brought over them of his own race to the Greek fashion. And setting aside the royal ordinances of special favour to the Jews, and seeking to overthrow the lawful modes of life, he brought in new customs forbidden by the law: for he eagerly established a Greek place of exercise under the citadel itself; and caused the noblest of the young men to wear the Greek cap.

And thus there was an extreme of Greek fashions, and an advance of an alien religion, by reason of the exceeding profaneness of Jason, that ungodly man and no high priest; so that the priests had no more any zeal for the services of the altar: but despising the sanctuary, and neglecting the sacrifices, they hastened to enjoy that which was unlawfully provided in the palæstra, after the summons of the discus; making of no account the honours of their fathers, and thinking the glories of the Greeks best of all. By reason whereof sore calamity beset them; and the men whose ways of living they earnestly followed, and unto whom they desired to be made like in all things, these they had to be their enemies and to punish them. For it is not a light thing to do impiously against the laws of God: but these things the time following shall declare.

§ 10. *Menelaus as high priest.*—This Jason ruled for three years (171 B.C.). Then the enemies of Onias III, and the leaders of the Greek and Seleucid party, ventured to show their hand more fully. The same authority informs us:—

Now after a space of three years Jason sent Menelaus, the aforesaid Simon's brother, to bear the money unto the king, and to make reports concerning some necessary matters. But he being commended to the king, and having glorified himself by the display of his authority, got the high priesthood for himself, outbidding Jason by three hundred talents of silver. And having received the royal mandates he came to Jerusalem, bringing nothing worthy the high priesthood, but having the passion of a cruel tyrant, and the rage of a savage beast.

While Menelaus, after driving out Jason who fled from Judæa, was thus occupying the high priest's office at Jerusalem, Antiochus marched, as we shall hear, on his first expedition to Egypt. Jason, meanwhile, on a rumour of Antiochus' death in Egypt, managed to collect together an armed force, captured Jerusalem by assault and expelled Menelaus. But he was not to maintain his power for long.

§ 11. *Antiochus Epiphanes' first invasion of Egypt.*—Cleopatra, the queen-regent of Egypt, died in 173 B.C. It would seem that the ministers of the young king Ptolemy VII (Philometor) made preparations to reoccupy Coele-Syria, and Antiochus IV

determined to forestall them by an invasion of Egypt. He penetrated to Memphis, got Ptolemy VII into his hands after a naval victory off Pelusium, and seems to have had himself crowned as a sort of joint king with Ptolemy (171 B. C.). 'His complete conquest of the land must now have appeared easy. But the people of Alexandria, who spoke more completely the voice of Egypt than Paris does of France, determined to resist, and forthwith raised to the throne Philometor's younger brother, who took the title Euergetes, and is consequently known as Euergetes II in history. This usurpation gave Antiochus the excuse of advancing on Alexandria under the pretence of restoring Philometor.' 'He besieged Alexandria for some time, and even caused a famine in the city, but either from the insufficiency of troops, the want of supplies, or some home disturbances, possibly even at the advice of the Romans, he raised the siege, and retired by the highway of Memphis, leaving a strong garrison in the fort of Pelusium' (Mahaffy).

§ 12. *Antiochus at Jerusalem.*—On his return from Egypt Antiochus visited Jerusalem to chastise and expel Jason and his friends, and to restore Menelaus (170 B. C.). For the return and re-installation of Jason had been a violation of the king's authority. What he did there in his wrath and waywardness is reported in the First Book of the Maccabees. I start the extract with the beginning of the Book.

And it came to pass, after that Alexander the Macedonian, the son of Philip, who came out of the land of Chittim, and smote Darius king of the Persians and Medes, it came to pass, after he had smitten him, that he reigned in his stead, in former time, over Greece. And he fought many battles, and won many strongholds, and slew the kings of the earth, and went through to the ends of the earth, and took spoils of a multitude of nations. And the earth was quiet before him, and he was exalted, and his heart was lifted up, and he gathered together an exceeding strong host, and ruled over countries and nations and principalities, and they became tributary unto him.

And after these things he fell sick, and perceived that he should die. And he called his servants, which were honourable, which had been brought up with him from his youth, and he divided unto them his kingdom, while he was yet alive. And Alexander reigned twelve years, and he died. And his servants bare rule, each one in his place. And they

did all put diadems upon themselves after that he was dead, and so did their sons after them many years: and they multiplied evils in the earth.

And there came forth out of them a sinful root, Antiochus Epiphanes, son of Antiochus the king, who had been a hostage at Rome, and he reigned in the hundred and thirty and seventh year of the kingdom of the Greeks.

In those days came there forth out of Israel transgressors of the law, and persuaded many, saying, 'Let us go and make a covenant with the Gentiles that are round about us; for since we were parted from them many evils have befallen us.' And the saying was good in their eyes. And certain of the people were forward herein and went to the king, and he gave them licence to do after the ordinances of the Gentiles. And they built a place of exercise in Jerusalem according to the laws of the Gentiles; and they forsook the holy covenant, and joined themselves to the Gentiles, and sold themselves to do evil.

And the kingdom was well ordered in the sight of Antiochus, and he thought to reign over Egypt, that he might reign over the two kingdoms. And he entered into Egypt with a great multitude, with chariots, and with elephants, and with horsemen, and with a great navy; and he made war against Ptolemy king of Egypt; and Ptolemy was put to shame before him, and fled; and many fell wounded to death. And they got possession of the strong cities in the land of Egypt; and he took the spoils of Egypt.

And Antiochus, after that he had smitten Egypt, returned in the hundred and forty and third year, and went up against Israel and Jerusalem with a great multitude, and entered presumptuously into the sanctuary, and took the golden altar, and the candlestick of the light, and all that pertained thereto, and the table of the shewbread, and the cups to pour withal, and the bowls, and the golden censers, and the veil, and the crowns, and the adorning of gold which was on the face of the temple, and he scaled it all off. And he took the silver and the gold and the precious vessels; and he took the hidden treasures which he found. And when he had taken all, he went away into his own land, and he made a great slaughter, and spake very presumptuously.

And there came great mourning upon Israel, in every place

where they were; and the rulers and elders groaned, the virgins and young men were made feeble, and the beauty of the women was changed. Every bridegroom took up lamentation, she that sat in the marriage chamber was in heaviness. And the land was moved for the inhabitants thereof, and all the house of Jacob was clothed with shame.

'The hundred and thirty-seventh year': that is of the Seleucid era, by which the First Book of the Maccabees reckons all its dates. 137 from 312 is 175, which is the actual year of Antiochus' accession.

'He made a great slaughter' is a disputed translation. The Greek word is *Phonoktonia*, which seems to be used by the Greek translators of the Bible (and the First Book of the Maccabees is a translation from a lost Hebrew original) for *Profanation*. Antiochus' doings at Jerusalem are thus summed up.

All this was bad enough, but far worse was to come.

§ 13. *The circle of Popilius Laenas.*—After the Syrian king had left Egypt, Ptolemy Philometor 'made overtures' to his brother Ptolemy Euergetes II Physcon (fat-paunch), and finally he was admitted into Alexandria, and the two brothers 'began to reign conjointly' (Mahaffy). But 'the combination of the Egyptian princes brought back Antiochus with a new invasion, much more systematic and dangerous than the first. He occupied most of Cyprus with a fleet; he advanced leisurely to his fort at Pelusium, and then through lower Egypt, courting the favour of the population.' Meanwhile embassies at Rome had been entreating for succour. By the battle of Pydna (168 B.C.) the Romans had vanquished Perseus of Macedon, and Antiochus had no ally with whose help and backing he might resist or evade Roman wishes or Roman orders. It was at Eleusis, four miles from Alexandria, that Popilius Laenas and his two colleagues who had been dispatched as ambassadors from Rome in answer to the appeals of Ptolemy and Cleopatra, met the Syrian king (168 B.C.). The meeting is famous and dramatic, and is thus described by Polybius and Livy: 'Antiochus had just crossed the river at Eleusis, when he was met by the Roman ambassadors. At their coming, he saluted them, and held out his right hand to Popilius, but Popilius answered by holding out the tablet which contained the decree of the Senate, and bade Antiochus read that first. When the king, after reading the dispatch, said that he desired to consult with his friends on the situation, Popilius did a thing which was looked upon as exceedingly overbearing and insolent. Happening to have a vine stick in his hand, he drew a circle

round Antiochus with it, and said, "Before you step out of that circle, give your answer that I am to report to the Senate." The king was taken aback by this haughty proceeding. After a brief interval of embarrassed silence, he replied, "I will do as the Senate directs." Then Popilius and his colleagues shook him by the hand, and one and all greeted him with warmth. The tenor of the dispatch was an order to put an end to the war with Ptolemy at once. Accordingly a stated number of days was allowed him, within which he withdrew his army into Syria, in high dudgeon indeed, and groaning in spirit, but yielding to the necessities of the time.'

§ 14. *The religious persecution in Judæa.*—Foiled in Egypt and compelled to retire with ignominy, Antiochus now determined to carry out in its entirety his hellenizing policy in Judæa. But probably there were other reasons, of which we know not, why his anger was specially stirred against the Jews. Professor Mahaffy says: 'Our information is so scanty, that we can only guess. In some way the nationalist party in Judæa and their relations in Egypt must have thwarted his advance and marred his campaign. We hear that his advance was slow; had he reached Alexandria but a few days sooner, he might have seized the capital, murdered the royal princes, and then made his peace with the Romans when the game was won. It seems likely that this opposition of the patriotic party in Judæa hindered his march, and so caused his signal failure at the moment of victory. Under such circumstances we can quite understand his fury.'

Antiochus did not come himself to Jerusalem, but sent an officer with an armed force to carry out the king's policy of violent hellenization. The Jewish religion was to be completely eradicated. Prohibition of every Jewish rite and slaughter of all who resisted were the means he chose. Antiochus Epiphanes opens the long and deadly list of religious persecutors.

And after two full years the king sent a chief collector of tribute unto the cities of Judah, and he came unto Jerusalem with a great multitude. And he spake words of peace unto them in subtilty, and they gave him credence: and he fell upon the city suddenly, and smote it very sore, and destroyed much people out of Israel. And he took the spoils of the city, and set it on fire, and pulled down the houses thereof and the walls thereof on every side. And they led captive the women and the children, and the cattle they took in possession.

And they builded the city of David with a great and strong wall, with strong towers, and it became unto them a citadel. And they put there a sinful nation, transgressors of the law, and they strengthened themselves therein. And they stored up arms and victuals, and gathering together the spoils of Jerusalem, they laid them up there, and they became a sore snare: and it became a place to lie in wait in against the sanctuary, and an evil adversary to Israel continually.

And they shed innocent blood on every side of the sanctuary, and defiled the sanctuary. And the inhabitants of Jerusalem fled because of them; and she became a habitation of strangers, and she became strange to them that were born in her, and her children forsook her. Her sanctuary was laid waste like a wilderness, her feasts were turned into mourning, her sabbaths into reproach, her honour into contempt. According to her glory, so was her dishonour multiplied, and her high estate was turned into mourning.

The citadel here referred to remained for twenty-six years in Syrian hands. Its precise position is now uncertain, but it was so situated as to be a menace to the Temple. Jerusalem was to be a purely Hellenistic city. Only such Jews as would abandon that old religion which would admit no partnership or compromise with heathenism might henceforth dwell there. And throughout Judæa all observance of Jewish rites was to be totally abolished and prohibited. But the supposed letter from Antiochus with which the next extract opens is certainly inaccurate. There was no general order for one religion throughout the kingdom; it was rather an interdict of one particular religion practised in one disobedient province.

And king Antiochus wrote to his whole kingdom, that all should be one people, and that each should forsake his own laws. And all the nations agreed according to the word of the king; and many of Israel consented to his worship, and sacrificed to the idols, and profaned the sabbath.

And the king sent letters by the hand of messengers unto Jerusalem and the cities of Judah, that they should follow laws strange to the land, and should forbid whole burnt offerings and sacrifice and drink offerings in the sanctuary; and should profane the sabbaths and feasts, and pollute the

sanctuary and them that were holy; that they should build altars, and temples, and shrines for idols, and should sacrifice swine's flesh and unclean beasts: and that they should make their souls abominable with all manner of uncleanness and profanation; so that they might forget the law, and change all the ordinances. And whosoever shall not do according to the word of the king, he shall die.

According to all these words wrote he to his whole kingdom; and he appointed overseers over all the people, and he commanded the cities of Judah to sacrifice, city by city. And from the people were gathered together unto them many, every one that had forsaken the law; and they did evil things in the land; and they made Israel to hide themselves in every place of refuge which they had.

And on the fifteenth day of Chislev, in the hundred and forty and fifth year, they builded an abomination of desolation upon the altar, and in the cities of Judah on every side they builded idol altars. And at the doors of the houses and in the streets they burnt incense.

And they rent in pieces the books of the law which they found, and set them on fire. And wheresoever was found with any a book of the covenant, and if any consented to the law, the king's sentence delivered him to death. Thus did they in their might unto Israel, to those that were found month by month in the cities.

And on the five and twentieth day of the month they sacrificed upon the idol altar, which was upon the altar of God.

And many in Israel were fully resolved and confirmed in themselves not to eat unclean things. And they chose to die, that they might not be defiled with the meats, and that they might not profane the holy covenant: and they died. And there came exceeding great wrath upon Israel.

Thus a systematic persecution was organized. The Jews were compelled to sacrifice at heathen altars, or to eat forbidden meat as a mark of obedience and a sign of apostasy. Under these circumstances it was reasonable enough that the smallest ritual law should acquire a peculiar and symbolic power. To-day we put little value on the old laws about food; but if we were asked to eat a lobster as a sign that we renounced Judaism, it would be right and *not quixotic* to refuse at all earthly hazard. The 'abomination of desolation' was an altar of Zeus Olympius,

for which the altar of Jehovah in the Temple served as a pedestal. We shall hear of it again in the Book of Daniel.

§ 15. *The story of Eleazar the scribe.*—Thus began that awful period (December, 168 B.C.) during which some of those agonized Psalms, such as xliv or lxxix, may probably have been composed. Let the reader refer back to them now, and he will realize how aptly they fit in with the historical situation. And the uppermost feeling was 'For thy sake, for thy sake, are we slain all the day long.'

It was an age of martyrdoms, the first great historic instance of that long roll of religious persecutions and martyrdoms which have stained and glorified so many different religions. And the creed which has produced the martyrs of one age has produced the persecutors of another. Nay, the very same people, the men of the very same faith, could slay and be slain with equal fervour and equal certainty of right.

The Second Book of the Maccabees tells two grim tales of these martyrdoms which in their details are certainly not historical. But as types of the worst that went on in Judæa in the year of blood, 167 B.C., they are probably not far from the truth. This is the first.

Eleazar, one of the principal scribes, a man already well stricken in years, and of a noble countenance, was compelled to open his mouth to eat swine's flesh. But he, welcoming death with renown rather than life with pollution, advanced of his own accord to the instrument of torture, but first spat forth the flesh, coming forward as men ought to come that are resolute to repel such things as not even for the natural love of life is it lawful to taste.

But they that had the charge of that forbidden sacrificial feast took the man aside, for the acquaintance which of old times they had with him, and privately besought him to bring flesh of his own providing, such as was befitting for him to use, and to make as if he did eat of the flesh from the sacrifice, as had been commanded by the king; that by so doing he might be delivered from death, and for his ancient friendship with them might be treated kindly.

But he, having formed a high resolve, and one that became his years, and the dignity of old age, and the gray hairs which he had reached with honour, and his excellent education from a child, or rather that became the holy laws of God's ordaining, declared his mind accordingly, bidding

them quickly send him unto Hades. 'For it becometh not our years to dissemble,' said he, 'that through this many of the young should suppose that Eleazar, the man of fourscore years and ten, had gone over unto an alien religion; and so they, by reason of my dissimulation, and for the sake of this brief and momentary life, should be led astray because of me, and thus I get to myself a pollution and a stain of mine old age. For even if for the present time I shall remove from me the punishment of men, yet shall I not escape the hands of the Almighty, either living or dead. Wherefore, by manfully parting with my life now, I will shew myself worthy of mine old age, and leave behind a noble ensample to the young to die willingly and nobly a glorious death for the reverend and holy laws.' And when he had said these words, he went straightway to the instrument of torture.

And when they changed the good will they bare him a little before into ill will, because these words of his were, as they thought, sheer madness, and when he was at the point to die with the stripes, he groaned aloud and said, 'To the Lord, that hath the holy knowledge, it is manifest that, whereas I might have been delivered from death, I endure sore pains in my body by being scourged; but in soul I gladly suffer these things for my fear of him.'

So this man also died after this manner, leaving his death for an ensample of nobleness and a memorial of virtue, not only to the young but also to the great body of his nation.

§ 16. *The seven brothers and their mother.*—The second tale is longer, more ghastly and more famous.

And it came to pass that seven brethren also with their mother were at the king's command taken and shamefully handled with scourges and cords, to compel them to taste of the abominable swine's flesh. But one of them made himself the spokesman and said, 'What wouldest thou ask and learn of us? for we are ready to die rather than transgress the laws of our fathers.'

And the king fell into a rage, and commanded to heat pans and caldrons: and when these forthwith were heated, he commanded to cut out the tongue of him that had been their spokesman, and to scalp him, and to cut off his extremities, the rest of his brethren and his mother looking on. And when he was utterly maimed, the king com-

manded to bring him to the fire, being yet alive, and to fry him in the pan. And as the vapour of the pan spread far, they and their mother also exhorted one another to die nobly, saying thus: 'The Lord God beholdeth, and in truth is intreated for us, as Moses declared in his song, which witnesseth against the people to their faces, saying, And he shall be intreated for his servants.'

And when the first had died after this manner, they brought the second to the mocking; and they pulled off the skin of his head with the hair and asked him, 'Wilt thou eat, before thy body be punished in every limb?' But he answered in the language of his fathers and said to them, 'No.' Wherefore he also underwent the next torture in succession, as the first had done. And when he was at the last gasp, he said, 'Thou, miscreant, dost release us out of this present life, but the King of the world shall raise up us, who have died for his laws, unto an eternal renewal of life.'

And after him was the third made a mocking-stock. And when he was required, he quickly put out his tongue, and stretched forth his hands courageously, and nobly said, 'From heaven I possess these; and for his laws' sake I contemn these; and from him I hope to receive these back again:' insomuch that the king himself and they that were with him were astonished at the young man's soul, for that he nothing regarded the pains.

And when he too was dead, they shamefully handled and tortured the fourth in like manner. And being come near unto death he said thus: 'It is good to die at the hands of men and look for the hopes which are given by God, that we shall be raised up again by him; for as for thee, thou shalt have no resurrection unto life.'

And next after him they brought the fifth, and shamefully handled him. But he looked toward the king and said, 'Because thou hast authority among men, though thou art thyself corruptible, thou doest what thou wilt; yet think not that our race hath been forsaken of God; but hold thou on thy way, and behold his sovereign majesty, how it will torture thee and thy seed.'

And after him they brought the sixth. And when he was at the point to die he said, 'Be not vainly deceived, for we suffer these things for our own doings, as sinning against our own God: marvellous things are come to pass; but

think not thou that thou shalt be unpunished, having assayed to fight against God.'

But above all was the mother marvellous and worthy of honourable memory; for when she looked on seven sons perishing within the space of one day, she bare the sight with a good courage for the hopes that she had set on the Lord. And she exhorted each one of them in the language of their fathers, filled with a noble temper and stirring up her womanish thought with manly passion, saying unto them, 'It was not I that bestowed on you your spirit and your life, and it was not I that brought into order the first elements of each one of you. Therefore the Creator of the world, who fashioned the generation of man and devised the generation of all things, in mercy giveth back to you again both your spirit and your life, as ye now contemn your own selves for his laws' sake.'

But Antiochus, thinking himself to be despised, and suspecting the reproachful voice, whilst the youngest was yet alive did not only make his appeal to him by words, but also at the same time promised with oaths that he would enrich him and raise him to high estate, if he would turn from the customs of his fathers, and that he would take him for his Friend and intrust him with affairs. But when the young man would in no wise give heed, the king called unto him his mother, and exhorted her that she would counsel the lad to save himself. And when he had exhorted her with many words, she undertook to persuade her son. But bending toward him, laughing the cruel tyrant to scorn, she spake thus in the language of her fathers: 'My son, have pity upon me that nourished and brought thee up unto this age, and sustained thee. I beseech thee, my child, to lift thine eyes unto the heaven and the earth, and to see all things that are therein, and thus to recognise that God made them not of things that were, and that the race of men in this wise cometh into being. Fear not this butcher, but, proving thyself worthy of thy brethren, accept thy death, that in the mercy of God I may receive thee again with thy brethren.'

But before she had yet ended speaking, the young man said, 'Whom wait ye for? I obey not the commandment of the king, but I hearken to the commandment of the law that was given to our fathers through Moses. But thou, that

hast devised all manner of evil against the Hebrews, shalt in no wise escape the hands of God. For we are suffering because of our own sins; and if for rebuke and chastening our living Lord hath been angered a little while, yet shall he again be reconciled with his own servants. But thou, O unholy man and of all most vile, be not vainly lifted up in thy wild pride with uncertain hopes, raising thy hand against the heavenly children; for not yet hast thou escaped the judgement of the Almighty God that seeth all things. For these our brethren, having endured a short pain that bringeth everlasting life, have now died under God's covenant; but thou, through the judgement of God, shalt receive in just measure the penalties of thine arrogancy. But I, as my brethren, give up both body and soul for the laws of our fathers, calling upon God that he may speedily become gracious to the nation; and that thou amidst trials and plagues mayest confess that he alone is God; and that in me and my brethren thou mayest stay the wrath of the Almighty, which hath been justly brought upon our whole race.'

But the king, falling into a rage, handled him worse than all the rest, being exasperated at his mocking. So he also died pure from pollution, putting his whole trust in the Lord. And last of all after her sons the mother died.

'The king of the world shall raise up us, who have died for his laws, unto an eternal renewal of life.' Here we find a firm belief in and a clear enunciation of the doctrine of the Resurrection. As in the Book of Daniel (where I shall refer to it at greater length) so here too the Resurrection seems limited to the Jews.

'From heaven I possess these; and from him I hope to receive these back again.' Thus what is hoped for is a resurrection in bodily shape. But whether the new body is to be of similar material to the old body or even material at all, the writer does not explicitly declare.

'The hopes which are given by God.' The allusion is probably to certain passages in the Law and the Prophets interpreted of the Resurrection, perhaps more especially to the definite statement in the Book of Isaiah (p. 367), 'Thy dead shall arise,' and to the Book of Daniel.

'As for thee, thou shalt have no resurrection unto life.' A far more merciful doctrine than that of eternal punishment, which

even a genius like Dante could think consonant with divine justice and love, and the fit subject of a poem.

'We suffer these things for our own doings, as sinning against our own God.' An excellent illustration of a phase of religious thought which exercised us in the Psalter. The pure and holy martyr so identifies himself with his people, and the race is so thoroughly regarded as a living unity, that the innocent individual finds no difficulty in looking upon his own sufferings as due to the sins of others, whether predecessors or contemporaries. And these sore sufferings and culminating martyrdoms, undergone voluntarily and out of pure obedience to the Divine law, will finally expiate the offences of Israel. Hence the last brother expresses the hope that 'in him and his brethren,' the 'wrath' of God which has been 'justly brought upon the whole race of Israel' may now be 'stayed.'

'In mercy giveth back to you again both your spirit and your life.' The present for the future. The allusion is to the resurrection, when to the risen body God will restore the spirit of life.

'In the mercy of God I may receive thee again with thy brethren.' That is, on the day of Resurrection.

It could not have been very long after the author of the Second Book of the Maccabees had written his history, that the famous prayer was composed which finds so prominent a place in our liturgy:

'Thou, O Lord, art mighty for ever; thou quickenest the dead, thou art mighty to save. Thou sustainest the living with loving-kindness, quickenest the dead with great mercy, supportest the falling, healest the sick, loosest the bound, and keepest thy faith to them that sleep in the dust. Who is like unto thee, Lord of mighty acts, and who resembleth thee, O king, who killest and quickenest, and causest salvation to spring forth? Yea, faithful art thou to quicken the dead. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who quickenest the dead.'

The presence of Antiochus is certainly unhistorical, as he did not return into Judæa after his retreat from Egypt. How far that inaccuracy vitiates the whole story is doubtful, but the number of the sons gives rise to suspicion, as well as the silence of the First Book of the Maccabees. The elaboration of torture seems also happily to be very unlikely. But the spirit of the tale, and the heroism displayed by mother and sons alike, are in full accordance with fact. The story became very famous in both Jewish and Christian literature.

§ 17. *Mattathias of Modin.*—The blood of the martyrs was not to be shed in vain. And the story of the men who, by the will

of the world's Spirit and Ruler, preserved the religion of Amos and Isaiah has now to be told. At last we have reached the story of the Maccabees, to which allusion has so often been made, and to which we have been leading up so long. This is how the First Book describes the beginning of the movement.

In those days rose up Mattathias the son of John, the son of Simeon, a priest of the sons of Joarib, from Jerusalem; and he dwelt at Modin. And he had five sons, John, who was surnamed Gaddis; Simon, who was called Thassi; Judas, who was called Maccabæus; Eleazar, who was called Avaran; Jonathan, who was called Apphus.

And he saw the blasphemies that were committed in Judah and in Jerusalem, and he said,

'Woe is me! wherefore was I born to see the destruction of my people, and the destruction of the holy city, and to dwell there, when it was given into the hand of the enemy, the sanctuary into the hand of aliens? Her temple is become as a man that was glorious: her vessels of glory are carried away into captivity, her infants are slain in her streets, her young men with the sword of the enemy. What nation hath not inherited her palaces, and gotten possession of her spoils? her adorning is all taken away; instead of a free woman she is become a bond woman: and, behold, our holy things and our beauty and our glory are laid waste, and the Gentiles have profaned them. Wherefore should we live any longer?'

And Mattathias and his sons rent their clothes, and put on sackcloth, and mourned exceedingly.

And the king's officers, that were enforcing the apostasy, came into the city Modin to sacrifice. And many of Israel came unto them, and Mattathias and his sons were gathered together. And the king's officers answered and spake to Mattathias, saying, 'Thou art a ruler and an honourable and great man in this city, and strengthened with sons and brethren: now therefore come thou first and do the commandment of the king, as all the nations have done, and the men of Judah, and they that remain in Jerusalem: and thou and thy house shall be in the number of the king's Friends, and thou and thy sons shall be honoured with silver and gold and many gifts.'

And Mattathias answered and said with a loud voice,

'If all the nations that are in the house of the king's dominion hearken unto him, to fall away each one from the worship of his fathers, and have made choice to follow his commandments, yet will I and my sons and my brethren walk in the covenant of our fathers. Heaven forbid that we should forsake the law and the ordinances. We will not hearken to the king's words, to go aside from our worship, on the right hand, or on the left.'

And when he had left speaking these words, there came a Jew in the sight of all to sacrifice on the altar which was at Modin, according to the king's commandment. And Mattathias saw it, and his zeal was kindled, and his reins trembled, and he shewed forth his wrath according to judgement, and ran, and slew him upon the altar. And the king's officer, who compelled men to sacrifice, he killed at that time, and pulled down the altar. And he was zealous for the law, even as Phinehas did unto Zimri the son of Salu.

And Mattathias cried out in the city with a loud voice, saying, 'Whosoever is zealous for the law, and maintaineth the covenant, let him come forth after me.' And he and his sons fled into the mountains, and forsook all that they had in the city.

Then many that sought after justice and judgement went down into the wilderness, to dwell there, they, and their sons, and their wives, and their cattle; because evils were multiplied upon them. And it was told the king's officers, and the forces that were in Jerusalem, the city of David, that certain men, who had broken the king's commandment, were gone down into the secret places in the wilderness; and many pursued after them, and having overtaken them, they encamped against them, and set the battle in array against them on the sabbath day. And they said unto them, 'Thus far. Come forth, and do according to the word of the king, and ye shall live.' And they said, 'We will not come forth, neither will we do the word of the king, to profane the sabbath day.' And they hasted to give them battle. And they answered them not, neither cast they a stone at them, nor stopped up the secret places, saying, 'Let us die all in our innocency: heaven and earth witness over us, that ye put us to death without trial.' And they rose up against them in battle on the sabbath, and they died,

they and their wives and their children, and their cattle, to the number of a thousand souls.

And Mattathias and his friends knew it, and they mourned over them exceedingly. And one said to another, 'If we all do as our brethren have done, and fight not against the Gentiles for our lives and our ordinances, they will now quickly destroy us from off the earth.' And they took counsel on that day, saying, 'Whosoever shall come against us to battle on the sabbath day, let us fight against him, and we shall in no wise all die, as our brethren died in the secret places.'

Then were gathered together unto them a company of Hasidæans, mighty men of Israel, every one that offered himself willingly for the law. And all they that fled from the evils were added to them, and became a stay unto them. And they mustered a host, and smote sinners in their anger, and lawless men in their wrath: and the rest fled to the Gentiles for safety. And Mattathias and his friends went round about, and pulled down the altars; and they pursued after the sons of pride, and the work prospered in their hand. And they rescued the law out of the hand of the Gentiles, and out of the hand of the kings, neither suffered they the sinner to triumph.

'Her temple is become as a man that was glorious.' The text is corrupt and meaningless. The Hebrew probably ran: 'Her temple is become like the house of a despicable man.'

'The king's Friends.' A title of high office in the Syrian court.

'Even as Phinehas.' The reference is to a story in the priestly law-book which I have not given in Part I.

'A company of Hasidæans.' The Hebrew word was Chasidim, i.e. the Pious, or Loving. We have often met the word in the Psalms. It has now become the title of a Party, namely, of those who were most zealous for the Law. The Chasidim were not identical with the party of Mattathias and the Maccabeans, and later on they severed themselves from them. It was the Chasidim who allowed themselves to be slaughtered without resistance upon the Sabbath day. But now for a while they joined themselves to Mattathias, and fought under his leadership.

§ 18. *The death of Mattathias.*—In such a manner did the movement and the revolt begin. It was no season for half measures. Violence was answered by violence, and the Maccabean warriors of

religion showed no pity for the lax and the apostate. They are the prototypes of the Puritan in his fierceness and in his strength.

The formation of Mattathias' band must have taken place towards the close of the year 167. He himself was their leader for a short time only. His last words and charge are thus described. We must remember that ancient authors always allow themselves much freedom in putting speeches into the mouths of the various actors in their histories, and these words of Mattathias show traces of the narrator, who knew the life and the deeds not only of Mattathias, but also of his sons.

And the days of Mattathias drew near that he should die, and he said unto his sons,

'Now have pride and rebuke gotten strength, and a season of overthrow, and wrath of indignation. And now, my children, be ye zealous for the law, and give your lives for the covenant of your fathers. And call to remembrance the deeds of our fathers which they did in their generations; and receive great glory and an everlasting name. Was not Abraham found faithful in temptation, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness? Joseph in the time of his distress kept the commandment, and became lord of Egypt. Phinehas our father, for that he was zealous exceedingly, obtained the covenant of an everlasting priesthood. Joshua for fulfilling the word became a judge in Israel. Caleb for bearing witness in the congregation obtained a heritage in the land. David for being merciful inherited the throne of a kingdom for ever and ever. Elijah, for that he was exceeding zealous for the law, was taken up into heaven. Hananiah, Azariah, Mishael, believed, and were saved out of the flame. Daniel for his innocency was delivered from the mouth of lions. And thus consider ye from generation to generation, that none that put their trust in him shall want for strength. And be not afraid of the words of a sinful man; for his glory shall be dung and worms. To-day he shall be lifted up, and to-morrow he shall in no wise be found, because he is returned unto his dust, and his thought is perished.

'And ye, my children, be strong, and shew yourselves men in behalf of the law; for therein shall ye obtain glory. And, behold, Simon your brother, I know that he is a man

of counsel; give ear unto him alway: he shall be a father unto you. And Judas Maccabæus, he hath been strong and mighty from his youth: he shall be your captain, and shall fight the battle of the people. And take ye unto you all the doers of the law, and avenge the wrong of your people. Render a recompense to the Gentiles, and take heed to the commandments of the law.'

And he blessed them, and was gathered to his fathers. And he died in the hundred and forty and sixth year, and his sons buried him in the sepulchres of his fathers at Modin, and all Israel made great lamentation for him.

'The hundred and forty and sixth year.' 146 from 312 is 166, which is therefore the year in which Mattathias died.

'Hananiah, Azariah, Mishael, believed, . . . Daniel for his innocency was delivered.' I do not think these words could have been spoken by Mattathias. But they might have been written by the author of the First Book of the Maccabees, who wrote some sixty or seventy years after his death. For they seem to indicate an acquaintance with the Book of Daniel, which in all probability did not see the light in the lifetime of Mattathias. The Book of Daniel is the only Book of the Bible, the date of which we are able to ascertain and to fix with comparative accuracy and precision. It was not written before the opening of the year 166; it was not written after the close of the year 164. We may feel tolerably confident that it was in the course of those three years that Hebrew literature was enriched by the addition of this mysterious and remarkable book. Now Daniel was written with direct reference to the persecutions of Antiochus and to the Maccabean revolt; its aims were practical, hortatory and consoling. Its influence was probably considerable and immediate; the resisting power of the people was stimulated, and the sword of the Maccabean warriors was sharpened, by the pen-work of an unknown writer whose strange book was doubtless eagerly and secretly read in many a stronghold and many a camp. It is, therefore, that I turn aside from telling the story of Judas and the deliverance he wrought in order to put before you the Book of Daniel, from whose adventures and prophecies Judas and his brothers in arms may have drawn hope and consolation.

CHAPTER II

THE BOOK OF DANIEL

§ 1. *General characteristics of the book.*—The Book of Daniel is very unlike any Biblical writing with which we have yet had to deal. It is the earliest example of a new kind or class of Jewish literature, which within the Hebrew Bible has no other representatives, and of which, in Hebrew, no other representatives survive. We may perhaps also say that it is not only the earliest example, but also the best, just as Amos is the earliest of the written prophets, and yields to none in his purity and strength.

The Book of Daniel is not prophecy, and yet it is connected with prophecy. It is not a mere tale with a purpose, like Jonah or Esther, but yet it has relations to them.

The prophetical writing which it most clearly resembles is that group of four late chapters in the Book of Isaiah (xxiv–xxvii), the marked differences of which from the old pre-exilic prophecy were pointed out on p. 362.

Daniel was written for a particular time and occasion, to meet a particular need. The time was the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes; the occasion and need were his persecution and the prohibition of the Jewish religion. Daniel is a *Gelegenheitsbuch*, as the Germans would say, a book for the time. And yet the essence, the *raison d'être*, of Daniel is its description of the End, the close of the old order, the opening and manner of the new.

§ 2. *The Great Deliverance.*—Indomitable was the hope, ineradicable the conviction in every believing Jewish heart, that the Great Deliverance must sooner or later come to hand. Right ideas and wrong ideas, old ideas and new ideas, contributed to the maintenance of this conviction. The wrath of God for Israel's sins must sooner or later have burnt itself out: the measure of wickedness of Israel's enemies must at last be full; then God would deliver his

people for good and all; then the reign of sin, whether within or without Israel, would cease, and righteousness and Israel would triumph together. The victory of good, the triumph of righteousness, a meaning in history, the reality of God and his rule, these are the permanent and universal ideas which were partly expressed and partly distorted in their nationalist integuments. There was, as we know, too much identification of the triumph of Israel with the triumph of good, too intimate a union between sinners and Israel's foes. The enemies of Israel were too rashly supposed to be inevitably the enemies of God.

This Messianic belief became the more eager and active, as the need for it grew sorer and graver. The more urgent the calamity, the more sure and the more near must be the deliverance. The idea of gradual progress extending for indefinite and countless ages was unknown. From the direst distress Israel should pass suddenly to complete beatitude.

What situation could be worse than that produced by the persecution of Antiochus? Surely this awful suffering must suffice to wipe off Israel's sins. What punishment beyond this was possible? Surely too these very persecutions must fill the cup of Gentile wickedness to overflowing. The long looked-for deliverance, to be wrought by God's intervention and might, must surely now be close at hand.

§ 3. *Traditions about Daniel.*—The author of Daniel was filled with the ardour of Messianic conviction, and to encourage and strengthen that conviction in others was one of the objects of his book. It is possible that he belonged to those *Chasidim* who at first let themselves be slaughtered without resistance on the Sabbath day. For the deliverance must be divine and supernatural.

Our author's first method of encouragement is by telling wonderful tales of God's deliverance in the past. There was a tradition of a man called Daniel, of great righteousness and wisdom. Ezekiel couples him with Noah and Job as a model of righteousness, and alludes to him elsewhere as a type of wisdom. In the Maccabean age he may have been supposed to have been one of the Jewish exiles at Babylon, and tales and legends of his piety and wisdom may have been current in Palestine. Our author took this legendary figure of the past, and dressed him up in new clothes. He told anew, with special reference to his own time, the tales of Daniel's wisdom and piety. He spoke in Daniel's name, but to his own contemporaries and not to Daniel's. He did not inquire whether the tales were true, and perhaps many of them are his own invention, but they are true to faith. This was the sort of way in which, as he believed, God had

delivered his faithful servants in the past; this was the sort of way in which he would soon deliver them again.

§ 4. *Visions and Apocalypse.*—But the author of Daniel not only wants to encourage resistance and stimulate to constancy and martyrdom, he wishes also to diffuse his belief that the Messianic age is near at hand. And for this purpose he tells a series of prophetic visions in which the manner and time of the deliverance is mysteriously revealed. It is these visions which give the chief character to the book. In them is displayed what the Germans would call its *Eigenart*, its idiosyncrasy. It is these revealing visions which are the characteristic of the *Apocalyptic* literature. Daniel is an *Apocalypse.* (*Apokaluptô* means in Greek 'I disclose, I reveal'; *apokalupsis* means an uncovering, a revelation.)

The essence and culmination of these visions lie in their description of the future: they reveal what is to be, and moreover what is to be shortly.

The prophets also spoke of the future, but they are very different from Daniel, and in drawing out these differences we shall understand better the kind of book we are about to read.

The main burden of the pre-exilic prophets was to denounce sin and to foretell punishment. The restoration was secondary and more distant.

The Second Isaiah's message is, indeed, a message of deliverance, but it is open and direct. Yet he is like Daniel in his anonymity, although very unlike him in manner, matter and style. Moreover, with his message of deliverance there is mingled teaching and reproof. The author of Daniel did not require to teach religion or ethics. For the oneness and uniqueness of God were acknowledged truths, and for moral lessons there were the Scriptures and the sages. He alludes to both.

The prophet speaks in his own name and by virtue of his own inspiration. The apocalyptic seer speaks in the name of another. He is not a prophet, and does not use the prophetic formula: 'Thus saith the Lord.' He ascribes his convictions, which he dresses up in the form of visions, to old heroes of Scripture, who were famous for their wisdom or their piety, and may be supposed to have known the secrets of the divine rule and the times of God.

For prophecy was felt to be a thing of the past. Its true sphere of action no longer existed. Psalmists and others sometimes lamented its loss ('We see not our signs; there is no more any prophet; neither is there among us any that knoweth how long,' p. 485), but in truth there was no room for it. Its true work

was in the main accomplished, although some of its teaching was being forgotten and some was misunderstood. For the main work of the prophet was to establish the doctrine that the one and only God, Jehovah, was a God of Righteousness. And the doctrine of the one God and of the one God's unity had finally triumphed. The Jews were a monotheistic people. It was not fundamental teaching of this kind which the generation of Antiochus Epiphanes either needed or desired. They wanted a prophet for something quite different: *to know how long.* (*How long,* that is, would the distress and misery continue, *how long* would it be before the Messianic Age began.) And this want our author desired to supply. He will discover *how long* from hints supplied by the prophets, but requiring enlargement and interpretation. A fundamental source of Daniel's visions may be found in the seventy years of Jeremiah (Part I, p. 425 *ad fin.*). For the manner of them there were precedents in Ezekiel and Zechariah.

Daniel, being regarded as a contemporary of Nebuchadnezzar and Cyrus, is made to describe the time between the exile and Antiochus IV as if it were future. The exigencies of our author's plan demanded this, but he was wholly unconscious of any deceit. He gives a kind of philosophy of history; he unrolls the order of the various empires which by divine decree were to succeed each other until the final kingdom of the saints. Babylonian, Mede, Persian and Greek were successively to rule over the Jews, till in the fulness of time the people of God should come to their own.

Our author, while doubtless wishing his book to be considered authentic (i. e. written by Daniel), as it soon was, was quite innocent of committing a fraud. In his eyes his end justified his means; and all he claimed was to interpret Scripture in accordance with the signs of the times.

§ 5. *Reasons for the Maccabean date of Daniel.*—It may be asked how is it that all scholars are practically agreed that Daniel was not written during the Exile, but in the age of Antiochus IV? I cannot give the answer fully, but some of the main reasons are these—

(*a*) The author of Daniel is very badly informed about Babylonian and Persian history, and makes several gross blunders. This is natural enough for a Jewish writer of the year 166 B. C., who had no books or encyclopaedias or records to refer to, but impossible for a contemporary of Nebuchadnezzar or Cyrus.

(*b*) The history which he does know about is the history of

Alexander's successors. The nearer he gets to the reign of Antiochus the more detailed and accurate is his knowledge.

(*c*) The true interest of the book and the point of the visions centre in the persecutions of Antiochus. The author knows about his Egyptian campaigns and about the embassy of Popilius Laenas. What he does not know is the manner of the king's death. There he goes wrong. Therefore he wrote between the second Egyptian campaign and the death of Antiochus (168–164). Indications of more exact date will be considered later on.

(*d*) The manner of the book is late. Its symbolism, its mystery, its use of numbers, its doctrine of angels are all safe indications that the age of Cyrus has long ago passed away.

(*e*) Its language is late. There are several Greek words in it, an extreme improbability before Alexander, an unlikelihood for several years after his death.

§ 6. *Why is Daniel partly written in Hebrew and partly in Aramaic?*—Daniel is partly written in Hebrew and partly in Aramaic. No quite satisfactory explanation of this has ever been given. The book opens in Hebrew. Early in the second chapter we pass to Aramaic which is continued till the end of chapter seven. We then return to Hebrew till the conclusion. Did the author, who had a reason for his first few words in Aramaic, continue for a time in that language, because it was more familiar to him and to his readers? Or was part of the Hebrew manuscript lost and its place supplied by an Aramaic translation? We cannot tell. But there is no reason to suppose that Daniel is the work of more than one author or of more than one age.

§ 7. *The religious importance of the Book.*—The religious value and interest of Daniel are of a high order. Not only does it breathe a fine spirit of faith and trust in God, but we find in it the clearest and most definite expression in the Hebrew Bible of the dogma of Resurrection. It is true that the resurrection is conceived as partial, earthly and material, whereas the hope that sustains us now is universal, 'heavenly' and spiritual; but even this form of the belief that man's activities and beatitude are not limited to his *first* life on earth was sufficient to exercise the most important, and on the whole the most favourable, influence upon Jewish religion and morality. To regard this life as a preparation for another is, on the whole, and after a certain stage of culture has been attained, the finest stimulus for purifying our conception of this life and for helping us to spend it worthily and well.

§ 8. *The opening story.*—Let us now listen to the Book of Daniel, with such brief explanations as may be necessary, from its beginning to its end.

In the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim king of Judah came Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon unto Jerusalem, and besieged it. And the Lord gave Jehoiakim king of Judah into his hand, with part of the vessels of the house of God: and he brought them into the land of Shinar to the house of his god.

And the king spake unto Ashpenaz the master of his chamberlains, that he should bring from the children of Israel, both of the king's seed, and of the nobles, youths in whom was no blemish, but well favoured, and skilful in all wisdom, and cunning in knowledge, and understanding science, and with strength of body, to stand in the king's palace, and that they should teach them the writings and the tongue of the Chaldeans. And the king appointed them a daily provision from the king's portion, and from the wine which he drank: and they were to be nourished so three years, that at the end thereof they might stand before the king.

Now among these were of the children of Judah, Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah. And the master of the chamberlains gave them names: for he gave unto Daniel the name of Belteshazzar; and to Hananiah, of Shadrach; and to Mishael, of Meshach; and to Azariah, of Abed-nego.

But Daniel purposed in his heart that he would not defile himself with the king's portion, nor with the wine which he drank: therefore he requested of the master of the chamberlains that he might not defile himself. And God brought Daniel into favour and pity with the master of the chamberlains. And the master of the chamberlains said unto Daniel, 'I fear lest my lord the king, who hath appointed your meat and your drink, should see your faces worse favoured than the other youths of your own age: then will ye make my head forfeit to the king.' Then said Daniel to the overseer whom the master of the chamberlains had set over Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, 'Prove thy servants, I beseech thee, ten days; and let them give us vegetables to eat, and water to drink. Then let our countenances be looked upon before thee, and the

countenance of the youths that eat of the king's portion: and as thou seest, deal with thy servants.' So he hearkened to them in this matter, and proved them ten days. And at the end of ten days their countenances appeared fairer and fatter in flesh than all the other youths who did eat of the king's portion. Then the overseer took away from them their provision of the king's portion and their wine, and gave them vegetables.

And to these four youths God gave knowledge and intelligence in all kinds of books, and wisdom: and Daniel had understanding in all kinds of visions and dreams.

And at the end of the days after which the king had ordered them to be brought in, the master of the chamberlains brought them in before Nebuchadnezzar. And the king spake with them; and among them all was found none like Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah: so they stood before the king. And in all matters of wisdom and understanding, that the king enquired of them, he found them ten times better than all the soothsayers and wizards that were in all his realm. And Daniel continued at the king's court even unto the first year of king Cyrus. (?)

'In the third year,' &c. We hear nothing of this particular siege in the books of Kings and Jeremiah.

'Tongue of the Chaldæans.' In Hebrew *Chasdim*. The Chaldæans were a Babylonian tribe, and hence their name was used as a synonym for Babylonians generally. But the author of Daniel uses 'Chaldæans' to signify the caste of wise men. This sense of the word was unknown in the age of Nebuchadnezzar, and dates from a far later time 'when practically the only Chaldæans known belonged to the caste in question' (Driver).

'Belteshazzar' is a real Babylonian name, meaning '(Bel) protect thou his life.' 'Abednego' should be Ebed-nebo, i. e. 'servant of Nebo.'

'He would not defile himself.' A refusal to eat forbidden meat played, as we know, an important part in the Maccabean revolt. To eat such meat implied apostasy from Judaism. The tale involves a lesson and an example.

§ 9. *The dream of Nebuchadnezzar and its interpretation.*— And in the second year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar Nebuchadnezzar dreamed dreams, wherewith his spirit was troubled, and his sleep went from him. Then the king

commanded to call the soothsayers, and the enchanters, and the sorcerers, and the Chaldeans, to explain unto the king his dreams. So they came and stood before the king. And the king said unto them, 'I have dreamed a dream, and my spirit was troubled to understand the dream.' Then spake the Chaldeans to the king [in Aramaic], 'O king, live for ever: tell thy servants the dream, and we will set forth the interpretation.'

The king answered and said to the Chaldeans, 'The word which hath gone from me is sure: if ye do not make known unto me the dream with the interpretation thereof, ye shall be cut in pieces, and your houses shall be made a dunghill. But if ye declare the dream and the interpretation thereof, ye shall receive of me gifts and rewards and great honour; therefore tell me the dream and the interpretation thereof.' They answered again and said, 'Let the king tell his servants the dream, and we will declare the interpretation of it.' The king answered and said, 'I know of certainty that ye would gain time, because ye see that certain is the word which hath gone forth from me, that if ye do not make known unto me the dream, there is but one sentence for you: for ye have prepared lying and corrupt words to speak before me, till the time be changed: therefore tell me the dream, and I shall know that ye can set forth to me its interpretation.' The Chaldeans answered before the king, and said, 'There is not a man upon the earth that can tell the king's matter: seeing that no great and mighty king hath ever asked such a thing of any soothsayer, or enchanter, or Chaldean. And it is too hard a thing that the king requireth, and there is none other that can tell it before the king, except the gods, whose dwelling is not with flesh.'

For this cause the king was angry and very furious, and commanded to destroy all the wise men of Babylon. And the decree went forth that the wise men should be slain; and they sought Daniel and his fellows to slay them. Then Daniel answered with prudence and wisdom to Arioch the captain of the king's guard, who was gone forth to slay the wise men of Babylon: he answered and said to Arioch the king's captain, 'Why is the decree so harsh on the part of the king?' Then Arioch made the thing known to Daniel.

Then Daniel went in, and desired of the king that he

would give him a time, in order that he might declare unto the king the interpretation. Then Daniel went to his house, and made the thing known to Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, his companions, that they might ask pity of the God of heaven concerning this secret; that Daniel and his fellows might not perish together with the rest of the wise men of Babylon.

Then was the secret revealed unto Daniel in a night vision. Then Daniel blessed the God of heaven. Daniel answered and said, 'Blessed be the name of God for ever and ever: for wisdom and might are his. And he it is who changeth the times and the seasons: who removeth kings, and setteth up kings: who giveth wisdom unto the wise, and knowledge to them that know understanding. He revealeth the deep and secret things: he knoweth what is in the darkness, and the light dwelleth with him. I thank thee, and praise thee, O thou God of my fathers, who hast given me wisdom and might, and hast made known unto me now what we desired of thee: for thou hast now made known unto us the king's matter.'

Therefore Daniel went in unto Arioch, whom the king had appointed to destroy the wise men of Babylon: he went and said thus unto him; 'Destroy not the wise men of Babylon: bring me in before the king, and I will declare unto the king the interpretation.'

Then Arioch brought in Daniel before the king in haste, and said thus unto him, 'I have found a man of the exiles of Judah, that will make known unto the king the interpretation.' The king answered and said to Daniel, whose name was Belteshazzar, 'Art thou able to make known unto me the dream which I have seen, and the interpretation thereof?' Daniel answered in the presence of the king, and said, 'The secret which the king hath demanded the wise men, the soothsayers, the enchanters, the astrologers cannot tell unto the king; but there is a God in heaven that revealeth secrets, and maketh known to the king Nebuchadnezzar what shall be in the latter days. Thy dream, and the visions of thy head upon thy bed, are these:

'As for thee, O king, thoughts came unto thee upon thy bed, as to what should come to pass hereafter: and he that revealeth secrets maketh known to thee what shall come

to pass. But as for me, this secret is not revealed to me for any wisdom that I have more than any living, but in order that the interpretation might be made known to the king, and that thou mightest understand the thoughts of thy heart.

'Thou, O king, sawest, and behold a great image. This great image, whose brightness was exceeding, stood before thee; and the look thereof was terrible. Of this sort was the image. Its head was of fine gold, its breast and its arms of silver, its belly and its thighs of brass, its legs of iron, its feet part of iron and part of clay. Thou sawest till that a stone loosed itself without hands, which smote the image upon its feet that were of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces. Then were the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold, broken to pieces together, and they became like the chaff of the summer threshing-floors; and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them: and the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth.

'This is the dream; and we will tell the interpretation thereof before the king. Thou, O king, king of kings, to whom the God of heaven hath given the kingdom, power, and strength and glory, so that wheresoever the children of men dwell, the beasts of the field and the fowls of the heaven, he hath given them into thine hand, and hath made thee ruler over them all, thou art this head of gold. And after thee shall arise another kingdom inferior to thee, and another third kingdom of brass, which shall bear rule over all the earth. And there shall be a fourth kingdom, strong as iron: forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces and subdueth all things: and as iron that breaketh, so shall it crush and break in pieces all these. And whereas thou sawest the feet and toes, part of potters' clay, and part of iron, a divided kingdom shall it be; a portion of the strength of the iron shall be in it, forasmuch as thou sawest the iron mixed with miry clay. And as the toes of the feet were part of iron, and part of clay, so the kingdom shall be partly strong, and partly brittle. And whereas thou sawest iron mixed with miry clay, they shall mingle themselves with the seed of men: yet they shall not cleave one to another, even as iron doth not mix with clay.

'And in the days of these kings shall the God of heaven

set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed: and the kingdom shall not be left to another people; it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, but as for itself, it shall stand for ever, forasmuch as thou sawest that the stone loosed itself without hands out of the mountain, and that it brake in pieces the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver, and the gold. A great God hath made known to the king what shall come to pass hereafter: and the dream is certain, and the interpretation thereof sure.'

Then the king Nebuchadnezzar fell upon his face, and worshipped Daniel, and commanded that they should offer an oblation and sweet odours unto him. The king answered unto Daniel, and said, 'Of a truth it is, that your God is the God of gods, and the Lord of kings, and the revealer of secrets, seeing thou couldest reveal this secret.' Then the king made Daniel a great man, and gave him many great gifts, and made him ruler over the whole province of Babylon, and chief governor over all the wise men of Babylon. Then Daniel requested of the king, and he set Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, over the affairs of the province of Babylon: but Daniel remained at the court of the king.

This section is a tale and an apocalypse in one. From the words 'O king, live for ever' the Aramaic language is used, and is continued for six chapters. The author obviously believed that the Chaldæans spoke Aramaic, which is quite erroneous. They would have spoken 'Babylonian.' 'The term "Chaldee" for the Aramaic of the Bible is a misnomer, the use of which is only a source of confusion. The idea that the Jews forgot their Hebrew in Babylonia, and spoke in "Chaldee" when they returned to Palestine, is unfounded. Haggai and Zechariah and other post-exilic writers use Hebrew; Aramaic is exceptional. Hebrew was still normally spoken about 430 B.C. in Jerusalem. The Hebrews, after the Captivity, acquired gradually the use of Aramaic *from their neighbours* in and about Palestine' (Driver).

The four kingdoms are those of Babylon, Media, Persia and Macedonia. The author is not historically accurate about Media, inasmuch as its kings did not destroy the kingdom of Babylon. Cyaxares of Media overthrew the *Assyrian* empire about 607. Cyrus overcame Media before the conquest of Babylon.

The fourth kingdom is Alexander's. The 'feet and toes' are the kingdoms of the Diadochoi who divided Alexander's possessions among them. More especially they are the kingdoms of

Egypt and of Syria with which alone our author is concerned. The Egyptian kingdom declined in strength after the death of Euergêtes in 222, and still more after the death of Philopator in 204.

'They shall mingle themselves,' &c. The reference is to the marriages between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids and to their very impermanent results. (See the last chapter § 4 and § 7.)

'The kingdom which shall never be destroyed' is the Messianic kingdom of the Jews.

§ 10. *The golden image and the fiery furnace.*—Nebuchadnezzar the king made an image of gold, whose height was threescore cubits, and the breadth thereof six cubits: he set it up in the plain of Dura, in the province of Babylon. Then Nebuchadnezzar the king sent to gather together the satraps, the governors, and the captains, the counsellors, the treasurers, the judges, the chiefs, and all the rulers of the provinces, to come to the dedication of the image which Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up. Then the satraps, the governors, and captains, the counsellors, the treasurers, the judges, the chiefs, and all the rulers of the provinces, were gathered together unto the dedication of the image that Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up; and they stood before the image that Nebuchadnezzar had set up.

Then an herald cried aloud, 'To you it is commanded, O peoples, nations, and languages, that at what time ye hear the sound of the horn, pipe, lute, sackbut, harp, and fife, and all kinds of music, ye fall down and worship the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar the king hath set up: and whoso falleth not down and worshippeth shall the same hour be cast into the midst of a burning fiery furnace.' Therefore at that time, when all the people heard the sound of the horn, pipe, lute, sackbut, harp and all kinds of music, all the peoples, the nations, and the languages, fell down and worshipped the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up.

Then at that time certain Chaldeans came near, and accused the Jews. They spake and said to the king Nebuchadnezzar, 'O king, live for ever. Thou, O king, hast made a decree, that every man that shall hear the sound of the horn, pipe, lute, sackbut, harp, and fife, and all kinds of music, shall fall down and worship the golden image: and whoso falleth not down and worshippeth shall be

cast into the midst of a burning fiery furnace. There are certain Jews whom thou hast set over the affairs of the province of Babylon, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego; these men, O king, have not regarded thee: they serve not thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up.'

Then Nebuchadnezzar in rage and fury commanded to bring Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego. Then they brought these men before the king. Nebuchadnezzar spake and said unto them, 'Is it true, O Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, that ye do not serve my gods, nor worship the golden image which I have set up? Now if ye be ready that at what time ye hear the sound of the horn, pipe, lute, sackbut, harp, and fife and all kinds of music, ye fall down and worship the image which I have made, well: but if ye worship not, ye shall be cast the same hour into the midst of a burning fiery furnace; and who is that God that shall deliver you out of my hands?'

Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, answered and said to the king, 'O Nebuchadnezzar, we have no need to answer thee concerning this matter. If our God whom we serve be able to deliver us, he will deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and out of thine hand, O king. But if not, be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up.'

Then was Nebuchadnezzar full of fury, and the form of his visage was changed against Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego: he spake, and commanded that they should heat the furnace seven times more than it was needful to heat it. And he commanded mighty men that were in his army to bind Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, and to cast them into the burning fiery furnace. Then these men were bound in their breeches, their tunics, and their mantles, and their other garments, and were cast into the midst of the burning fiery furnace. Therefore because the king's commandment was urgent, and the furnace exceeding hot, the flame of the fire slew those men that took up Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego. And these three men, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, were thrown down bound into the midst of the burning fiery furnace.

Then Nebuchadnezzar the king was appalled, and rose up in haste, and spake, and said unto his ministers, 'Did not

we cast three men bound into the midst of the fire?' They answered and said unto the king, 'Certainly, O king.' He answered and said, 'Lo, I see four men loose, walking in the midst of the fire, and they have no hurt; and the look of the fourth is like that of a son of the gods.'

Then Nebuchadnezzar came near to the mouth of the burning fiery furnace, and spake, and said, 'Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, ye servants of the most high God, come forth, and come hither.' Then Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, came forth of the midst of the fire. And the satraps, governors, and captains, and the king's ministers, being gathered together, saw these men, upon whose bodies the fire had no power, nor was an hair of their head singed, neither were their breeches injured, nor had the smell of fire come upon them.

Then Nebuchadnezzar spake, and said, 'Blessed be the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, who hath sent his angel, and delivered his servants that trusted in him, and transgressed the king's word, and yielded their bodies, that they might not serve nor worship any god, except their own God. Therefore I make a decree, That every people, nation, and language, which speak any thing amiss against the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, shall be cut in pieces, and their houses shall be made a dunghill: because there is no other god that can deliver after this sort.' Then the king promoted Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, in the province of Babylon.

'The general purpose of this chapter is perfectly clear—from beginning to end it is a polemic against the heathen worship and in particular against idolatry. The Israelite who has to choose between idolatry and death, should unhesitatingly prefer the latter. Even where there appears no hope of deliverance, the God of Israel is able to succour those who persevere in obedience to him' (Bevan). Three of the musical instruments mentioned in this chapter are Greek, viz. the lute (*kitharis*), the harp (*psaltêrion*) and the fife (*symphonia*). The latter is mentioned, curiously enough, in Polybius' character sketch of the character of Antiochus Epiphanes.

'If our God whom we serve be able to deliver us, he will deliver us. . . . But if not, . . . we will not serve thy gods.' Notable words. The speakers have no doubt that God is able to deliver them, if he chooses. All they mean to say is: Come what may,

be it life or be it death, we will not disobey the laws of God or by our deeds renounce him. Whether supreme righteousness demanded the sacrifice of their lives, they knew not; if they were killed by the fire, then supreme righteousness did require that sacrifice; if it did not require it, they would be saved; but whatever the issue was to be, their own course was clear. The lesson to the Maccabean readers was plain and peremptory. God may save you, or God may require your death: it is yours to obey his law, whether you live or whether you die.

§ 11. *How Nebuchadnezzar was made to dwell with the beasts of the field.*—Nebuchadnezzar the king, unto all peoples, nations, and languages, that dwell in all the earth: Peace be multiplied unto you. It pleaseth me to set forth the signs and wonders that the most high God hath wrought toward me. How great are his signs! and how mighty are his wonders! his kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and his dominion is from generation to generation.

I Nebuchadnezzar was at rest in mine house, and flourishing in my palace: I saw a dream which made me afraid, and the thoughts upon my bed and the visions of my head troubled me. Therefore made I an order to bring in all the wise men of Babylon before me, that they might make known unto me the interpretation of the dream. Then came in the soothsayers, the enchanters, the Chaldeans, and the astrologers: and I told the dream before them; but they did not make known unto me the interpretation thereof. But at the last Daniel came in before me, whose name was Belteshazzar, according to the name of my god, and in whom is the spirit of the holy gods: and before him I told the dream, saying, 'O Belteshazzar, master of the soothsayers, of whom I know that the spirit of the holy gods is in thee, and no secret troubleth thee, tell me the visions of my dream that I have seen, and the interpretation thereof.

'Thus were the visions of mine head in my bed; I saw, and behold a tree in the midst of the earth, and the height thereof was great. The tree was great and strong, and the height thereof reached unto heaven, and the girth thereof to the end of all the earth: the leaves thereof were fair, and the fruit thereof much, and in it was food for all: the beasts of the field had shadow under it, and the birds of the heaven dwelt in the boughs thereof, and all flesh was fed of it. I saw in the visions of my head upon my bed, and, behold,

a watcher and an holy one came down from heaven. He cried aloud, and said thus, "Hew down the tree, and cut off its branches, strip off its leaves, and scatter its fruit: let the beasts flee away from under it, and the birds from its branches. Nevertheless leave the stump of its roots in the earth, even in a band of iron and brass; and let it be wet with the dew of heaven, and with the beasts let his portion be of the grass of the earth. Let his heart be changed from man's, and let a beast's heart be given unto him, and let seven times pass over him. This matter is by the decree of the watchers, and the business by the word of the holy ones: to the intent that the living may know that the most High ruleth over the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men." This dream I king Nebuchadnezzar have seen. Now thou, O Belteshazzar, declare the interpretation thereof, forasmuch as all the wise men of my kingdom are not able to make known unto me the interpretation: but thou art able, for the spirit of the holy gods is in thee.'

Then Daniel, whose name was Belteshazzar, was appalled for one hour, and his thoughts troubled him. The king spake and said, 'Belteshazzar, let not the dream, or the interpretation thereof, trouble thee.' Belteshazzar answered and said, 'My lord, the dream be to them that hate thee, and the interpretation thereof to thine enemies. The tree that thou sawest, which was great and strong, whose height reached unto the heaven, and the girth thereof to all the earth; whose leaves were fair, and the fruit thereof much, and in it was food for all; under which the beasts of the field dwelt, and upon whose branches the birds of the heaven had their habitation:—It is thou, O king, thou that art great and strong: for thy greatness is grown, and reacheth unto heaven, and thy dominion to the end of the earth. And whereas the king saw a watcher and an holy one coming down from heaven, and saying, "Hew the tree down, and destroy it; yet leave the stump of the roots thereof in the earth, even in a band of iron and brass; and let it be wet with the dew of heaven, and let his portion be with the beasts of the field, till seven times pass over him":—This is the interpretation, O king, and this is the decree of the most High, which is gone forth upon my lord the king: They shall drive thee from men, and thy dwelling shall be with the

beasts of the field, and they shall give thee to eat grass as oxen, and thou shalt be wet with the dew of heaven, and seven times shall pass over thee, till thou realize that the most High ruleth over the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will. And whereas it was commanded to leave the stump of the roots of the tree, thy kingdom shall be confirmed unto thee, after that thou shalt recognize that the heavens do rule. Wherefore, O king, let my counsel be acceptable unto thee, and break off thy sins by almsgiving, and thine iniquities by shewing mercy to the poor; if haply it may be a lengthening of thy prosperity.'

All this came upon the king Nebuchadnezzar. At the end of twelve months he walked on the roof of the royal palace at Babylon. The king spake, and said, 'Is not this great Babylon, that I have built for a royal residence by the might of my power, and to the honour of my majesty?' While the word was yet in the king's mouth, there fell a voice from heaven, saying, 'O king Nebuchadnezzar, to thee it is spoken: The kingdom is departed from thee. And they shall drive thee from men, and thy dwelling shall be with the beasts of the field: they shall make thee to eat grass as oxen, and seven times shall pass over thee, until thou realize that the most High ruleth over the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will.' The same hour was the thing fulfilled upon Nebuchadnezzar: and he was driven from men, and did eat grass as oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hair was grown like eagles' feathers, and his nails like birds' claws.

And at the end of the days I Nebuchadnezzar lifted up mine eyes unto heaven, and mine understanding returned unto me, and I blessed the most High, and I praised and honoured him that liveth for ever, whose dominion is an everlasting dominion, and his kingdom is from generation to generation: and all the inhabitants of the earth are reputed as nothing: and he doeth according to his will upon the army of heaven, and upon the inhabitants of the earth: and none can stay his hand, or say unto him, What doest thou? At the same time my reason came back to me; and I returned to the glory of my kingdom, and my complexion was restored unto me; and my ministers and my lords sought unto me; and I was established in my kingdom, and even greater power was added unto me. Now I Nebuchadnezzar praise

and extol and honour the King of heaven, all whose works are truth, and his ways justice: and those that walk in pride he is able to abase.

What traditional basis there may be for this story is hard to say. But a fragment of the historian Abydenus leads us to believe that in some form or other a Babylonian legend on the subject did circulate in Palestine and was known to our author. How much he modified or added to it, it is impossible to tell.

Its purpose has been well described by Professor Bevan. It is 'a demonstration of the real helplessness of the Gentile power in the presence of the true God. To the Jewish subjects of Antiochus the king's power might well seem irresistible; accordingly the author here teaches, for the encouragement of his despairing brethren, that the mightiest of men has no more strength against God than the meanest, that by the divine decree a great king may in a moment be degraded not merely to the level of a beggar, but to that of a brute. In order to heighten the effect of this moral lesson, Nebuchadnezzar himself, the subject of the story, is introduced as the narrator.' By a slip of memory the writer in the middle of the tale uses the third person in speaking of the king instead of the first.

'Break off thy sins by almsgiving.' It is doubtful if the word means 'righteousness' or 'almsgiving,' for in Rabbinic Hebrew and Aramaic *Zedakah* acquired the special meaning of almsgiving. The passage means quite simply, 'Do good deeds instead of evil ones.' The most typical good deeds are almsgiving and charity to the poor.

The story teaches humility even more than the helplessness of human might over against the omnipotence of God. It is in consonance with Greek ideas of the punishment which must inevitably befall the insolence of power. Nebuchadnezzar is guilty of what the Greeks called *hubris*, insolent pride, the intemperate abuse of good fortune and prosperity. But it is a curious feature of the story that the narrator displays a certain tenderness towards the king. Not only does Daniel address him with respect, but he is represented as a sort of repentant sinner. He acknowledges the justice of his punishment; he realizes the distance between the mightiest monarch and God. Does the author mean to indicate that there was still a chance for Antiochus, if he repented of his insolence and cruelty, of being forgiven by God?

§ 12. *Belshazzar's feast.*—Belshazzar the king made a great feast to a thousand of his lords, and drank wine before the thousand. Belshazzar, whiles he tasted the wine, com-

manded to bring the golden and silver vessels which his father Nebuchadnezzar had taken out of the temple which was in Jerusalem; that the king, and his princes and his wives, might drink therein. Then they brought the golden vessels that were taken out of the temple of the house of God which was at Jerusalem; and the king, and his princes and his wives, drank in them. They drank wine, and praised the gods of gold, and of silver, of brass, of iron, of wood and of stone.

In the same hour came forth fingers of a man's hand, and wrote over against the light upon the plaster of the wall of the king's palace: and the king saw the outline of the hand that wrote. Then the king's colour was changed, and his thoughts troubled him, so that the joints of his loins were loosed, and his knees smote one against another. The king cried aloud to bring in the enchanters, the Chaldeans, and the astrologers. And the king spake, and said to the wise men of Babylon, 'Whoso shall read this writing, and declare unto me the interpretation thereof, shall be clothed with scarlet, and have a chain of gold about his neck, and shall be the third ruler in the kingdom.' Then came in all the king's wise men: but they could not read the writing, nor make known to the king the interpretation thereof. Then was king Belshazzar greatly troubled, and his colour was changed upon him, and his lords were perplexed.

Now the queen-mother by reason of the words of the king and his lords came into the banquet house: and the queen-mother spake and said, 'O king, live for ever: let not thy thoughts trouble thee, nor let thy colour be changed. There is a man in thy kingdom, in whom is the spirit of the holy gods; and in the days of thy father light and understanding and wisdom, like the wisdom of the gods, was found in him; and the king Nebuchadnezzar thy father made him the master of the soothsayers, enchanters, Chaldeans, and astrologers; because an excellent spirit, and knowledge, and understanding, the interpretation of dreams, and explanation of riddles, and loosing of spells, were found in him, Daniel, whom the king named Belteshazzar. Now let Daniel be called, and he will shew the interpretation.' Then was Daniel brought in before the king.

And the king spake and said unto Daniel, 'Art thou that Daniel, who art of the children of the captivity of Judah,

whom the king my father brought out of Judah? I have even heard of thee, that the spirit of the gods is in thee, and that light and understanding and excellent wisdom are found in thee. And now the wise men, the enchanters, have been brought in before me, that they should read this writing, and make known unto me the interpretation thereof: but they could not declare to me the interpretation of the thing: and I have heard of thee, that thou canst give interpretations, and loose spells: now if thou canst read the writing, and make known to me the interpretation thereof, thou shalt be clothed with scarlet, and have a chain of gold about thy neck, and shalt be the third ruler in the kingdom.'

Then Daniel answered and said before the king, 'Let thy gifts be to thyself, and give thy rewards to another; yet I will read the writing unto the king, and make known to him the interpretation.

'O thou king, the most high God gave Nebuchadnezzar thy father a kingdom, and majesty, and glory, and honour: and for the majesty that he gave him, all peoples, nations, and languages, trembled and feared before him: whom he would he slew; and whom he would he kept alive; and whom he would he set up; and whom he would he put down. But when his heart was lifted up, and his mind hardened unto insolence, he was deposed from his kingly throne, and his glory was taken from him. And he was driven from the sons of men; and his heart was made like the beasts, and his dwelling was with the wild asses: they fed him with grass like oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven; till he realized that the most high God ruleth over the kingdom of men, and that he appointeth over it whomsoever he will.

'And thou his son, O Belshazzar, hast not humbled thine heart, though thou knewest all this. But thou hast lifted up thyself against the Lord of heaven; and they have brought the vessels of his house before thee, and thou and thy lords and thy wives have drunk wine in them; and thou hast praised the gods of silver, and gold, of brass, iron, wood and stone, which see not, nor hear, nor know: and the God in whose hand thy breath is, and whose are all thy ways, hast thou not glorified. Now from him hath been sent the outline of the hand, and this writing hath been written.

'And this is the writing that is written, MENE, MENE, TEKEL, and PARSIN. This is the interpretation of the thing: MENE; God hath *numbered* thy kingdom, and finished it. TEKEL; Thou art *weighed* in the balance, and art found wanting. PERES; Thy kingdom is *divided in pieces*, and given to the Medes and Persians.'

Then commanded Belshazzar, and they clothed Daniel with scarlet, and put a chain of gold about his neck, and made a proclamation concerning him, that he should be the third ruler in the kingdom.

In that night was Belshazzar the king of the Chaldeans slain. And Darius the Median took the kingdom, being about threescore and two years old.

In this story the author's ignorance of Babylonian history is very significant. Babylon was not captured during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar's son, nor was that son called Belshazzar. The last king of Babylon was a usurper and unrelated to Nebuchadnezzar; his name was Nabu-nahid (Nabonidus). He had a son called Belshar-uzur, but this son never became king.

'The golden vessels.' Here the author more directly refers to the deeds of Antiochus Epiphanes.

'Mene, mene, tekel, parsin.' These words are commonly translated 'Numbered, numbered, weighed, pieces.' 'Parsin' is the plural of 'peres,' to which, in accordance with this interpretation, a meaning is assigned of a 'piece,' a 'fragment.' Doubtless also there is a *double entendre* in the choice of this word. 'Parsin' suggests the Hebrew word *parsê* = Persian. But several scholars now hold that the enigmatical words are names of weights, and that we must render: *a mina, a mina, a shekel, and half-minas.* In that case the interpretation is a sort of punning play upon the words of the inscription. (The objection to the ordinary rendering is grammatical.) But 'why these weights are here introduced, whether they have any special reference to the situation of Belshazzar or to the times of the author of Daniel, remains altogether obscure' (Bevan). In any case the mysterious words were not 'arbitrarily invented by the author, but were borrowed from some other source.'

'And Darius the Median.' It is a little doubtful whether this verse should be connected with what precedes or with what follows. In any case 'Darius the Mede' is another historical inaccuracy. There was never any such person. The author probably had a vague idea that the kingdom of Media must have succeeded to that of Babylon, whereas Media and Babylon

existed simultaneously, and both were overthrown by Cyrus. The two Darius's known to history are the two Persian kings, Darius I (Hystaspes) 521–486, and Darius II, 423–404 B.C.

§ 13. *Daniel in the lions' den.*—Another famous tale, and the last of the series.

It pleased Darius to set over the kingdom an hundred and twenty satraps, who should be over the whole kingdom; and over these three presidents; of whom Daniel was one: that the satraps might give accounts unto them, and the king should have no damage. Then this Daniel was preferred above the presidents and satraps, because an extraordinary spirit was in him; and the king thought to set him over the whole realm. Then the presidents and satraps sought to find occasion against Daniel concerning the kingdom; but they could find none occasion nor fault; forasmuch as he was faithful, neither was there any error or fault found in him. Then said these men, 'We shall not find any occasion against this Daniel, except we find it against him concerning the law of his God.'

Then these presidents and satraps hastened to the king, and said thus unto him, 'King Darius, live for ever. All the presidents of the kingdom, the deputies, and the satraps, the ministers, and the governors, have consulted together to establish a royal statute, and to make a firm prohibition, that whosoever shall ask a petition of any god or man for thirty days, save of thee, O king, he shall be cast into the den of lions. Now, O king, establish the prohibition, and sign the writing, that it be not changed, according to the law of the Medes and Persians, which cannot be abolished.' Wherefore king Darius signed the writing and the prohibition.

Now when Daniel knew that the writing was signed, he went into his house. And he had open windows in his upper chamber toward Jerusalem; and three times a day he kneeled upon his knees, and prayed, and gave thanks before his God, forasmuch as he had been wont to do it aforetime. Then these men hastened, and found Daniel praying and making supplication before his God.

Then they came near, and spake before the king concerning the king's prohibition: 'Hast thou not signed a

prohibition, that every man that shall ask a petition of any God or man within thirty days, save of thee, O king, shall be cast into the den of lions?' The king answered and said, 'The thing is sure, according to the law of the Medes and Persians, which cannot be abolished.' Then answered they and said before the king, 'That Daniel, who is of the children of the captivity of Judah, regardeth not thee, O king, nor the prohibition that thou hast signed, but maketh his petition three times a day.'

Then the king, when he heard these words, was very grieved, and set his heart on Daniel to deliver him: and he laboured till the going down of the sun to deliver him.

Then these men hastened unto the king, and said unto the king, 'Know, O king, that the law of the Medes and Persians is, That no prohibition nor statute which the king establisheth may be changed.' Then the king commanded, and they brought Daniel, and cast him into the den of lions. And the king spake and said unto Daniel, 'Thy God whom thou servest continually, may he deliver thee.' And a stone was brought, and laid upon the mouth of the den; and the king sealed it with his own signet ring, and with the signet rings of his lords; that the purpose might not be changed concerning Daniel.

Then the king went to his palace, and passed the night fasting: and his sleep went from him. Then the king arose at dawn, and went in haste unto the den of lions. And when he came to the den, he cried with a lamentable voice unto Daniel: and the king spake and said to Daniel, 'O Daniel, servant of the living God, hath thy God, whom thou servest continually, been able to deliver thee from the lions? Then said Daniel unto the king, 'O king, live for ever. My God hath sent his angel, and hath shut the lions' mouths, that they have not hurt me: forasmuch as before him innocency was found in me; and also before thee, O king, have I done no wrong.' Then was the king exceeding glad, and commanded that they should take Daniel up out of the den. So Daniel was taken up out of the den, and no manner of hurt was found upon him, because he believed in his God.

And the king commanded, and they brought those men who had accused Daniel, and they cast them into the den of lions, them, their children, and their wives; and the

lions had the mastery of them, and brake all their bones in pieces or ever they came to the bottom of the den.

Then king Darius wrote unto all peoples, nations, and languages, that dwell in all the earth: 'Peace be multiplied unto you. I make a decree, That in every province of my kingdom men tremble and fear before the God of Daniel: for he is the living God, and abideth for ever, and his kingdom shall not be destroyed, and his dominion shall be even unto the end. He delivereth and rescueth, and he worketh signs and wonders in heaven and in earth, who hath delivered Daniel from the power of the lions.' So this Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius, and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian.

I cannot do better than again quote from Mr. Bevan, with respect to the object and nature of this story. 'The general aim of this chapter is much the same as that of chapter iii [i.e. my § 10], and in a few places the verbal resemblance between the two narratives must strike every reader. The main difference is that chapter iii [§ 10] insists upon the negative duty of abstention from idolatry, while this chapter dwells upon the positive side of Judaism. This difference naturally affects the form of both stories. Since the author purposes, in this chapter, to represent an Israelite condemned to death for refusing to abandon the practices of his religion, and since during the exile the religion of Israel consisted merely in acts of private devotion, it was necessary that Daniel should be placed in a situation which made even the private worship of God a capital offence. The task was not an easy one, and this amply accounts for the startling means which the author here adopts. The story taken in itself is of the strangest character, but on examination it will be seen that the features which most astonish us are essential for the attainment of the didactic purpose. It would therefore be a waste of time to inquire how any ruler not completely insane could issue an edict forbidding his subjects to ask petitions of God or man, himself excepted, for the space of thirty days—why Darius adopts the singular proposal made to him without first consulting Daniel, who is his chief minister; why the enemies of Daniel are at one time represented as coercing the king, and at last are condemned to death *en masse*, together with their wives and children. . . . But when we consider the account of the edict of Darius as a literary device whereby the faithfulness of Daniel is conspicuously shown forth, for the edification of Israelites persecuted on account of their religion, the difficulties are at once removed.'

§ 14. *The vision of the four great beasts.*—We now come to the second part of the book, describing sundry visions seen by Daniel, with their interpretations. The first of the visions is contained in chapter vii—the last of the Aramaic chapters.

In the first year of Belshazzar king of Babylon Daniel had a dream and visions of his head upon his bed: then he wrote the dream, and told the sum of the matters. Daniel spake and said: I saw in my vision by night, and, behold, the four winds of the heaven burst forth against the great sea. And four great beasts came up from the sea, diverse one from another. The first was like a lion, and had eagle's wings. I beheld till the wings thereof were plucked, and it was lifted up from the earth, and made to stand upon its feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it. And behold another beast, a second, like to a bear, and it raised itself up on one side, and it had three ribs in the mouth of it between the teeth of it: and they said thus unto it, Arise, devour much flesh. After this I beheld, and lo another, like a leopard, which had on the sides of it four wings of a bird; the beast had also four heads; and dominion was given to it.

After this I saw in the night visions, and behold a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth: it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with its feet: and it was diverse from all the beasts that were before it; and it had ten horns. I considered the horns, and, behold, there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots: and, behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking haughty things.

I beheld till thrones were placed, and an Ancient of Days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like pure wool: his throne was fiery flame, and its wheels were burning fire. A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him: thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the judgement sat and the books were opened. Then because of the sound of the haughty words which the horn spake, I beheld even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame.

And the dominion of the rest of the beasts was taken away: yet their lives were prolonged for a season and time.

I saw in the night visions, and, behold, one like unto a son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of Days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and the kingdom, that all peoples, nations, and languages, should serve him: his dominion should be an everlasting dominion, which should not pass away, and his kingdom should not be destroyed.

The spirit of me, Daniel, was grieved in its sheath, and the visions of my head troubled me. I came near unto one of them that stood by, and asked him the truth of all this. So he told me, and made me know the interpretation of the things:

'These great beasts, which are four, are four kings, which shall arise out of the earth. But the Saints of the Most High shall receive the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever.'

Then I sought to know the truth of the fourth beast, which was diverse from all the others, exceeding dreadful, whose teeth were of iron, and his nails of brass; which devoured, brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with his feet; and of the ten horns that were on his head, and of the other which came up, and before whom three fell; even of that horn that had eyes, and a mouth that spake haughty things, whose look was more stout than his fellows. For I had seen how this same horn had made war with the saints, and prevailed against them; until the Ancient of Days came, and the judgement sat and the sovereignty was given to the Saints of the Most High; and the time came that the Saints possessed the kingdom.

Thus he said: 'The fourth beast shall be a fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall be diverse from all kingdoms, and shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces. And as to the ten horns, out of this kingdom ten kings shall arise: and another shall rise after them; and he shall be diverse from the first, and he shall subdue three kings. And he shall speak haughty words against the Most High, and shall afflict the Saints of the Most High, and seek to change seasons and religion: and they shall be given into his hand until a time and times and part

of a time. But the judgement shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and to destroy it unto the end. And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdoms under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the Saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him.'

Thus far is the end of the matter. As for me Daniel, my cogitations much troubled me, and the colour of my countenance was changed: and I kept the matter in my heart.

Only short and cursory explanations of this and the succeeding visions can be given here: those who become interested in the subject must go for further and fuller details to regular commentaries on Daniel, such for instance as the very useful book of Professor Bevan.

The first beast, the lion, is the kingdom of Babylon. The human walk and the human heart seem here to indicate the loss of power at its close.

The bear is Media. The meaning of the 'three ribs' is doubtful: perhaps it is a mere pictorial addition.

The leopard is Persia. The four wings and heads seem to indicate wide dominion.

The fourth beast is the great conqueror Alexander, 'diverse from all the beasts that went before it.' The ten horns represent ten kings between Alexander and Antiochus Epiphanes. The latter is the 'little horn.' It is not easy to make up the right list of these ten kings, or even to be sure that ten is not a round number. I will not, therefore, quote the various lists which have been suggested.

Who are the three horns out of the ten which the 'little horn,' i.e. Antiochus Epiphanes, 'plucked up'? Probably they are Seleucus Philopator, Heliodorus, the minister who murdered him and for a time was at the head of the Syrian state, and Demetrius Soter, Seleucus Philopator's son, the rightful heir to the throne, who was a hostage at Rome when Antiochus Epiphanes secured the kingdom. Doubtless the death of Seleucus was set down to the credit of Antiochus as well as the expulsion of Heliodorus.

The 'Ancient of Days' is God. The final judgement is now described. Antiochus is to be slain; other gentile powers are to continue 'for a season.' 'One like unto a son of man,' i.e. a figure in human form, is a personification of the Jewish people, or rather of the Jewish elect, the saints, or 'holy ones,' whose

kingdom (without a specified king) is to continue for ever. The personification is explained at the close of the interpretation.

'The horn made war with the saints.' Here the author alludes to the persecution of Antiochus.

'Seasons and religion.' The 'seasons' are the sabbaths or festivals, the observance of which Antiochus prohibited. The word translated 'religion' is '*Dat.*' It means 'the religious law,' or more generally 'religion.'

'A time and times and part of a time.' The period of persecution is to last three years and a bit. Is this a prophecy? And from what event or date did the author start? The rededication of the temple took place in December, 165 B. C. The edict for the abolition of Judaism was published towards the end of 168 B.C.; the desecration of the temple took place in December of that year. Some scholars think that Daniel was written *just after* the rededication of the temple; others that it was written at the opening of the Maccabean movement. In the former case the three years and a piece (or, as some translate, 'three years and a half') would be like all the earlier part of the vision a *vaticinium post eventum*; in the latter case it would be a correct anticipation of the fact. We shall hear of this question again.

§ 15. *The vision of the ram, the goat and the horns.*—Another vision on the same subject, with a still more definite date for the deliverance of the temple from its thraldom to heathen worship. At this point (the opening of the eighth chapter) Hebrew begins again and is used till the end of the book.

In the third year of the reign of king Belshazzar a vision appeared unto me, even unto me Daniel, after those which had appeared unto me before. And I saw in a vision; and I was, when I saw, at Shushan the fortress, which is in the province of Elam; and I saw in a vision, and I was by the river Ulai. Then I lifted up mine eyes, and saw, and, behold, there stood before the river a ram which had two horns: and the two horns were high; but one was higher than the other, and the higher had come up last. I saw the ram pushing westward and northward and southward; so that no beasts might stand before him, neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand; but he did according to his will, and did great things.

And as I was observing, behold, an he goat came from the west over the face of the whole earth, and it touched not the ground: and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes.

And he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power. And I saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns: and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him: and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand. And the he goat did exceeding great things, but when he had become strong, the great horn was broken, and there arose others, even four, in its place, toward the four winds of heaven. And out of one of them came forth a little horn, which waxed exceeding great, toward the South, and toward the East, and toward the Glory. And it waxed great, even to the host of heaven; and it cast down some of the host of the stars, to the ground, and stamped upon them. Yea, it magnified itself even unto the Prince of the host; and from him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down (?). And . . . . . and it cast down the truth to the ground; and it did, and prospered (?).

Then I heard one angel speaking, and another angel said unto him who spake, 'How long shall the vision last—the taking away of the daily sacrifice, and the Horrible Transgression, after that he hath trodden down the sanctuary and the host?' (?). And he said unto him, 'For two thousand and three hundred days; then shall the sanctuary be justified.'

And it came to pass, when I, even I Daniel, saw the vision, and sought for the meaning, then, behold, there stood before me as the appearance of a man. And I heard a man's voice between the banks of Ulai, which called, and said, 'Gabriel, make this man to understand the vision.' So he came near where I stood: and when he came, I was afraid, and fell upon my face: but he said unto me, 'Give heed, O son of man: for the vision is for the time of the End.' Now as he was speaking with me, I swooned and lay on my face toward the ground: but he touched me, and set me upright. And he said, 'Behold, I will make thee know what shall be in the last days of the wrath: for the vision is for the time of the End.

'The ram which thou sawest having two horns are the kings of Media and Persia. And the rough goat is the king of Greece: and the great horn that is between his eyes is

the first king. And as for the horn that was broken, so that four arose in its place, four kingdoms shall arise out of his nation, but not with his power. And in the last days of their kingdom, when the transgressors have filled up their measure, a king insolent of face and skilled in double-dealing shall arise. And his power shall be mighty, and he shall devise monstrous things, and shall prosper, and do, and shall destroy many. And against the Saints shall be his cunning, and he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand; and he shall magnify himself in his heart, and unawares shall destroy many: he shall also stand up against the Prince of princes; but he shall be broken without a hand. And the vision concerning the evening and the morning which was spoken of is true; but thou, shut up the vision; for it dealeth with far distant days.'

And I Daniel fainted, and was sick for a time; afterward I rose up, and did the king's business; and I was astonished at the vision, but I did not understand it.

Once more we have the great kingdoms symbolized as beasts. The ram with two horns is the kingdom of Media and Persia in one, the higher horn being the Persians, whose dominion was greater than that of Media and arose later.

The 'he goat' is Alexander. The four horns symbolize vaguely the Diadochoi. Compare the interpretation of the first vision in the last paragraph. With the 'little horn' the author passes at once to Antiochus Epiphanes. The 'South' is Egypt, the 'East' is Persia (as from Palestine, though not from Susa!), the 'Glory' is Palestine.

'The stars.' Is this a mere metaphor for outrageous insolence, or are the 'stars' used here very grandiloquently for the Israelites? The rest of the paragraph is exceedingly obscure, the rendering is extremely doubtful, and some words are probably corrupt and untranslatable. The *general* reference to the abolition of the Jewish sacrifices is, however, perfectly clear.

The next paragraph is not very easy to translate, and there may be a mistake in the text, but the question asked is: how long is the suspension of the legitimate sacrifices and the reign of the 'horrible transgression' to last? (The 'horrible transgression' is the heathen altar of Zeus of which we have already heard: there will be more to say about the term in a subsequent paragraph.) The answer is for 2,300 days, or more literally for '2,300 evening—mornings.' If these 'evening—mornings' mean days, it is very difficult to know from what point the author meant to start, for

2,300 days is six years and nearly four months. Most scholars suppose that they mean half-days, i. e. 1,150 days, or three years and fifty-five days. That would about correspond with 'the three years and a bit' of the previous vision. The doubt whether we have here retrospection or prediction remains as before.

'The rough goat is the king of Greece.' Alexander and the post-Alexandrian kingdoms are as it were lumped together, the 'great horn' being Alexander. The 'insolent king' is of course Antiochus Epiphanes.

'Unawares.' Compare what was said in the first book of the Maccabees (chapter I, § 14), 'And he spake words of peace unto them in subtilty,' &c.

'Without hand.' Not by man's hand or means, but a special divine intervention. As to the death of Antiochus we shall hear more later on. Our author wrote before it took place.

§ 16. *Daniel's prayer and the statement of the angel Gabriel.*— We now come to a vision which has given rise to endless conjectures and heartburnings. But now that we know exactly when Daniel was written, and that all the visions relate to the epoch of Antiochus Epiphanes, and culminate in the Final Deliverance which the author expected in the *near* future, the absorbing interest in the unriddling of the various chronological puzzles has totally disappeared. From a literary and exegetical point of view we want to interpret our author as thoroughly as we can; but we no longer suppose that he has any secrets to disclose *to us*, or that he was a real prophet of events which were to happen many generations after his own time. The secrets of Daniel are to us secrets no more. Modern scholarship has explained them.

Our present vision is based upon a prophecy of Jeremiah, dated in the fourth year of Jehoiakim (604 B. C.), in which the prophet declared that Judah would fall under the sway of the king of Babylon for seventy years, at the end of which time his empire would cease. (Compare also Part I, p. 425 fin.) The author of Daniel was led to think that the deliverance, imperfectly fulfilled at the time of Cyrus, for the Jews never became independent, and trouble succeeded trouble, would be finally and completely fulfilled in his own day. Not a literal seventy years, but rather seventy sets of seven would see the advent of the true Messianic age. How perhaps he made his calculations will be suggested at the end of the vision.

In the first year of Darius the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes, who was made king over the realm of

the Chaldeans; in the first year of his reign, I gave heed in the (holy) Writings to the number of the years during which, according to the word of the Lord to Jeremiah the prophet, Jerusalem should lie desolate, namely, seventy years.

And I set my face unto the Lord God, to seek prayer and supplications, with fasting, and sackcloth, and ashes: and I prayed unto the Lord my God, and made my confession, and said,

'O Lord, the great and dreadful God, keeping the covenant and lovingkindness to them that love him, and to them that keep his commandments; we have sinned, and dealt perversely, and have done wickedly, and have rebelled, even by departing from thy precepts and from thy judgements: neither have we hearkened unto thy servants the prophets, who spake in thy name to our kings, our princes, and our fathers, and to all the people of the land.

'O Lord, righteousness belongeth unto thee, but unto us confusion of face, as at this day; to the men of Judah, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and unto all Israel, that are near, and that are far off, through all the countries whither thou hast driven them, because of their unfaithfulness that they have committed against thee. O Lord, to us belongeth confusion of face, to our kings, to our princes, and to our fathers, because we have sinned against thee. To the Lord our God belong mercies and forgiveness, because we have rebelled against him; neither have we obeyed the voice of the Lord our God, to walk in his laws, which he set before us by his servants the prophets. Yea, all Israel have transgressed thy law, even by departing, so that they did not obey thy voice; therefore the curse is poured upon us, and the oath that is written in the law of Moses the servant of God, because we have sinned against him.

'And he hath confirmed his words, which he spake against us, and against our judges that judged us, by bringing upon us a great evil: for under the whole heaven hath not been done as hath been done in Jerusalem. As it is written in the law of Moses, all this evil is come upon us. Yet have we not pacified the Lord our God, in turning from our iniquities, and giving

heed to thy truth. Therefore hath the Lord been wakeful over the evil, and brought it upon us: for the Lord our God is righteous in all his works which he doeth: but we obeyed not his voice. And now, O Lord our God, that hast brought thy people forth out of the land of Egypt with a mighty hand, and hast gotten thee renown, as at this day; we have sinned, we have done wickedly.

'O Lord, according to all thy righteousness, I beseech thee, let thine anger and thy fury be turned away from thy city Jerusalem, thy holy mountain: because for our sins, and for the iniquities of our fathers, Jerusalem and thy people are become the scorn to all that are about us. Now therefore, O our God, hear the prayer of thy servant, and his supplications, and cause thy face to shine upon thy sanctuary that is desolate. O my God, incline thine ear, and hear; open thine eyes, and behold our desolations, and the city which is called by thy name: for we do not cast our supplications before thee relying on our righteousness, but on thy great mercies. O Lord, hear; O Lord, forgive; O Lord, hearken and do; defer not, for thine own sake, O my God: for thy city and thy people are called by thy name.'

And whiles I was speaking, and praying, and confessing my sin and the sin of my people Israel, and presenting my supplication before the Lord my God for the holy mountain of my God; yea, whiles I was speaking in prayer, even the man Gabriel, whom I had seen in the vision before, being caused to fly swiftly, came nigh to me about the time of the evening sacrifice. And he came to me, and talked with me, and said, 'O Daniel, I am now come forth to teach thee understanding. At the beginning of thy supplications a word went forth, and I am come to declare it thee; for thou art greatly beloved: therefore consider the word, and understand the vision.

'Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression and to complete the sins, and to make atonement for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to ratify vision and prophet, and to consecrate a holy of holies. Know, therefore, and understand that from the going forth of the word to people and to build Jerusalem until an anointed one, a prince, shall be seven weeks; and for sixty and two weeks shall it be

peopled and built, with public places and streets (?). And after the sixty and two weeks an anointed one shall be cut off, and .... And the city and the sanctuary shall be destroyed by the people of a prince, who cometh (?), and whose end shall be (sudden) as by a storm (?); and until the end there shall be war, and sentence of desolations (?). And he shall make many transgress the covenant for one week, and for half a week he shall cause the sacrifice and the offering to cease, and instead thereof (?) there shall be horrible abominations (?), until ruin and judgement shall be poured out upon the destroyer (?).

'Darius the son of Ahasuerus,' i. e. the son of Xerxes. The real Xerxes was the son of Darius, and neither was of Median blood.

'The writings,' i. e. the collection of prophetical writings which already existed as a finished group in the age of our author.

'That are near, and that are far off.' The author speaks not in Daniel's name but from his own heart and his own circumstances. He writes in Judæa.

'Not . . . relying on our supplications.' A famous and very ancient Hebrew prayer, which finds a prominent place in our liturgy, opens with this quotation from Daniel. Note the point of view: it is characteristically Jewish. The tendency was all in the direction of magnifying human sin and of exalting the divine righteousness. Man deserves nothing: God's goodness is sheer grace and compassion. The idea of a *reward* for personal merit is quite foreign to the Jewish liturgy. Whenever the Jew prayed, he could only regard himself and his community as sinners from of old. Righteous in their 'cause' as against the 'nations,' the Jews have no righteousness by which to demand the intervention of God. That must come either for the sake of his 'name' or from the fact that 'to him belong mercies and forgiveness.'

The Hebrew of the last paragraph is very perplexing and obscure. 'Seventy weeks,' or more literally, seventy sevens. 'To complete the sins' means to fill up the measure of the sins of the heathen oppressors. 'To consecrate a holy of holies' refers to the reconsecration of the polluted Temple. Thus the *terminus ad quem* in all these visions is always the same.

'The going forth of the word,' i. e. the prophecy of Jeremiah. This may be the prophecy of 604 B. C., or perhaps a later one about 588 B. C. From 588 to 538 (the capture of Babylon by Cyrus) would be almost exactly 'seven weeks,' if we assume that each 'week' or 'seven' equals seven years.

'An anointed one, a prince.' Either Cyrus, who captured

Babylon in 538 B.C., twenty years after his accession to the throne of Persia in 558 B.C., or else less probably, Joshua, the first High Priest of the Return.

'An anointed one shall be cut off.' Some refer this to the supposed murder of Onias III, which is related in the Second Book of Maccabees (172 B.C.). It may also be translated 'the anointed one shall be abolished,' and refer to the end of Jason's ministrations as High Priest in 170 B.C.; for Jason was the last high priest in the true line of Aaronic succession.

The 'Prince' who destroys city and sanctuary is Antiochus Epiphanes. From this point to the end of the paragraph one can only attempt to give the probable and general meaning: an exact and literal translation is impossible, for the text is terribly doubtful and corrupt. Till the very end (i.e. till the Final Deliverance) there is war and ruin. Antiochus by his persecutions makes many Jews renegades for 'one week,' that is for seven years (? 171–164 B.C.), and the legal service of the altar is suspended for 'half a week,' i.e. three years and a half—the same period as that given in the former visions.

Finally, what are the seventy weeks? Each 'week' is seven years, and seventy weeks means therefore 490 years. There are two main lines of interpretation. The first starts from 588 B.C. (see above). From then till Cyrus' capture of Babylon is fifty years, i.e. practically seven 'weeks.' The last week is from 171–164 B.C. This leaves (538–171 B.C.) 367 years for the other sixty-two 'weeks,' or sixty-seven years too little. The suggestion is that the author made a mistake; he was led away by the desire to adapt himself and his chronological requirements to the prophecies of Jeremiah. He had no books to refer to, and no accurate tables of dates. It is therefore by no means unlikely that he made a mistake, or that he counted roughly in round numbers so as to suit the original prophecy on which he based his vision.

The second interpretation starts from 604 B.C., the year of Carchemish (see above). From 604 B.C. till 558 B.C., that is, from Carchemish till the *accession* of Cyrus, is forty-six years, i.e. nearly seven 'weeks,' and from 604 till 171 B.C. there are 433 years, i.e. almost exactly sixty-two 'weeks.' But the awkward thing about this interpretation is that the first 'seven weeks' have to be included in the sixty-two weeks, so that the whole period is not seventy weeks but sixty-two weeks *plus* the final week of persecution and desecration, i.e. sixty-three weeks in all. This seems very unlikely and artificial, though it does remain a curious coincidence that the interval between 604 and 171 B.C. is almost exactly sixty-two 'sevens.' It may also be noted that the

half week in which Antiochus caused the sacrifice to cease is included in the one week during which he makes many to transgress the covenant. In any case the end of the period is always the same. For the date when the temple was defiled, and the legal service ceased, is known: 168 B.C. Therefore the date of the expected deliverance, three years and a half later, is known also. The doubt whether our author wrote before or after the *historic* rededication of the temple (of which we shall hear in the next chapter) remains as before. The main reason why some scholars think that he wrote before that event (and that his three and a half years were a true prediction) is that to him the re-establishment of the legal services means the opening of the Messianic age, whereas in reality the dedication of the temple by Judas Maccabeus left a *complete* deliverance very far to seek.

§ 17. *The introduction to the final vision.*—We now come to the last, the longest, and the most elaborate of the visions. It extends from the beginning of the tenth to the end of the twelfth chapter, that is to the end of the book. Its nature and contents are thus succinctly described by Professor Driver. 'Daniel had fasted for twenty-one days, when an angel appears to him, and tells him that he had been prevented from coming before by the opposition of the "prince" (i.e. the guardian-angel) of Persia, but being at length assisted by Michael, the "prince" (guardian-angel) of the Jews, he had been able to do so, and was now come in order to give Daniel a revelation concerning the future. The angel that speaks and Michael will have a long contest on behalf of Israel, first with the "prince" (guardian-angel) of Persia, and then with the "prince" of Greece. The details of the contest form the subject of chapter eleven. Here, under veiled names, are described, first, briefly, the doings of four Persian kings, and of Alexander the Great, with the rupture of his empire after his death; afterwards, more fully, the leagues and conflicts between the kings of Antioch ("the kings of the north") and of Egypt ("the kings of the south"), in the centuries following; finally, most fully of all, the history of Antiochus Epiphanes, including his conflicts with Egypt, and the measures adopted by him for suppressing the religion of the Jews. The death of Antiochus is followed by the resurrection (of Israelites) and the advent of the Messianic Age. The revelation is designed for the encouragement of those living "in the time of the end," i.e. under the persecution of Antiochus, the close of which appears to be placed 1290 (or 1335) days after the suspension of the daily sacrifice in B.C. 168.'

The belief in guardian angels for different nations arose very late among the Jews. It was probably not of native growth.

It must be noted that at a certain point the retrospect in fact (though prophecy in form) ends, and a real prophecy begins. This prophecy concerns the death of Antiochus, and it was not fulfilled. Hence we may be quite sure that Daniel was written before the death of Antiochus.

The framework of the vision is as follows:—

In the third year of Cyrus king of Persia a word was revealed unto Daniel, whose name was called Belteshazzar; and the word was true, (betokening) great distress; and he heeded the word, and gave heed to the vision.

In those days I Daniel went mourning three full weeks. I ate no pleasant bread, neither came flesh nor wine in my mouth, neither did I anoint myself at all, till three whole weeks were fulfilled. And in the four and twentieth day of the first month, as I was by the side of the great river, which is the Tigris; then I lifted up mine eyes, and looked, and behold a man clothed in linen, whose loins were girded with fine gold of Uphaz. His body also was like the chrysolite, and his face as the appearance of lightning, and his eyes as torches of fire, and his arms and his feet like in colour to polished brass, and the sound of his words like the sound of a great tumult.

And I Daniel alone saw the vision: for the men that were with me saw not the vision; but a great quaking fell upon them, so that they fled to hide themselves. Therefore I was left alone, and saw this great vision, and there remained no strength in me: for my comeliness was turned upon me to corruption, and I retained no strength. And I heard the sound of his words: and when I heard the sound of his words, then I fell down in a swoon with my face toward the ground.

And, behold, an hand touched me, which set me upon my knees and upon the palms of my hands. And he said unto me, 'O Daniel, thou man greatly beloved, mark the words that I speak unto thee, and stand upright: for unto thee am I now sent.' And when he had spoken this word unto me, I stood up trembling. Then said he unto me, 'Fear not, Daniel: for from the first day that thou didst set thine heart to understand, and to humble thyself before thy God, thy words were heard, and I am come because of thy words.

But the prince of the kingdom of Persia withstood me one and twenty days: but, lo, Michael, one of the chief princes, came to help me; and I left him there with the prince of the kings of Persia (?). And I am come to make thee understand what shall befall thy people in the latter days: for the vision concerneth far distant days.'

And when he had spoken such words unto me, I set my face toward the ground, and I became dumb. And, behold, he who was like one of the sons of men touched my lips: then I opened my mouth, and spake, and said unto him that stood before me, 'O my lord, because of the vision my pains came upon me, and I retained no strength. And how can the servant of my lord talk with my lord? for as for me, there remaineth now no strength in me, neither is there breath left in me.' Then he who was like the appearance of a man touched me again and strengthened me. And he said, 'O man greatly beloved, fear not: peace be unto thee, be strong, yea, be strong.' And when he had spoken unto me, I was strengthened, and said, 'Let my lord speak; for thou hast strengthened me.'

Then said he, 'Knowest thou wherefore I am come unto thee? and presently I must return to fight with the prince of Persia: and when I am rid of him, lo, the prince of Greece shall come. But I will shew thee that which is inscribed in the writing of truth: though there is none that helpeth me against these, but Michael your prince, who standeth by me to strengthen and defend me (?). But I will declare to thee the truth.'

The 'writing of truth' is the heavenly book, in which the divine decrees are written. We may compare the 139th Psalm.

§ 18. *The angel's apocalypse: from Alexander to Antiochus Epiphanes.*—The apocalypse or revelation now begins. Let us first hear that part of it up to the death of Seleucus IV Philopator, the immediate predecessor of Antiochus Epiphanes (175).

'Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia: and the fourth shall be the richest of all, and when he shall have grown strong by reason of his wealth, he will stir up all against the kingdom of Greece.

'And a mighty king shall arise, who shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will. And when he hath

become strong, his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided toward the four winds of heaven, and it shall not remain to his posterity, nor according to the greatness of the dominion over which he ruled: for his kingdom shall be plucked up, and shall fall to others.

'And the King of the South shall be strong, but one of his generals shall be stronger than he, and shall have dominion: his dominion shall be great.

'And after some years they shall make an alliance, and the daughter of the King of the South shall come to the King of the North to establish a treaty, but the support shall not stand, ... and she shall be given up (?), and he who sent her and her child, and he who allied himself to her (?).

'And a shoot from her roots shall arise in his place, and he shall come with an army, and shall enter into the fortress of the King of the North, and shall deal against them and shall prevail. And he shall carry captives into Egypt their gods and their molten images, and their precious vessels of silver and gold; and for many years he shall be mightier than the King of the North (?). And he shall come into the kingdom of the King of the South—but he shall return into his own land.

'And his sons shall stir up war, and shall assemble a multitude of great forces: and he shall advance, and sweep away and pass over; and again he shall return, and shall wage war even to his stronghold. And the King of the South shall be moved with choler, and shall come forth and fight with the King of the North, and he shall raise a great host, but it shall be given into his hand. And when it hath been swept away, his heart shall be lifted up, yet though he shall make thousands fall, he shall not shew himself strong.

'And the King of the North shall again raise a host, greater than the former one, and after some years he will come with a great army and much substance. And in those times many shall stand up against the King of the South: and men of violence among thy people shall rise up to fulfil the vision, but they shall fall (??). And the King of the North shall come, and shall cast up earthworks, and take a fortified city, and the army of the south shall not withstand him, and his chosen troops shall have no

strength to resist. And he who shall come against him shall do as he willeth, and none shall withstand him, and he shall stand in the land of Glory, with destruction in his hand.

'And he shall set his face to advance with the power of his whole kingdom, but he shall make a treaty with him, and he shall give him his daughter in order to ruin (him), but it shall not avail or succeed. And he shall turn his face towards the coast-lands, and shall take many; but a Captain shall put an end to his insolence, yea even with insolence shall he repay him. And he shall turn his face toward the strongholds of his own lands, and shall be cast down and fall and not be found.

'And there shall arise in his place one that shall cause an Exactor (of taxes) to pass through the Glory of the kingdom; and in a few days he shall be broken, not in wrath (?) or in battle.'

For the sake of convenience, I have counted up the nine separate paragraphs into which I have divided this part of the angelic apocalypse, and the numbers in brackets before the notes refer to the numbers of the paragraphs.

(§ 1) 'Three kings in Persia: and the fourth,' &c. We have seen that our author is very ill instructed in Persian history. Apparently he knew of only four kings, and placed them in this strange order: Cyrus, Darius, Artaxerxes, and Xerxes. The reference is to Xerxes' war against Greece, which the writer seems to regard as a 'kingdom' like Persia or Macedonia.

(§ 2) 'A mighty king': Alexander the Great and his successors.

(§ 3) The 'King of the South'; 'one of his generals': i.e. Ptolemy I and Seleucus I (cp. chap. I, §§ 2 and 3).

(§ 4) 'And after some years they shall make an alliance,' &c. The author jumps on to the marriage of Ptolemy Philadelphus' daughter Berenice with Antiochus II. The end of the paragraph is obscure and corrupt, but it refers to the murder of Antiochus and of Berenice and her infant child, and to the death of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (cp. chap. I, § 4).

(§ 5) 'And a shoot,' &c.: i.e. Berenice's brother Ptolemy III Euergêtês. The reference is to Euergêtês' successful campaign against Syria at the opening of his reign.

'And he shall come': i.e. Seleucus II's unsuccessful counter-campaign against Egypt (cp. chap. I, § 5).

(§ 6) 'And his sons shall stir up war': i. e. Seleucus III, and Antiochus III the Great (222–187 B.C.). The 'he's' and 'his's' in this paragraph are very confusing, sometimes referring to Antiochus and sometimes to Ptolemy. 'Even to his (Ptolemy's) stronghold'. i. e. Antiochus' successful campaigns of 219 and 218 B. C. against Coele-Syria. He advances up to Raphia, Ptolemy's stronghold. 'He (Antiochus) shall raise a great host, but it shall be given into his (Ptolemy's) hand': i. e. the battle of Raphia, 217 B.C. 'He shall not shew himself strong': i. e. Ptolemy III's unexpected peace with Antiochus III (cp. chap. I, § 5).

(§ 7) 'And after some years': i. e. the final campaigns of Antiochus III against Coele-Syria, ending in the battle of Panion, and the permanent occupation of Coele-Syria and Palestine by the Seleucids (198 B. C.).

'Men of violence among thy people': a very obscure allusion. Does it refer to the Jews who took part with Antiochus against the Ptolemies? Did they hope thereby to gain their independence and fulfil the prophecies?

'A fortified city,' &c.: the capture of Gaza or Sidon, and the battle of Panion.

'The land of Glory': Antiochus occupies Palestine, and captures Jerusalem (cp. chap. I, § 6).

(§ 8) 'He shall make a treaty with him': i. e. Antiochus makes peace with Egypt. He gives his daughter Cleopatra in marriage to Ptolemy IV. His ulterior designs against Egypt are interrupted and prevented by Rome. 'He shall turn his face towards the coast-lands, and shall take many; but a captain shall put an end,' &c.: i. e. Antiochus' campaigns, successful at first, in Asia Minor, ended in his crushing defeat at Magnesia by the Romans in 190 B. C. The 'captain' is Lucius Scipio.

'He shall turn his face,' &c.: the obscure death of Antiochus in his attempted plunder of the treasures of a temple of Bel in Elymais (cp. chap. I, § 7).

(§ 9) 'One that shall cause an Exactor': usually interpreted of the mission of Heliodorus to Jerusalem to plunder the temple's treasures.

'And in a few days,' &c.: a conspiracy was formed against Seleucus IV, and as a speedy result of it, he was murdered (175 B. C.).

To understand this portion of the apocalypse the reader is strongly recommended to look up the references to the first chapter of this section (§§ 2–7, pp. 656–659).

§ 19. *The angel's apocalypse: the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes.*— The Vision now tells the story of Antiochus Epiphanes and his

Jewish persecutions. I will quote it without a break up to the forecast of the king's death.

'And there shall arise in his place a contemptible man, to whom the honour of the kingdom had not been appointed, but he shall come in unawares, and shall seize the kingdom by guile. And armies shall be utterly overwhelmed before him, and shall be broken, and likewise a Prince of the Covenant. And after a league hath been made with him, he shall practise deceit, and he shall take the field with a small force and prevail. And by stealth he shall enter into the farthest places of the province(?), and do what his fathers did not do, nor his fathers' fathers; spoil and plunder and riches shall he scatter among them, and against fortresses shall he devise his plans, but (it shall be only) for a time.

'And he shall rouse up his power and his courage against the King of the South with a great army, and the King of the South shall be stirred up to battle with a very great and mighty army, but he shall not stand; for they will devise plots against him. Yea, those who eat of his dainties shall ruin him, and his army shall be swept away, and many shall fall down slain. And the hearts of both these two kings shall be bent on evil, and they shall speak lies at one table; but it shall not prosper; for the End awaiteth the appointed time. And he shall return to his own land with great substance, and his heart shall be set against the Holy Covenant, and he shall work his will, and return to his own land.

'At the time appointed he shall return, but it shall not be in the latter time as in the former time. For ships of Kittim shall come against him, and he shall be cowed; and he shall return and vent his wrath against the Holy Covenant, and work his will; and he shall return (to his own land), and have regard unto them that forsake the Holy Covenant.

'And an army from him shall stand and pollute the sanctuary, even the stronghold, and abolish the daily sacrifice, and set up the Horrible Abomination. And they who sin against the Covenant shall he make apostates by guile, but they who know their God will be strong and do valiantly. And they that are wise among the people shall instruct many; but for a time they shall fall by the sword

and by fire, by captivity and by spoil. And when they fall, they shall be helped with a little help, and many shall cleave to them deceitfully. And some of them that are wise shall fall, in order to purge them and cleanse them and make them white, until the time of the End, for it waiteth till the appointed time.

'And the king shall do according to his will, and shall exalt himself and magnify himself against every god, and shall speak monstrous things against the God of gods, and he shall prosper till the wrath is past, for what hath been decreed must be accomplished. Neither shall he regard the gods of his fathers, nor the desire of women, nor shall he have regard to any god, but he shall magnify himself above all. But in their place he shall honour the god of fortresses, and a god whom his fathers knew not shall he honour with gold and silver and precious stones and costly things. And he shall garrison (?) the fortresses with people of a strange god; whom he favoureth, he giveth great honour, and maketh them to rule over many, and divideth the land for gain.'

(§ 1) The allusions in this first paragraph about Antiochus Epiphanes are obscure. Many scholars regard the paragraph as a general summing up of his wars and dealings with Egypt. Professor Bevan interprets it as 'describing events which took place in Syria during the first five years of his reign,' and before the first Egyptian campaign.

Who is the 'Prince of the Covenant'? It is doubtful. Most commentators refer to Onias III.

(§ 2) The allusions become clearer. This paragraph describes the first Egyptian campaign, 170 B.C. (cp. chap. I, § 11), together with Antiochus' capture of and alliance with Ptolemy VII Philometor.

'His heart shall be set against the Holy Covenant.' For the doings of Antiochus in Jerusalem after his *first* Egyptian campaign, compare chapter I, § 12.

(§ 3) The second campaign of 168 B.C. 'Ships of Kittim': i.e. the Roman ambassadors. 'Kittim' means literally 'the inhabitants of Cyprus, but among the later Jews it was used for all the western maritime countries.' Thus we have here a clear reference to the embassy of Popilius Laenas (chap. I, § 13). The fiercer persecution of all observant Jews now began (chap. I, § 14).

(§ 4) The desecration of the Temple. 'The Horrible Abomination' is the 'Abomination of Desolation' of the First Book of the Maccabees (chap. I, § 14). It is the altar to Olympian Zeus. We heard it before called the Horrible Transgression. The exact translation is difficult and doubtful. Some render 'desolating abomination' which is grammatically objectionable; 'horrible abomination' is not much less so. A highly ingenious conjecture has been made by Professor Nestle. The Hebrew word rendered 'horrible' is *shomêm*, of which the consonants are *sh-m-m*. The Hebrew for 'abomination' is *shekutz*. Nestle thinks that *shekutz shomêm* is an intentional disfigurement of *Ba'al shemayim*, i. e. Lord of heaven, the Semitic equivalent of the Greek Zeus. The consonants of *Shemayim* can also be limited to *sh-m-m* ('*y*' being omitted). Before long the intentional disfigurement was thought to be an original description, and hence the Septuagint and the author of the First Book of Maccabees translate it literally into Greek. If Nestle's view be correct, the altar of Zeus is here called the god, an easy transference, 'just as among the later Jews *Abodah zarah* (strange worship) means either idolatry or an idol' (Bevan).

'Apostates by guile.' Compare the temptation of Mattathias (chap. I, § 17).

'They that are wise among the people.' Perhaps those are referred to whom the First Book of Maccabees calls the Hasidæans, that is, the Chasidim, 'who offered themselves willingly for the law.' The largest number of victims was furnished by the Chasidim.

'A little help.' The earlier successes of Mattathias or even of Judas. But would our author have written so if the rededication of the Temple lay behind him? The last quotation in chapter I, § 17, from the First Book of Maccabees sufficiently explains and accounts for the words 'many shall cleave to them deceitfully.'

'To purge them.' To test the fidelity of the people, to increase and stimulate their resisting power and the strength of their adherence to the law.

(§ 5) 'The gods of his fathers.' The reference is doubtful, and the charge is possibly inaccurate. Perhaps Antiochus in his zeal for the gods of Hellas desired to abolish the various local worships and cults of his kingdom. The 'desire of women.' Is this the goddess Tammuz, 'whose cult had been popular in Syria from time immemorial'? (Bevan).

'The god of fortresses.' This appears to be *Zeus polieus*: the guardian of the city. But what Polybius and Livy tell us of Antiochus makes it unlikely that he specially honoured any deity 'whom his fathers knew not.' Perhaps our author forgets

for the moment that the Seleucidae were Greeks, and regards Antiochus' special worship of Zeus as an innovation. It is true that Antiochus was the first of the Seleucidae to introduce the worship of the Olympian Zeus, to whose service he was particularly devoted, into many parts of Syria.

'And he shall garrison the fortresses,' &c. 'Antiochus settled heathen colonists in the fortified cities of Judæa, especially in Jerusalem.' We shall hear of this again in the next quotation from the First Book of the Maccabees.

§ 20. *The angel's apocalypse: the death of Antiochus Epiphanes.*—The Vision now proceeds to describe the final doings and death of Antiochus. From this point it is no longer a merely literary prophecy or actual retrospect, but a real prediction in which the author ventures to anticipate the future. As a matter of fact Antiochus did not die in the manner here portrayed. He did not make any further attempt upon Egypt, but like his father, Antiochus III, he sought to plunder a temple in Elymais, and died at Tabae, a city in Persia, in the year 164 B.C. His death is described in the First Book of Maccabees, and in the following way by Polybius: 'In Syria King Antiochus, wishing to enrich himself, determined on an armed attack upon the temple of Artemis, in Elymais. But having arrived in this country and failed in his purpose, because the native barbarians resisted his lawless attempt, he died in the course of his return at Tabae in Persia, driven mad, as some say, by some manifestations of divine wrath in the course of his wicked attempt upon this temple.' The author of Daniel fervently believed that the death of Antiochus would synchronize with the advent of the Messianic age

'And at the time of the End the King of the South shall push at him; and the King of the North shall come against him like a whirlwind, with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships; and he shall invade his lands, and shall overflow them and pass over. And he shall enter into the Land of Glory, and thousands shall fall; but there shall escape out of his hand even Edom and Moab and the greater part of the children of Ammon. And he shall stretch forth his hand over (many) countries, and the land of Egypt shall not escape. And he shall gain possession over the treasures of gold and silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt; and Libyans and Ethiopians shall be in his train. But tidings out of the east and out of the north shall trouble him; and he shall go forth with great fury to

destroy, and utterly to make away many. And he shall pitch his palace-tents between the sea and the Glorious Holy Mountain; and he shall come to his end and none shall help him.'

'Thus Antiochus will encamp between the sea (i. e. the Mediterranean) and Jerusalem. That Palestine, the scene of his greatest crimes, should also be the scene of his final overthrow, was, from the point of view of the persecuted Jews, a very natural expectation. No details are here given, but since in the eighth chapter [i.e. my § 15] we read that Antiochus was to be "broken without a hand," we must suppose that the author looked forward to some divine intervention by which the great enemy would perish "with none to help him"' (Bevan).

§ 21. *The angel's apocalypse: the Resurrection and the Messianic Age.*—And now hard upon the death of Antiochus there follows the description of the End, that End which was also to be a Beginning. The words of our author are reserved and restrained: he keeps his imagination in sober control. In the history of religion and of Judaism this concluding chapter of our book marks an epoch, and is of momentous importance. For here we have the doctrine of the Resurrection for the first time fully and clearly stated in Jewish literature, just as not very long afterwards in the Wisdom of Solomon we have, also for the first time in Jewish literature, the nobler and purer doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul.

'And at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince who standeth up for the children of thy people: and there shall be a time of trouble, such as there never hath been since there was a nation even to that same time: and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book. And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to Everlasting Life, and some to shame and everlasting abhorrence. And they that are wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn the many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever.

'But thou, O Daniel, shut up the words, and seal the book, even to the time of the End: many shall rush hither and thither, and great shall be the calamities.'

Then I Daniel looked, and, behold, there stood two others, the one on this side of the bank of the river, and the other

on that side of the bank of the river. And one said to the man clothed in linen, who was over the waters of the river, 'How long shall it be to the end of these wonders?' And I heard the man clothed in linen, who was over the waters of the river, and he held up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and sware by him that liveth for ever: 'For a time, and (two) times, and an half time; and when the power of the destroyer of the holy people shall come to an end, all these things shall be finished.'

And I heard, but I understood not: then said I, 'O my Lord, what shall be the last of these things?' And he said, 'Go thy way, Daniel: for the words are closed up and sealed till the time of the End. Many shall be purified and made white and tried; but the wicked shall do wickedly: and none of the wicked shall understand; but the wise shall understand.

'And from the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the Horrible Abomination set up, there shall be a thousand two hundred and ninety days. Happy is he that waiteth, and cometh to one thousand three hundred and five and thirty days.

'But do thou depart and rest, and thou shalt arise up to receive thy portion at the End of the Days.'

'A time of trouble.' The horrors culminate: they form the dark crisis out of which the day of deliverance begins to dawn.

'Written in the book': i. e. God's book in which the names of the righteous are inscribed. An old idea or metaphor.

'Everlasting Life.' A momentous phrase. It means and implies, as Professor Bevan says, 'individual immortality.' We have three points to note about this phase of the Resurrection dogma.

(1) It is probably limited to Israelites, and does not seem to apply even to all of them. It was, as it were, suggested to religious faith on account of two classes of persons: the very good and the very bad. The latter, prosperous apostates perhaps in their mortal career upon earth, must rise again to receive an adequate punishment. The former, faithful to the law and martyrs for its teaching, must rise again to receive their adequate reward. It was the idea of divine justice which produced the idea of the resurrection, and perhaps the punishment of the prosperous sinner seemed to require it at least as much as the reward of the suffering righteous. But the higher conception of progress and purification is also not wholly wanting: 'many shall be purified

and made white and tried.' These words refer to the time *before* the End: it was, however, inevitable that the idea on which they depend would be also applied to the 'life' after 'death' as well.

(2) The new life is apparently to last for ever. The word 'everlasting' is to be taken literally. And one notes with pain that the everlastingness is to apply to the sinner as well as to the good, though what the life of 'shame and everlasting abhorrence' is precisely intended to signify remains wisely unsaid and unrevealed. Would that subsequent word painters of a future life had exercised similar discretion and equal restraint!

(3) The scene of this everlasting life is earth, and so far as may be gathered from the text or inferred from later developments, the strange idea was held that the resurrection life would be a bodily one, and that the new or risen bodies would bear some sort of relation to the other body which had been deposited in the tomb. This clinging to the corporeal gave occasion for all kinds of wild conjectures and baseless fancies, some of which have shown genius and others ingenuity, but all of which not only vainly attempt to pass beyond the barriers of human knowledge, but confound and confuse together the body and the soul. Far purer, because far less material, is the hope of our Alexandrian sage: 'the souls of the righteous are in the hands of God; no evil shall touch them.'

Of a truth the causes which went to build up the belief in personal immortality were of varied value. The desire to reconcile Divine or Perfect Righteousness with the phenomena of earthly life is one with which no one can quarrel. It is ethically and religiously pure and high. Furthermore, as was suggested at the end of the Book of Job, it is very hard to cling in perfect faith to that idea without a belief in some form of personal immortality. But the reasons why that immortality is craved and yearned for and believed in are *not* mercenary or revengeful. We do not seek for 'reward.' We do not ask for 'punishment.' 'Everlasting punishment' has become to us a far greater violation of perfect righteousness than the most absolute annihilation. Divine punishment has no meaning to us except as purification.

'They that are wise.' These and 'they that turn (or have turned) the many to righteousness' are apparently one and the same. We met with them at an earlier stage of the vision as 'they that are wise among the people.' Their position in the resurrection life is one of exceptional glory.

'Many shall rush hither and thither.' A very doubtful and obscure sentence. The ordinary translation of the Hebrew is 'Many shall run to and fro and knowledge shall be increased,' to which no reasonable meaning can be assigned. The translation

given rests on the Greek translation and involves a small correction of the Hebrew. The verse would seem to refer to the confusion and distress which will attend and mark the final crisis.

'Two others': i. e. two other angels.

'And one said': i. e. one of these two new angels said to the angel 'clothed in linen,' who had already been speaking to Daniel.

'A time, and (two) times, and an half time.' Here we have again the same period fixed for the final period of calamity, namely, three years and a half.

'Many shall be purified.' A season of affliction purifies those who incline towards goodness; those whose hearts are set towards evil are only confirmed by it in evil doing, for they do not understand its purport or realize that it is only for a day.

'1,290 days.' Another computation of days. Before we had 2,300 or more probably 1,150, i. e. three years and fifty-five days. Here we have 1,290, i. e. three years and 195 days. Finally there is to be a further stage in the development of the Messianic era at the end of an extra forty-five days, making 1,335 days in all. The reason for these chronological discrepancies and variations is doubtful and disputed; nor is it worth our while in this place to spend time upon their discussion. It is, however, noteworthy that 1,290 days make forty-three months of thirty days each, and forty-three months, allowing for an extra intercalary month, are exactly three years and a half. As regards all these calculations, it is difficult, as Professor Driver says, to suppose that the same period of three to three and a half years is not intended throughout. 'Did we know the history of the time' [i. e. of Antiochus Epiphanes] 'more accurately, it would probably appear why a slightly different *terminus a quo* (or *ad quem*) was fixed in the several cases.'

'But do thou depart and rest.' Apparently the meaning is: 'Live thy life on earth, and die and rest in thy grave until the resurrection age. Then thou shalt arise and receive thy portion of bliss with the other holy men at that appointed season.' Thus the death of Daniel is ingeniously and artistically connected with the great subject of his book. A simpler or better close could hardly be desired; solemn and peaceful are these concluding words.

§ 22. *The precise date of the Book of Daniel.*—Such, then, is the apocalyptic pamphlet which was written by some unknown Jewish patriot in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. The interest and value of the book appeared to justify my inserting it in its entirety. The fact that, alone among the books of the Hebrew Bible, we

can fix its date with such remarkable precision adds also to its peculiarity and significance. After the altar of Zeus had been erected in the temple of Jehovah, and before the Syrian monarch ended his life in the city of Tabae—here are the two limits on either side between which, as we have seen, this first of the apocalypses must have been composed. As to these two limits, then, 168 and 164 B.C., almost all scholars are completely agreed. The natural desire to find a more precise date still is less easily satisfied. The point at issue is whether our author wrote and finished his book before or after that rededication of the Temple in December 165 B.C., of which we shall hear in the following chapter. Those who think that he wrote after the rededication lay stress on the various calculations as to the duration of the heathen altar which seem to these scholars to be no less accurate *vaticinia post eventum* than the other *definite* predictions of the book. Those who think that he wrote *before* the dedication lay stress on the phrase 'they shall be helped with a little help,' which seems to indicate an early stage in the Maccabean conflict, and the force of which is scarcely parried by the following words, 'and many shall cleave to them deceitfully.' They also point out that our author appears to connect together in closest combination the cleansing of the sanctuary and the advent of the Messianic age. If he had witnessed the dedication, would he not have been careful to indicate that there would be a distinct or considerable interval between the Maccabean occupation of Jerusalem and the final catastrophe and transformation?

Such on either side are the arguments of the learned. In any case the Book of Daniel remains to us as a remarkable literary monument of a terrible and momentous time, and though written for a temporary purpose to fulfil special and momentary needs for a small community in a petty province of Syria, it still keeps its hold, after an interval of over 2,000 years, upon the interest and the thought of all patient students of history and of religion. Its influence upon the subsequent history of religion and theology has been enormous. Was its immediate effect upon the martyrs and warriors of Judæa commensurate with the hopes and enthusiasm of its author? That we cannot tell. But to those warriors and their history we must now return.

CHAPTER III

THE PROWESS OF JUDAS AND THE DEDICATION OF THE TEMPLE

§ 1. *The battle of Bethhoron.*—We broke off the story of the Maccabean uprising at the death of Mattathias. We have now to hear of the doings of his son, the warrior and hero, Judas Maccabæus. This surname 'Maccabee' has given the title to the whole movement and party. It is commonly supposed to mean the Hammer, and no more probable explanation has so far been found. But even to this explanation there is more than one difficulty. It has, for instance, been argued that *Makabah* in Hebrew is the hammer of the sculptor or the builder, but not the great hammer or battle-axe as a weapon of war.

Judas was soon to show himself worthy of his father's choice as a fearless warrior and leader of men. His first conflicts with the Syrians are thus described by our primary authority, the first Book of the Maccabees.

And his son Judas, who was called Maccabæus, rose up in his stead. And all his brethren helped him, and so did all they that clave unto his father, and they fought with gladness the battle of Israel. And he gat his people great glory, and put on a breastplate as a giant, and girt his warlike harness about him, and set battles in array, protecting the army with his sword. And he was like a lion in his deeds, and as a lion's whelp roaring for prey. And he pursued the lawless, seeking them out, and he burnt up those that troubled his people. And the lawless shrunk for fear of him, and all the workers of lawlessness were sore troubled, and salvation prospered in his hand. And he angered many kings, and made Jacob glad with his acts,

and his memorial is blessed for ever. And he went about among the cities of Judah, and destroyed the ungodly out of the land, and turned away wrath from Israel: and he was renowned unto the utmost part of the earth, and he gathered together such as were ready to perish.

And Apollonius gathered the Gentiles together, and a great host from Samaria, to fight against Israel. And Judas perceived it, and he went forth to meet him, and smote him, and slew him: and many fell wounded to death, and the rest fled. And they took their spoils, and Judas took the sword of Apollonius, and therewith he fought all his days.

And Seron, the commander of the host of Syria, heard say that Judas had gathered a gathering and a congregation of faithful men with him, and of such as went out to war; and he said, 'I will make myself a name and get me glory in the kingdom; and I will fight against Judas and them that are with him, that set at nought the word of the king.' And there went up with him also a mighty army of the ungodly to help him, to take vengeance on the children of Israel.

And he came near unto the going up of Bethhoron, and Judas went forth to meet him with a small company. But when they saw the army coming to meet them, they said unto Judas, 'What? shall we be able, being a small company, to fight against so great and strong a multitude? and we for our part are faint, having tasted no food this day.' And Judas said, 'It is an easy thing for many to be shut up in the hands of a few; and with heaven it is all one, to save by many or by few: for victory in battle standeth not in the multitude of a host; but strength is from heaven. They come unto us in fulness of insolence and lawlessness, to destroy us and our wives and our children, for to spoil us: but we fight for our lives and our laws. And he himself will discomfit them before our face: but as for you, be ye not afraid of them.'

Now when he had left off speaking, he leapt suddenly upon them, and Seron and his army were discomfited before him. And they pursued them in the going down of Bethhoron unto the plain, and there fell of them about eight hundred men; but the residue fled into the land of the Philistines.

And the fear of Judas and his brethren, and the dread of them, began to fall upon the nations round about them: and his name came near even unto the king, and every nation told of the battles of Judas.

§ 2. *The battle of Emmaus.*—The last words of our quotation are doubtless a pardonable exaggeration. Nevertheless the rebellion was serious enough to cause Antiochus anxiety. But instead of coming against Judas in person with his whole force, the king happily marched eastwards to a campaign against the Parthians, leaving Lysias as his viceroy in Syria. Meanwhile the band of Judas had increased to an army, and his next victory at Emmaus was on a larger scale. Its date was the close of 166 or the opening of 165 B.C.

But when king Antiochus heard these words, he was full of indignation: and he sent and gathered together all the forces of his realm, an exceeding strong army. And he opened his treasury, and gave his forces pay for a year, and commanded them to be ready for every need. And he saw that the money failed from his treasures, and that the tributes of the country were small, because of the dissension and plague which he had brought upon the land, to the end that he might take away the laws which had been from the first days; and he feared that he should not have enough as at other times for the charges and the gifts which he gave aforetime with a liberal hand, and he abounded above the kings that were before him. And he was exceedingly perplexed in his mind, and he determined to go into Persia, and to take the tributes of the countries, and to gather much money.

And he left Lysias, an honourable man, and one of the seed royal, to be over the affairs of the king from the river Euphrates unto the borders of Egypt, and to bring up his son Antiochus, until he came again. And he delivered unto him the half of his forces, and the elephants, and gave him charge of all the things that he would have done, and concerning them that dwelt in Judæa and in Jerusalem, that he should send a host against them, to root out and destroy the strength of Israel, and the remnant of Jerusalem, and to take away their memorial from the place; and that he should make strangers to dwell in all their coasts, and should divide their land to them by lot.

And the king took the half that remained of the forces, and removed from Antioch, from his royal city, the hundred and forty and seventh year: and he passed over the river Euphrates, and went through the upper countries.

And Lysias chose Ptolemy the son of Dorymenes, and Nicanor, and Gorgias, mighty men of the king's Friends; and with them he sent forty thousand footmen, and seven thousand horse, to go into the land of Judah, and to destroy it, according to the word of the king. And they removed with all their host, and came and pitched near unto Emmaus in the plain country. And the merchants of the country heard the fame of them, and took silver and gold exceeding much, with fetters, and came into the camp to take the children of Israel for servants: and there were added unto them the forces of Syria and of the land of the Philistines.

And Judas and his brethren saw that evils were multiplied, and that the forces were encamping in their borders; and they took knowledge of the king's words which he had commanded, to destroy the people and make an end of them; and they said each man to his neighbour, 'Let us raise up the ruin of our people, and let us fight for our people and the holy place.' And the congregation was gathered together, that they might be ready for battle, and that they might pray, and ask for mercy and compassion.

And Jerusalem was without inhabitant as a wilderness, there was none of her offspring that went in or went out; and the sanctuary was trodden down, and the sons of strangers were in the citadel, the Gentiles lodged therein; and joy was taken away from Jacob, and the pipe and the harp ceased.

And they gathered themselves together, and came to Mizpeh, over against Jerusalem; for in Mizpeh was there a place of prayer aforetime for Israel. And they fasted that day, and put on sackcloth, and put ashes upon their heads, and rent their clothes, and laid open the book of the law, concerning which the Gentiles were wont to inquire, seeking the likenesses of their idols. And they brought the priests' garments, and the firstfruits, and the tithes: and they stirred up the Nazirites, who had accomplished their days.

And they cried aloud toward heaven, saying, 'What shall we do with these men, and whither shall we carry them away? And thy holy place is trodden down and

profaned, and thy priests are in heaviness and brought low. And, behold, the Gentiles are assembled together against us to destroy us: thou knowest what things they imagine against us. How shall we be able to stand before them, except thou be our help?' And they sounded with the trumpets, and cried with a loud voice.

And after this Judas appointed leaders of the people, captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds, and captains of fifties, and captains of tens. And he said to them that were building houses, and were betrothing wives, and were planting vineyards, and were fearful, that they should return, each man to his own house, according to the law. And the army removed, and encamped upon the south side of Emmaus.

And Judas said, 'Gird yourselves, and be valiant men, and be in readiness against the morning, that ye may fight with these Gentiles, that are assembled together against us to destroy us, and our holy place: for it is better for us to die in battle, than to look upon the evils of our nation and the holy place. Nevertheless, as may be the will in heaven, so shall he do.'

And Gorgias took five thousand footmen, and a thousand chosen horse, and the army removed by night, that it might fall upon the army of the Jews and smite them suddenly: and the men of the citadel were his guides. And Judas heard thereof, and removed, he and the valiant men, that he might smite the king's host which was at Emmaus, while as yet the forces were dispersed from the camp. And Gorgias came into the camp of Judas by night, and found no man; and he sought them in the mountains; for he said, 'These men flee from us.'

And as soon as it was day, Judas appeared in the plain with three thousand men: howbeit they had not armour nor swords to their minds. And they saw the camp of the Gentiles strong and fortified, and horsemen compassing it round about; and these were expert in war. And Judas said to the men that were with him, 'Fear ye not their multitude, neither be ye afraid of their onset. Remember how our fathers were saved in the Red sea, when Pharaoh pursued them with a host. And now let us cry unto heaven, if he will have us, and will remember the covenant of our fathers, and destroy this army before our face to-day: and

all the Gentiles shall know that there is one who redeemeth and saveth Israel.'

And the strangers lifted up their eyes, and saw them coming over against them: and they went out of the camp to battle. And they that were with Judas sounded their trumpets, and joined battle, and the Gentiles were discomfited, and fled into the plain. But all the hindmost fell by the sword: and they pursued them unto Gazara, and unto the plains of Idumæa and Azotus and Jamnia, and there fell of them about three thousand men. And Judas and his host returned from pursuing after them, and he said unto the people, 'Be not greedy of the spoils, inasmuch as there is a battle before us; and Gorgias and his host are nigh unto us in the mountain. But stand ye now against our enemies, and fight against them, and afterwards take the spoils with boldness.'

While Judas was yet making an end of these words, there appeared a part of them looking out from the mountain: and they saw that their host had been put to flight, and that the Jews were burning the camp; for the smoke that was seen declared what was done. But when they perceived these things, they were sore afraid; and perceiving also the army of Judas in the plain ready for battle, they fled all of them into the land of the Philistines. And Judas returned to spoil the camp, and they got much gold, and silver, and blue, and sea purple, and great riches. And they returned home, and sang a song of thanksgiving, and gave praise unto heaven; because his mercy is good, because his mercy endureth for ever. And Israel had a great deliverance that day.

'These words,' that is to say, these 'matters'; the Hebrew *debarim* means both 'words' and 'things,' and the Greek translation is something of a Hebraism.

'Seeking the likenesses of their idols.' This is the rendering of a corrupt text. The more correct manuscript can be rendered thus: 'They laid open the books of the law, for which the Gentiles made search in order to draw upon them the likenesses of their gods.' The Syrians were not merely content with destroying the scrolls of the Law, but attempted to defile and pollute them (in the eyes of the Jews) by scrawling or drawing upon them pictures of heathen gods. One of the scrolls thus defiled was now spread out in order that God himself might, as it were,

behold the desecration which had been committed against the sacred words. Such an action may be regarded as a survival for dramatic and symbolic purposes of ideas long since forgotten and superseded. Professor Graetz believes that both Greek manuscripts are faulty. He follows the Syriac translation, and reads: 'They laid open the book of the law, and lamented concerning the nations, that they compelled them (the Jews) to do even as themselves,' i. e. they poured out their lament to God that the heathen compelled them to give up and disobey the ordinances of the law.

'Praise unto heaven.' The author consistently avoids the use of the word 'God' or 'the Lord.' His piety and faith are obvious enough, but he essays to write as a pure historian, and avoids all reference to the supernatural. For God he employs the term 'heaven,' according to a not infrequent usage of the later Jews. The first Book of the Maccabees was written in Hebrew about the year 100 B. C. The translation into Greek probably followed soon after.

§ 3. *The battle of Beth-zur.*—As the victory of Emmaus followed on the victory of Beth-horon, so it was soon to be succeeded (165 B. C.) by a third victory at Beth-zur. Emmaus lies west of Jerusalem, Beth-zur to the south. Having overcome Gorgias, Judas was now to vanquish Lysias himself.

But the strangers, as many as had escaped, came and told Lysias all the things that had happened: but when he heard thereof, he was confounded and discouraged, because neither had such things as he would been done unto Israel, nor had such things as the king commanded him come to pass.

And in the next year he gathered together threescore thousand chosen footmen, and five thousand horse, that he might subdue them. And they came into Idumæa, and encamped at Bethsura; and Judas met them with ten thousand men. And he saw that the army was strong, and he prayed and said,

'Blessed art thou, O Saviour of Israel, who didst quell the onset of the mighty man by the hand of thy servant David, and didst deliver the army of the Philistines into the hands of Jonathan the son of Saul, and of his armour-bearer: shut up this army in the hand of thy people Israel, and let them be ashamed for their host and their horsemen: give them faintness of heart, and cause the boldness of their

strength to melt away, and let them quake at their destruction: cast them down with the sword of them that love thee, and let all that know thy name praise thee with thanksgiving.'

And they joined battle; and there fell of the army of Lysias about five thousand men, and they fell down over against them. But when Lysias saw that his array was put to flight, and the boldness that had come upon them that were with Judas, and how they were ready either to live or to die nobly, he removed to Antioch, and gathered together hired soldiers, that he might come again into Judæa with even a greater company.

'With the sword of them that love thee.' Here we have the same soldiers' faith as in the 149th Psalm. 'Let the loving ones exult and give glory, let them sing aloud upon their beds. Let the high praises of God be in their throat, and a two-edged sword in their hand!' Who can doubt the date of the Psalm?

'Ready either to live or to die nobly.' A grand phrase. Typical warriors of religion these Maccabean heroes, alike in their devotion and their courage, in their fierceness and their violence, in their piety and their faith!

§ 4. *The purification of the Temple.*—We now come to the culminating point of interest and success in the stirring story of Judas. The retreat of Lysias gave him breathing space and opportunity, and though the citadel of Jerusalem, of which we heard in Chapter I, § 14, was still held by a garrison of Syrian soldiers, it was yet possible for Judas with his now powerful army to occupy the town itself, and above all to accomplish the design that lay nearest and dearest to his heart—to purify the Temple from its pollution and to reconsecrate it to the service of God. Let us now hear how he carried out his purpose to a successful end.

But Judas and his brethren said, 'Behold, our enemies are discomfited: let us go up to cleanse the holy place, and to dedicate it afresh.' And all the army was gathered together, and they went up unto mount Sion. And they saw the sanctuary laid desolate, and the altar profaned, and the gates burned up, and shrubs growing in the courts as in a forest or as on one of the mountains, and the priests' chambers pulled down; and they rent their clothes, and made great lamentation, and put ashes upon their heads,

and fell on their faces to the ground, and blew with the solemn trumpets, and cried toward heaven.

Then Judas appointed certain men to fight against those that were in the citadel, until he should have cleansed the holy place. And he chose blameless priests, such as had pleasure in the law: and they cleansed the holy place, and bare out the stones of defilement into an unclean place. And they took counsel concerning the altar of burnt offerings, which had been profaned, what they should do with it: and there came into their mind a good counsel, that they should pull it down, lest it should be a reproach to them, because the Gentiles had defiled it: and they pulled down the altar, and laid up the stones in the mountain of the house in a convenient place, until there should come a prophet to give an answer concerning them.

And they took whole stones according to the law, and built a new altar after the fashion of the former; and they built the holy place, and the inner parts of the house; and they hallowed the courts. And they made the holy vessels new, and they brought the candlestick, and the altar of burnt offerings and of incense, and the table, into the temple. And they burned incense upon the altar, and they lighted the lamps that were upon the candlestick, and they gave light in the temple. And they set loaves upon the table, and spread out the veils, and finished all the works which they made.

And they rose up early in the morning, on the five and twentieth day of the ninth month, which is the month Chislev, in the hundred and forty and eighth year, and offered sacrifice according to the law upon the new altar of burnt offerings which they had made. At what time and on what day the Gentiles had profaned it, even on that day was it dedicated afresh, with songs and harps and lutes, and with cymbals. And all the people fell upon their faces, and worshipped, and gave praise unto heaven, which had given them good success.

And they kept the dedication of the altar eight days, and offered burnt offerings with gladness, and sacrificed a sacrifice of deliverance and praise. And they decked the forefront of the temple with crowns of gold and small shields, and dedicated afresh the gates and the priests' chambers, and made doors for them. And there was

exceeding great gladness among the people, and the reproach of the Gentiles was turned away.

And Judas and his brethren and the whole congregation of Israel ordained, that the days of the dedication of the altar should be kept in their seasons from year to year by the space of eight days, from the five and twentieth day of the month Chislev, with gladness and joy.

Here then we have described to us the foundation and first celebration of our festival of Chanukah, which is still observed and celebrated by all Jewish congregations at the present day after an interval of 2,063 years. And well may we continue to celebrate it, for no less to the valiant fighting of Judas and his fellows than to the brave endurance of the martyrs was due, under God's will and providence, the preservation of Judaism. The mere national aspect of the matter is very small and trivial; whether a petty tribe of folk called Judæans preserved their separate national existence and constitution, or became assimilated with the Hellenistic Syrian subjects of the motley kingdom of Antiochus, was unimportant then, and would be unimportant now, looked at from a merely political or national point of view. But it so happened that this small race possessed at that time the purest and truest conception of God and of the manner of serving him among all the races of the earth, and if therefore this race had then been destroyed or absorbed in the mass of Greeks and Syrians, this religion would also have perished. The work of the prophets would have been in vain. It would, as it were, have had to be begun all over again. The Maccabean victories ensured the continuance of the teachings and the writings of Amos and the Isaiahs. Therefore the festival of Chanukah is a *religious* festival, and as such is worthy of our high regard. We are not specially concerned with the defeats of the Syrians. The details of the fightings subsequent to the dedication of the Temple are of smaller interest to us. The Maccabean family itself suffers from the results of conquest and victory. But the preservation of Judaism at a time of imminent and critical danger remains a permanent fact of supreme importance. If Judæa had been overcome and absorbed, the Jewish congregations outside it would very probably have been unable to outlive the shock. Therefore we owe our gratitude to the martyrs and the soldiers whose festival we celebrate in the days of Chanukah. Let Chanukah be also the festival of courage, a fourth part of all virtue, as the Greeks of old believed. The courage which Judaism demands of us now is not the courage of soldiers upon the battle-field, but it is often courage

none the less. Let the deeds of the martyrs and soldiers in the age of Antiochus inspire us from year to year anew.

The original dedication festival was a sort of deferred festival of Tabernacles. Judas reoccupied Jerusalem in December, 165 B.C., and the last festival of the year, which should have, but had not been celebrated, was Tabernacles. So Judas organized a sort of retrospective Tabernacles, which served to fulfil two purposes at once. In the Second Book of Maccabees we are actually told that 'they kept eight days with gladness in the manner of tabernacles, remembering how that not long afore, during the feast of tabernacles, they were wandering in the mountains and in the caves after the manner of wild beasts. Wherefore bearing wands wreathed with leaves, and fair boughs, and palms also, they offered up hymns of thanksgiving to him that had prosperously brought to pass the cleansing of his own place.'

In later years, when the real festival of Tabernacles could be celebrated in its right season, the dedication (Chanukah) festival underwent sundry developments and changes. It soon also became called the Feast of Lights, though the origin and purpose of this name and of the lights now lit upon the days of Chanukah are wrapped in much obscurity. Josephus, the Jewish historian (writing about 100 A.C.), is clearly puzzled by the name, which he gives in the singular as 'Light.' He has no explanation to afford. 'From that time to this we celebrate this festival and call it "Light." I suppose that the reason was, because this liberty appeared to us beyond our hopes, and hence the name was given to the festival.' Clearly this is no explanation at all. Legend soon began to weave its fairy web around the new festival, and we read the following statement in the Talmud by way of accounting for the later method of celebrating the festival, and for its appellation as the Feast of Lights. 'On the 25th of Kislev the eight days of Chanukah begin. On these days fasting and mourning are unlawful. For when the Greeks entered the Sanctuary, they defiled all the oils there. When the kingdom of the house of the Hasmonæans prevailed, they searched, but found only one hidden flask of oil bearing the seal of the High Priest. It contained sufficient oil for one day's light; but a miracle occurred with it; and they lighted the lamp with it for eight days. Hence they instituted eight days of rejoicing.'

Coming back once more to the historic foundation of Chanukah at the close of the year 165 B.C., it is highly interesting to think that some of the famous *Hallel* Psalms (113–118) may have been written specially for this auspicious event. Let the reader turn back to them and see (whatever their date of composition may be)

how wonderfully they chime and fit in with the deeds which led up to Chanukah, and with the emotions which it must have evoked and suggested.

He raiseth the poor out of the dust,
And lifteth the needy out of the dunghill.

. . . . . .

Wherefore should the nations say,
'Where, pray, is their God?'
The Lord hath been mindful of us, he will bless us.

. . . . . .

Precious in the sight of the Lord
Is the death of his loving ones.
O Lord, truly I am thy servant;
I am thy servant, the son of thine handmaid;
Thou hast loosed my bonds!

. . . . . .

All nations compassed me about,
But in the name of the Lord have I cut them off.

. . . . . .

The Lord is my strength and my song,
And he hath become my deliverance.
The Lord hath chastened me sore;
But he hath not given me over unto death.

The stone which the builders despised
Is become the head stone of the corner.
This is the Lord's doing;
It is marvellous in our eyes.
This is the day which the Lord hath made,
We will rejoice and be glad in it.
O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good;
For his lovingkindness endureth for ever.

CHAPTER IV

FROM THE DEDICATION OF THE TEMPLE TO THE DEATH OF JUDAS

§ 1. *The death of Antiochus.*—With the dedication of the Temple, the more heroic and even the more religious period of the Maccabean story is over. From this point, then, to the death of Simon (135 B.C.) I only propose to give a rapid summary of the events, with occasional quotations from our authority.

For the next year and a half Judas was master of Judæa. His first business was to fortify the temple hill and the town of Bethsura at the southern frontier. Expeditions were also sent into Gilead (east of Jordan) and to Galilee to rescue the Jews in those districts who were in danger from their Gentile neighbours. Many successful battles were fought and the imperilled Jews were brought back, with all their families and goods, 'an exceeding great army,' into Judæa. Marauding campaigns were conducted against the Ammonites and Edomites; there was much slaughter and much pillage. The movement was no longer limited to the protection and maintenance of the Jewish faith; it was aiming at the consolidation and enlargement of the new political power. Finally, Judas made every effort to capture the citadel of Jerusalem, still garrisoned by the enemy's troops, and this led to a fresh and nearly fatal attack upon him by the Syrian general.

Antiochus Epiphanes died at Tabae, in Persia, in 164 B.C. He appointed Philip, his general and counsellor, guardian of his young son, Antiochus V Eupator, and regent during the minority. But in Philip's stead, Lysias got hold of the young king and seized the reins of power. These events are thus described in the First Book of the Maccabees. For the death of Antiochus we may compare what we have already read from Polybius.

And king Antiochus was journeying through the upper countries; and he heard say, that in Elymais in Persia there was a city renowned for riches, for silver and gold; and that the temple which was in it was rich exceedingly, and that therein were golden shields, and breastplates, and arms, which Alexander, son of Philip, the Macedonian king, who reigned first among the Greeks, left behind there. And he came and sought to take the city, and to pillage it; and he was not able, because the thing was known to them of the city, and they rose up against him to battle: and he fled, and removed thence with great heaviness, to return unto Babylon.

And there came one bringing him tidings into Persia, that the armies, which went against the land of Judah, had been put to flight; and that Lysias went first with a strong host, and was put to shame before them; and that they had waxed strong by reason of arms and power, and with store of spoils, which they took from the armies that they had cut off; and that they had pulled down the abomination which he had built upon the altar that was in Jerusalem; and that they had compassed about the sanctuary with high walls, as before, and Bethsura, his city.

And it came to pass, when the king heard these words, he was astonished and moved exceedingly: and he laid him down upon his bed, and fell sick for grief, because it had not befallen him as he looked for. And he was there many days, because great grief was renewed upon him, and he made account that he should die. And he called for all his Friends, and said unto them,

'Sleep departeth from mine eyes, and my heart faileth for care. And I said in my heart, Unto what tribulation am I come, and how great a flood is it, wherein I now am! for I was gracious and beloved in my power. But now I remember the evils which I did at Jerusalem, and that I took all the vessels of silver and gold that were therein, and sent forth to destroy the inhabitants of Judah without a cause. I perceive that on this account these evils are come upon me, and, behold, I perish through great grief in a strange land.'

And he called for Philip, one of his Friends, and set him over all his kingdom, and gave him his diadem, and his robe, and his signet-ring, to the end he should bring

Antiochus his son, and nourish him up that he might be king. And king Antiochus died there in the hundred and forty and ninth year. And Lysias knew that the king was dead, and he set up Antiochus his son to reign, whom he had nourished up being young, and he called his name Eupator.

§ 2. *The encounter at Bethzacharias.*—At this juncture, some fugitives from the citadel of Jerusalem together with members of the Hellenistic party among the Jews, who were now being persecuted in their turn by the Maccabeans and their adherents, came to Antioch and implored help. Lysias with the young king entered Judæa from the south, besieged Bethsura, and engaged in battle with the forces of Judas at Bethzacharias. Here for the first time the men of Judas were forced to give way, and the Syrians immediately advanced to the siege of Jerusalem and the fortified temple hill.

At this battle of Bethzacharias, Eleazar, the brother of Judas, sought and found a soldier's death. The Syrian army included, according to our authority, thirty-two elephants 'trained for war.'

And Eleazar, who was called Avaran, saw one of the beasts armed with royal breastplates, and he was higher than all the beasts, and the king seemed to be upon him; and he gave himself to deliver his people, and to get him an everlasting name; and he ran upon him courageously into the midst of the phalanx, and slew on the right hand and on the left, and they parted asunder from him on this side and on that. And he crept under the elephant, and thrust him from beneath, and slew him; and the elephant fell to the earth upon him, and he died there.

The Jews and their Maccabean leaders were now in the extremity of peril. Bethsura fell; there was famine in Jerusalem. The end seemed certain, when the divisions of the enemy brought deliverance. Philip sought to obtain the power which Antiochus Epiphanes had assigned to him. He marched against Antioch. To forestall and prevent him, it was necessary for Lysias to raise the siege of Jerusalem, and come to terms with the Jews. These terms were that 'they should walk after their own laws as aforetime,' i.e. the free exercise of the Jewish religion was again permitted. The offer was accepted by the Jews.

And the king and the princes sware unto them: thereupon they came forth from the stronghold. And the king

entered into mount Sion; and he saw the strength of the place, and set at nought the oath which he had sworn, and gave commandment to pull down the wall round about. And he removed in haste, and returned unto Antioch, and found Philip master of the city; and he fought against him, and took the city by force.

The date for these events is 163 B.C.

§ 3. *Alcimus and the Hasidæans.*—The main object for which the martyrs had bled and the first battles been waged was now secured. The aim of the ensuing struggles was very different. The legal existence of the Jewish religion was no longer imperilled; the question was which party among the Jews themselves, the nationalists or the Hellenists, should have the mastery. But even the Hellenists did not aim at any violent subversion or prohibition of the ancient worship.

Both Antiochus V and Lysias soon disappeared from the scene. Demetrius, the brother of Antiochus IV, escaped from Rome, landed in Phoenicia, and obtained a following and soon after the kingship. Antiochus V and Lysias were put to death. The Senate of Rome after some hesitation acknowledged Demetrius.

The Hellenistic party among the Jews, whose leader was now a certain Alcimus, an Aaronite, approached the new ruler Demetrius with complaints of the persecutions and oppressions which they and the other loyal subjects of the king were suffering from the hands of Judas and his people.

And Demetrius sat upon the throne of his kingdom. And there came unto him all the lawless and ungodly men of Israel; and Alcimus was their leader, desiring to be high priest; and they accused the people to the king, saying,

'Judas and his brethren have destroyed all thy friends, and have scattered us from our own land. Now therefore send a man whom thou trustest, and let him go and see all the havock which he hath made of us, and of the king's country, and how he hath punished them and all that helped them.'

And the king chose Bacchides, one of the king's Friends, who was ruler in the country beyond the river, and was a great man in the kingdom, and faithful to the king. And he sent him, and that ungodly Alcimus, and made sure to him the high priesthood, and he commanded him to take vengeance upon the children of Israel.

The Maccabeans and the *Chasidim* now began to show their different points of view. Alcimus was an Aaronite, and the *Chasidim* did not venture to oppose him; they were no politicians, and merely desired the free exercise of their religion. The Maccabeans were more wary.

And they removed, and came with a great host into the land of Judah, and he sent messengers to Judas and his brethren with words of peace deceitfully. And they gave no heed to their words; for they saw that they were come with a great host. And there were gathered together unto Alcimus and Bacchides a company of scribes, to seek for justice.

And the Hasidæans were the first among the children of Israel that sought peace of them; for they said, 'One that is a priest of the seed of Aaron is come with the forces, and he will do us no wrong.' And he spake with them words of peace, and sware unto them, saying, 'We will seek the hurt neither of you nor your friends.' And they gave him credence: and he laid hands on threescore men of them, and slew them in one day, according to the word which [the psalmist] wrote, 'The flesh of thy saints [did they cast out], and their blood did they shed round about Jerusalem; and there was no man to bury them.'

And the fear and the dread of them fell upon all the people, for they said, 'There is neither truth nor judgement in them; for they have broken the covenant and the oath which they sware.'

And Bacchides removed from Jerusalem, and encamped in Bezeth; and he sent and took many of the deserters that were with him, and certain of the people, and he slew them, and cast them into the great pit. And he made sure the country to Alcimus, and left with him a force to aid him; and Bacchides went away unto the king.

Who were these 'scribes'? Do they belong to the *Chasidim*? The question is difficult. Note the quotation from a Psalm which itself is possibly Maccabean. The Greek has merely 'which he wrote,' i. e. the sacred writer. The Psalm is already Scripture.

§ 4. *The battle of Adasa*, 161 B.C.—The two Jewish parties were thus left to fight it out among themselves. The next series of events is thus described.

And Alcimus strove for his high priesthood. And there were gathered unto him all they that troubled their people, and they got the mastery of the land of Judah, and did great hurt in Israel. And Judas saw all the mischief that Alcimus and his company had done among the children of Israel, even above the Gentiles, and he went out into all the coasts of Judæa round about, and took vengeance on the men that had deserted from him, and they were restrained from going forth into the country. But when Alcimus saw that Judas and his company waxed strong, and knew that he was not able to withstand them, he returned to the king, and brought evil accusations against them.

And the king sent Nicanor, one of his honourable princes, a man that hated Israel and was their enemy, and commanded him to destroy the people. And Nicanor came to Jerusalem with a great host; and he sent unto Judas and his brethren deceitfully with words of peace, saying, 'Let there be no battle between me and you; I will come with a few men, that I may see your faces in peace.' And he came to Judas, and they saluted one another peaceably. And the enemies were ready to take away Judas by violence. And the thing was known to Judas, to wit, that he came unto him with deceit, and he was sore afraid of him, and would see his face no more. And Nicanor knew that his counsel was discovered; and he went out to meet Judas in battle beside Capharsalama; and there fell of Nicanor's side about five hundred men, and they fled into the city of David.

And after these things Nicanor went up to mount Sion: and there came some of the priests out of the sanctuary, and some of the elders of the people, to salute him peaceably, and to shew him the whole burnt sacrifice that was being offered for the king. And he mocked them, and laughed at them, and entreated them shamefully, and spake haughtily, and sware in a rage, saying, 'Unless Judas and his army be now delivered into my hands, it shall be that, if I come again in peace, I will burn up this house:' and he went out in a great rage.

And the priests entered in, and stood before the altar and the temple; and they wept, and said, 'Thou didst choose this house to be called by thy name, to be a house of prayer and supplication for thy people: take vengeance

on this man and his army, and let them fall by the sword: remember their blasphemies, and suffer them not to live any longer.'

And Nicanor went forth from Jerusalem, and encamped in Bethhoron, and there met him the host of Syria. And Judas encamped in Adasa with three thousand men: and Judas prayed and said, 'When they that came from the king blasphemed, thine angel went out, and smote among them a hundred and fourscore and five thousand. Even so discomfit thou this army before us to-day, and let all the rest know that he hath spoken wickedly against thy sanctuary, and judge thou him according to his wickedness.'

And on the thirteenth day of the month Adar the armies joined battle: and Nicanor's army was discomfited, and he himself was the first to fall in the battle. Now when his army saw that Nicanor was fallen, they cast away their arms, and fled. And they pursued after them a day's journey from Adasa until thou comest to Gazara, and they sounded an alarm after them with the solemn trumpets.

And they came forth out of all the villages of Judæa round about, and closed them in; and these turned them back on those, and they all fell by the sword, and there was not one of them left. And they took the spoils, and the booty, and they smote off Nicanor's head, and his right hand, which he stretched out so haughtily, and brought them, and hanged them up beside Jerusalem. And the people was exceeding glad, and they kept that day as a day of great gladness. And they ordained to keep this day year by year, to wit, the thirteenth day of Adar. And the land of Judah had rest a little while.

§ 5. *The Romans and their government.*—Though Judas was thus once more, as Professor Schürer says, 'master of the situation,' he seems to have realized that it was impossible for him, if alone and unaided, to maintain his position and secure political independence, for the acquisition of which he had thus boldly thrown down the gauntlet, against the undivided power of the Syrian kingdom. Our authority tells us that he turned for help to that great power of the West, at whose orders the Seleucid kings had already more than once been compelled to give up and to give way. He turned to Rome.

The First Book of the Maccabees gives a vivid and deeply interesting sketch of the Roman policy and government, as seen

from an idealized point of view and afar off, by a Jewish writer at the close of the second century B.C. Not many years after the Jews were to learn by experience how far the reality might correspond with the description.

And Judas heard of the fame of the Romans, that they are valiant men, and have pleasure in all that join themselves unto them, and make amity with all such as come unto them. And they told him of their wars and exploits which they do among the Gauls, and how that they conquered them, and brought them under tribute; and what things they did in the land of Spain, that they might become masters of the mines of silver and gold which were there; and how that by their policy and persistence they conquered all the place (and the place was exceeding far from them), and the kings that came against them from the uttermost part of the earth, until they had discomfited them, and smitten them very sore; and how the rest give them tribute year by year: and Philip, and Perseus, king of Chittim, and them that lifted up themselves against them, did they discomfit in battle, and conquered them: Antiochus also, the great king of Asia, who came against them to battle, having a hundred and twenty elephants, with horse, and chariots, and an exceeding great host, and he was discomfited by them, and they took him alive, and appointed that both he and such as reigned after him should give them a great tribute, and should give hostages, and a parcel of land, to wit, the country of India, and Media, and Lydia, and of the goodliest of their countries; and they took them from him, and gave them to king Eumenes: and how they of Greece took counsel to come and destroy them; and the thing was known to them, and they sent against them a captain, and fought against them, and many of them fell down wounded to death, and they made captive their wives and their children, and spoiled them, and conquered their land, and pulled down their strongholds, and spoiled them, and brought them into bondage unto this day: and the residue of the kingdoms and of the isles, as many as rose up against them at any time, they destroyed and made them to be their servants; but with their friends and such as relied upon them they kept amity; and they conquered the kingdoms that were

nigh and those that were far off, and all that heard of their fame were afraid of them: moreover, whomsoever they will to succour and to make kings, these do they make kings; and whomsoever they will, do they depose; and they are exalted exceedingly: and for all this none of them did ever put on a diadem, neither did they clothe themselves with purple, to be magnified thereby: and how they had made for themselves a senate house, and day by day three hundred and twenty men sat in council, consulting alway for the people, to the end they might be well ordered: and how they commit their government to one man year by year, that he should rule over them, and be lord over all their country, and all are obedient to that one, and there is neither envy nor emulation among them.

Even a slight knowledge of Roman history will suffice to reveal the inaccuracies in this curious panegyric, and I need not recapitulate them here. In the passage about Greece our author is probably guilty of an anachronism. He seems to refer to the war against the Achaean league in 147 and 146 B. C., some fourteen or fifteen years after the death of Judas.

§ 6. *Judas sends an embassy to Rome.*—In accordance with the advice thus tendered to Judas, he dispatched an embassy to Rome, the coming and results of which are thus described.

And Judas chose Eupolemus the son of John, the son of Accos, and Jason the son of Eleazar, and sent them to Rome, to make a league of amity and confederacy with them, and that they should take the yoke from them; for they saw that the kingdom of the Greeks did keep Israel in bondage. And they went to Rome (and the way was exceeding long), and they entered into the senate house, and answered and said, 'Judas, who is also called Maccabæus, and his brethren, and the people of the Jews, have sent us unto you, to make a confederacy and peace with you, and that we might be registered your confederates and friends.'

And the thing was well-pleasing in their sight. And this is the copy of the writing which they wrote back again on tables of brass, and sent to Jerusalem, that it might be with them there for a memorial of peace and confederacy:

'Good success be to the Romans, and to the nation of the Jews, by sea and by land for ever: the sword also and

the enemy be far from them. But if war arise for Rome first, or any of their confederates in all their dominion, the nation of the Jews shall help them as confederates, as the occasion shall prescribe to them, with all their heart: and unto them that make war upon them they shall not give, neither supply, food, arms, money, or ships, as it hath seemed good unto Rome, and they shall keep their ordinances without taking anything therefore.

'In the same manner, moreover, if war come first upon the nation of the Jews, the Romans shall help them as confederates with all their soul, as the occasion shall prescribe to them: and to them that are confederates with their foes there shall not be given food, arms, money, or ships, as it hath seemed good unto Rome; and they shall keep these ordinances, and that without deceit. According to these words have the Romans made a covenant thus with the people of the Jews.

'But if hereafter the one party and the other shall take counsel to add or diminish anything, they shall do it at their pleasure, and whatsoever they shall add or take away shall be established.

'And as touching the evils which king Demetrius doeth unto them, we have written to him, saying, Wherefore hast thou made thy yoke heavy upon our friends and confederates the Jews? If therefore they plead any more against thee, we will do them justice, and fight with thee by sea and by land.'

§ 7. *The last battle.*—But the message of Rome to Demetrius arrived too late. The king had immediately resolved to undo and avenge the defeat of Adasa. He dispatched a considerable army into Judæa; Bacchides was its general. The Syrian forces advanced towards Jerusalem. Judas with but three thousand men was encamped over against them at Elasa. The mournful issue of the battle which ensued is thus described to us. The first month of the 152nd year of the Seleucid era nearly corresponds with April, 161 B.C. Less than two months had elapsed since the fight of Adasa.

And Demetrius heard that Nicanor was fallen with his forces in battle, and he sent Bacchides and Alcimus again into the land of Judah a second time, and the right wing of his army with them: and they went by the way that

leadeth to Gilgal, and encamped against Mesaloth, which is in Arbela, and gat possession of it, and destroyed much people.

And the first month of the hundred and fifty and second year they encamped against Jerusalem: and they removed, and went to Berea, with twenty thousand footmen, and two thousand horse.

And Judas was encamped at Elasa, and three thousand chosen men with him: and they saw the multitude of the forces, that they were many, and they feared exceedingly: and many slipped away out of the army; there were not left of them more than eight hundred men. And Judas saw that his army slipped away, and that the battle pressed upon him, and he was sore troubled in heart, for that he had no time to gather them together, and he waxed faint.

And he said to them that were left, 'Let us arise and go up against our adversaries, if peradventure we may be able to fight with them.' And they would have dissuaded him, saying, 'We shall in no wise be able: but let us rather save our lives now: let us return again, we and our brethren, and fight against them: but we are few.' And Judas said, 'Let it not be so that I should do this thing, to flee from them: and if our time is come, let us die manfully for our brethren's sake, and not leave a cause of reproach against our glory.'

And the host removed from the camp, and stood to encounter them, and the horse was parted into two companies, and the slingers and the archers went before the host, and all the mighty men that fought in the front of the battle. But Bacchides was in the right wing; and the phalanx drew near on the two parts, and they blew with their trumpets. And the men of Judas' side, even they sounded with their trumpets, and the earth shook with the shout of the armies, and the battle was joined, and continued from morning until evening.

And Judas saw that Bacchides and the strength of his army were on the right side, and there went with him all that were brave in heart, and the right wing was discomfited by them, and he pursued after them unto the mount Azotus. And they that were on the left wing saw that the right wing was discomfited, and they turned and followed upon the footsteps of Judas and of those that were with him: and

the battle waxed sore, and many on both parts fell wounded to death. And Judas fell, and the rest fled.

And Jonathan and Simon took Judas their brother, and buried him in the sepulchre of his fathers at Modin. And they bewailed him, and all Israel made great lamentation for him, and mourned many days, and said, 'How is the mighty fallen, the saviour of Israel!' And the rest of the acts of Judas, and his wars, and the valiant deeds which he did, and his greatness, they are not written; for they were exceeding many.

'And he waxed faint': rather 'and he despaired.' His resolution to dare all with his handful of men was the outcome not of faintness, but of the courage of despair.

'But we are few': i.e. we here are now but few.

'A cause of reproach.' The rendering of the Authorized Version is less literal, but in the spirit truer: 'and let us not stain our honour.'

'The host removed': apparently the Jews are meant. 'The horse was parted': i.e. the Syrian horse.

The death of Judas was worthy of his life. His time was come, and he died manfully, a hero's death, as a hero would wish to die. But he did not die in vain; his work lived after him. The great warrior had deserved well of Judaism. He was no mere hero of battles, but a knight of religion. And in those days Judaism needed warlike knights as well as saintly martyrs. And thus the story of Judas well merits a place in our *Bible for Home Reading*.

§ 8. *The virtue of courage.*—Courage, let me repeat, is still the fourth part of all virtue, even if it be not more. Let us not think the less of it because we cannot attribute it to God. For there is a glory of man, and there is a glory of God, and the two have points of connexion, but are yet distinct. A soldier's courage in a noble cause, the courage of Judas Maccabæus, the courage of John Nicholson—this courage is assuredly part and parcel of the glory of man. Courage can be so purified and exalted that it implies and involves a number of other virtues as well. The truly courageous man is rarely mean or false, for, as Aristotle says, the source and end of his courage are the noble, the beautiful, the good; and this source and end are present with him in all his deeds. They are the light which beckons him forward; they strengthen and ennoble. His courage prevents them being forgotten in any crisis or emergency. Courage is both the boy's virtue and the man's.

Not limited to the field of battle, courage can show itself in every sphere and in a myriad forms. People speak sometimes of physical courage deprecatingly or with depreciation; they say moral courage is higher. But in truth they go together. The boy who rides fearlessly and will not shrink in the dentist's chair is in all probability the boy who will scorn to tell a lie in words or act a lie by silence. All honour, then, to this grand virtue of courage, without which the man is never a man. There are virtues which must supplement it; there are virtues which rise above it. But courage comes first: the man virtuous in other respects but without courage is like a man who can run a hundred yards but cannot walk a mile. Courage comes first. Without it the other virtues lack their foundation. It gives them dignity and cohesion.

On the whole, the Jews have never been lacking in courage. They have gone to their death, without flinching, for their religion's sake, and borne in noble bravery obloquy and insult, torture and death. They have resisted the temptation to purchase ease and honour by apostasy and falsehood.

And should not among the bravest Jews of to-day be those who are adopted sons of the great Anglo-Saxon race, the race which has enriched the world's hero-record by so long and glorious a string of names, famous by land and by sea, at home and abroad, in peace and in war? Yes, we who have this double history behind us, who look back with pride both to Judas and to Alfred, we surely should seek to be brave, to be worthy, even in smallest and unremembered things, of those mighty names in the muster-roll of Judaism and of England. And in some respects Judas, no less than Alfred, recalls to us the picture of the Happy Warrior so superbly described by Wordsworth—the warrior

> Who, if he be called upon to face
> Some awful moment to which Heaven has joined
> Great issues, good or bad for human kind,
> Is happy as a Lover; and attired
> With sudden brightness, like a Man inspired;
> And, through the heat of conflict, keeps the law
> In calmness made, and sees what he foresaw: . . .
> Who, whether praise of him must walk the earth
> For ever, and to noble deeds give birth,
> Or he must fall, to sleep without his fame,
> And leave a dead unprofitable name—
> Finds comfort in himself and in his cause;
> And, while the mortal mist is gathering, draws
> His breath in confidence of Heaven's applause:
> This is the happy Warrior; this is He
> That every Man in arms should wish to be.

CHAPTER V

JONATHAN AND SIMON

§ 1. *The evil time after the death of Judas.*—It is a great fall from Judas to his successor. Judas had fought and died for his country and his faith. His brother Jonathan, who now led the party, fought for his own hand, we might almost say for his own dynasty.

At first the cause seemed hopeless. The Hellenists—both the Jews and their Syrian overlords—were masters of the land and of the capital. Our historian speaks of a gloomy time.

And it came to pass after the death of Judas, that the lawless put forth their heads in all the coasts of Israel, and all they that wrought iniquity rose up (in those days was there an exceeding great famine), and the country went over with them. And Bacchides chose out the ungodly men, and made them lords of the country. And they sought out and searched for the friends of Judas, and brought them unto Bacchides, and he took vengeance on them, and used them despitefully. And there was great tribulation in Israel, such as was not since the time that no prophet appeared unto them.

And all the friends of Judas were gathered together, and they said unto Jonathan, 'Since thy brother Judas hath died, we have no man like him to go forth against our enemies and Bacchides, and among them of our nation that hate us. Now therefore we have chosen thee this day to be our prince and leader in his stead, that thou mayest fight our battles.' And Jonathan took the governance upon him at that time, and rose up in the stead of his brother Judas.

For a time Jonathan and his band lived a wild, wandering and freebooter sort of life like David of old. The cities of Judæa were fortified against them with hostile garrisons. 'Sons of the chief men of the country' were taken as hostages and were 'put in ward in the citadel at Jerusalem.'

§ 2. *Bacchides leaves Palestine.*—In 160 B.C. Alcimus, the Hellenist high priest, died, and Bacchides returned to Antioch. The office of high priest was left vacant. The Maccabean party now gradually recovered their strength, but for the next seven years we hear very little about them. In 158 B.C. the Jewish Hellenist or Syrian party again besought the armed aid of Bacchides. He came, but did not conquer. Most of the Maccabean forces had entrenched themselves under Simon at 'Bethbasi which is in the wilderness,' and Bacchides besieged them in vain. Jonathan, with the remainder of his band, made marauding expeditions into the country around. At last, weary of his ill-success, Bacchides made peace with Jonathan, and, leaving thus the two opposed Jewish parties to fight it out among themselves, returned to Syria. Jonathan, we are told, 'dwelt at Michmash; and Jonathan began to judge the people; and he destroyed the ungodly out of Israel.' 'The ungodly': in other words, his political opponents and those who disagreed with him in matters of religious observance. So utterly remote was the great modern idea of toleration from the minds of religious Jews at that period. Not even the persecutions of Antiochus had suggested it. The later Rabbinical religion expressed the higher truth: 'Be ye of the persecuted, and not of the persecutors.'

§ 3. *Jonathan becomes high priest.*—For five years this anomalous state of things continued; the power of Jonathan was on the rise, the power of his enemies declined. For the mass of the people had no sympathy with the Hellenists; they sided with the Maccabeans both for national and religious reasons, and when, as Professor Schürer says, the Syrian pressure slackened or ceased, they could express their feelings in deed. But the Maccabean cause was led to final triumph by the dissensions and civil wars within the Syrian kingdom itself.

First came the rebellion of Alexander Balas, who pretended to be a son of Antiochus Epiphanes. Demetrius in his extremity sought the help of Jonathan, and made him advantageous offers. He 'gave him authority to gather together forces, and commanded that they should deliver up to him the hostages that were in the citadel.'

Jonathan accordingly marched to Jerusalem, occupied the city and fortified anew the temple hill. The hostages were delivered up to him, and the Syrian garrisons were withdrawn except from Bethsura and the citadel of Jerusalem.

The Maccabean leader was now possessed of sufficient power to justify counter-offers from Alexander Balas. Alexander offered him the office of high priest, and 'sent unto him a purple robe and a crown of gold.' Jonathan, on his part, was not slow to take advantage of this strange offer. At the Feast of Tabernacles in the year 153 B.C., the new high priest of Alexander's making put on his robes of office!

The next move was from Demetrius, who made offers grander and wider still, but Jonathan from one reason or another refused them. He was wise. In 150 B.C. Demetrius fell in battle against Alexander and his allies. Jonathan was rewarded for his fidelity with special favour. At the marriage of Alexander with the daughter of Ptolemy Philometor at Ptolemais, Alexander wrote to Jonathan that he should come to meet him.

And he went with pomp to Ptolemais, and met the two kings, and gave them and their Friends silver and gold, and many gifts, and found favour in their sight. And there were gathered together against him certain pestilent fellows out of Israel, men that were transgressors of the law, to complain against him: and the king gave no heed to them. And the king commanded, and they took off Jonathan's garments, and clothed him in purple: and thus they did. And the king made him sit with him, and said unto his princes, 'Go forth with him into the midst of the city, and make proclamation, that no man complain against him of any matter, and let no man trouble him for any manner of cause.' And it came to pass, when they that complained against him saw his glory according as the herald made proclamation, and saw him clothed in purple, they all fled away. And the king gave him honour, and wrote him among his Chief Friends, and made him a captain, and governor of a province. And Jonathan returned to Jerusalem with peace and gladness.

§ 4. *The fall of Jonathan.*—When Demetrius II, son of Demetrius I, raised a revolt against Alexander (147 B.C.), Jonathan remained faithful to his benefactor. He fought successfully against Apollonius, the governor of Coele-Syria, who had fallen away to Demetrius, and he was rewarded by Alexander with the

city and territory of Ekron. But when Ptolemy, his father-in-law, deserted Alexander, the latter's cause became hopeless. He fled to Arabia and was there murdered. Jonathan, however, contrived to maintain his position against Demetrius II. The new king thought it best to make peace with him. He 'confirmed Jonathan in his high priesthood, and all the other honours that he had before, and gave him pre-eminence among his chief friends' (145 B.C.). Jonathan, moreover, secured an extension of Judæan territory. He was rapidly becoming an almost independent prince.

The Syrian kingdom was weak and disorganized. Fresh troubles arose for Demetrius II. Diodotus Tryphon, a former general of Alexander Balas, set up as king a young son of Alexander's called Antiochus. A rebellion broke out in Antioch, and Jonathan sent 3,000 men to the aid of Demetrius, on condition (so we are told) that the Syrian garrison in Jerusalem should be withdrawn. The insurrection in Antioch was subdued with Jonathan's help, but the promise of Demetrius was not fulfilled.

The treachery of Demetrius was Jonathan's justification for deserting him and falling away to Antiochus and Tryphon. Such at least is the plea put forward by the author of the First Book of the Maccabees. As the authorized general of Antiochus, Jonathan fought battles and won territory for the new king, while his brother Simon conquered and garrisoned Bethsura and Joppa (144 B.C.).

After a time Tryphon seems to have become alarmed at the growing Maccabean power. He moved against Jonathan with his army. 'According to the First Book of the Maccabees this happened because Tryphon wanted to seize the monarchy for himself, and was afraid "lest haply Jonathan should not suffer him." There may be some truth in this, but Jonathan's motives were rather political than moral' (Schürer). The two armies met at Bethshan. Tryphon pretended peace: he sought to get Jonathan into his power. It seems amazing that the tried statesman should have fallen into the trap. This is the tale as the First Book of the Maccabees tells it (143 B.C.).

And Tryphon sought to reign over Asia and to put on himself the diadem, and to stretch forth his hand against Antiochus the king. And he was afraid lest haply Jonathan should not suffer him, and lest he should fight against him; and he sought a way how to take him, that he might destroy him. And he removed, and came to Bethshan. And Jonathan came forth to meet him with forty thousand men chosen for battle, and came to Bethshan.

And Tryphon saw that he came with a great host, and he was afraid to stretch forth his hand against him: and he received him honourably, and commended him unto all his Friends, and gave him gifts, and commanded his forces to be obedient unto him, as unto himself. And he said unto Jonathan, 'Why hast thou put all this people to trouble, seeing there is no war betwixt us? And now send them away to their homes, but choose for thyself a few men who shall be with thee, and come thou with me to Ptolemais, and I will give it up to thee, and the rest of the strongholds and the rest of the forces, and all the king's officers: and I will return and depart; for this is the cause of my coming.'

And he put trust in him, and did even as he said, and sent away his forces, and they departed into the land of Judah. But he reserved to himself three thousand men, of whom he left two thousand in Galilee, but one thousand went with him.

Now as soon as Jonathan entered into Ptolemais, they of Ptolemais shut the gates, and laid hands on him; and all them that came in with him they slew with the sword. And Tryphon sent forces and horsemen into Galilee, and into the great plain, to destroy all Jonathan's men.

And they perceived that he was taken and had perished, and they that were with him; and they encouraged one another, and went on their way close together, prepared to fight. And they that followed upon them saw that they were ready to fight for their lives, and turned back again. And they all came in peace into the land of Judah, and they mourned for Jonathan, and them that were with him, and they were sore afraid; and all Israel mourned with a great mourning.

And all the Gentiles that were round about them sought to destroy them utterly: for they said, 'They have no ruler, nor any to help them: now therefore let us fight against them, and take away their memorial from among men.'

§ 5. *Simon at Jerusalem.*—But there was still one son of Mattathias left at large, and he now assumed the leadership. Our historian thus describes the first deeds of Simon after the capture of Jonathan.

And Simon heard that Tryphon had gathered together a mighty host to come into the land of Judah, and destroy

it utterly. And he saw that the people trembled and was in great fear; and he went up to Jerusalem, and gathered the people together; and he encouraged them, and said unto them, 'Ye yourselves know all the things that I, and my brethren, and my father's house, have done for the laws and the sanctuary, and the battles and the distresses which we have seen: by reason hereof all my brethren have perished for Israel's sake, and I am left alone. And now be it far from me, that I should spare mine own life in any time of affliction; for I am not better than my brethren. Howbeit I will take vengeance for my nation, and for the sanctuary, and for our wives and children; because all the Gentiles are gathered to destroy us of very hatred.'

And the spirit of the people revived, as soon as they heard these words. And they answered with a loud voice, saying, 'Thou art our leader instead of Judas and Jonathan thy brother. Fight thou our battles, and all that thou shalt say unto us, that will we do.'

And he gathered together all the men of war, and made haste to finish the walls of Jerusalem, and he fortified it round about. And he sent Jonathan the son of Absalom, and with him a great host, to Joppa: and he cast out them that were therein, and abode there in it.

§ 6. *The death and burial of Jonathan.*—Meanwhile Tryphon prepared to march against Judæa and secure its complete submission. He took Jonathan with him as a close prisoner. In the events that followed Jonathan was slain, but the Maccabean power emerged stronger than before (142 B. C.).

And Tryphon removed from Ptolemais with a mighty host to enter into the land of Judah, and Jonathan was with him in ward. But Simon encamped at Adida, over against the plain.

And Tryphon knew that Simon was risen up instead of his brother Jonathan, and meant to join battle with him, and he sent ambassadors unto him, saying, 'It is for money which Jonathan thy brother owed unto the king's treasure, by reason of the offices which he had, that we hold him fast. And now send a hundred talents of silver, and two of his sons for hostages, that when he is set at liberty he may not revolt from us, and we will set him at liberty.'

And Simon knew that they spake unto him deceitfully; and he sendeth the money and the children, lest peradventure he should procure to himself great hatred of the people, and they should say, 'Because I sent him not the money and the children, he perished.' And he sent the children and the hundred talents. And he dealt falsely, and did not set Jonathan at liberty.

And after this Tryphon came to invade the land, and destroy it, and he went round about by the way that leadeth unto Adora: and Simon and his army marched over against him to every place, wheresoever he went.

Now they of the citadel sent unto Tryphon ambassadors, hastening him to come unto them through the wilderness, and to send them victuals. And Tryphon made ready all his horse to come: and on that night there fell a very great snow, and he came not by reason of the snow. And he removed, and came into the country of Gilead. But when he came near to Bascama, he slew Jonathan, and he was buried there. And Tryphon returned, and went away into his own land.

And Simon sent, and took the bones of Jonathan his brother, and buried him at Modin, the city of his fathers. And all Israel made great lamentation over him, and mourned for him many days. And Simon built a monument upon the sepulchre of his father and his brethren, and raised it aloft to the sight, with polished stone behind and before. And he set up seven pyramids, one over against another, for his father, and his mother, and his four brethren. And for these he made cunning devices, setting about them great pillars, and upon the pillars he fashioned all manner of arms for a perpetual memory, and beside the arms ships carved, that they should be seen of all that sail on the sea. This is the sepulchre which he made at Modin, and it is there unto this day.

§ 7. *The growing power of Simon.*—I open this paragraph with a quotation from Professor Schürer. 'Through the successes of Jonathan the Maccabean party were carried far beyond their original aims. At first their object had merely been to restore the Jewish worship, and to obtain freedom for the exercise and practice of the Jewish religion. But even Judas did not rest content with the attainment of this end. He and his party went on to seek their

own supremacy in the internal government of Judæa. In Jonathan's lifetime this too had been secured. By the nomination of Jonathan as high priest the governing power was placed in the hands of the Maccabean party, and the Hellenists were driven out. But now even these results were insufficient. Favourable circumstances and the weakness of the Syrian kingdom induced the party to aim at complete emancipation from Syrian control. The last actions of Jonathan were so many steps in this direction. The significance of the reign of Simon consists in this, that he completed the work of Jonathan, and made the Jewish people wholly independent of the Syrian kingdom.'

Before long the secret intention of Tryphon was clearly revealed. He put Antiochus to death, and set the crown upon his own head. Simon turned to Demetrius II, who granted what he had scarcely power to refuse. Judæa was freed of tribute, and all the acts of Jonathan and Simon were confirmed. Thus, as our authority says, 'the yoke of the heathen was taken away from Israel.' A new era opened (142 B.C.). 'And the people began to write in their instruments and contracts, In the first year of Simon the great high priest and captain and leader of the Jews.'

§ 8. *Simon occupies the citadel of Jerusalem.*—The final proof of Simon's power and of the independence of Judæa was the capture of Gazara and of the citadel in Jerusalem. Of the second achievement the First Book of the Maccabees speaks as follows:—

But they of the citadel in Jerusalem were hindered from going forth, and from going into the country, and from buying and selling; and they hungered exceedingly, and a great number of them perished through famine. And they cried out to Simon, that he should give them his right hand; and he gave it to them: and he put them out from thence, and he cleansed the citadel from its pollutions.

And he entered into it on the three and twentieth day of the second month, in the hundred and seventy and first year, with praise and palm branches, and with harps, and with cymbals, and with viols, and with hymns, and with songs: because a great enemy was destroyed out of Israel.

And he ordained that they should keep that day every year with gladness. And the hill of the temple that was by the citadel he made stronger than before, and there he dwelt, himself and his men.

§ 9. *The defeat of Cendebæus.*—Judæa was now cleared of foreign garrisons, and Simon ruled as an independent prince. For some years the land enjoyed rest and prosperity, and our authority, in a passage to be quoted later, waxes eloquent over the good old days of Simon.

In gratitude for the results achieved by Mattathias and his sons, the Jewish people, so we are told, passed a decree in which they confirmed Simon in his dual offices of leader and high priest, and made them hereditary in his family (September, 141 B.C.).

Three years after this Demetrius II was taken prisoner by Mithridates I, King of Parthia (138 B.C.). His brother, Antiochus VII Sidetes, who was in Rhodes, heard of Demetrius's captivity, sailed to Syria and opened a new campaign against Tryphon. He was more successful than Demetrius. Tryphon was finally besieged in Apamea and put to death. While the issue of the fight between him and Tryphon was doubtful, Antiochus (as was usual now) had sought the help of the Jews, and confirmed and extended the privileges of Simon. But as his prospects became brighter, his attitude changed. He sent to demand the restitution of Joppa and Gazara and of the citadel at Jerusalem. In lieu of them he would accept a money payment of 1,000 talents. Simon at once refused to comply.

And Athenobius the king's Friend came to Jerusalem; and he saw the glory of Simon, and the cupboard of gold and silver vessels, and his great attendance, and he was amazed; and he reported to him the king's words. And Simon answered, and said unto him,

'We have neither taken other men's land, nor have we possession of that which appertaineth to others, but of the inheritance of our fathers; howbeit, it was had in possession of our enemies wrongfully for a certain time. But we, having opportunity, hold fast the inheritance of our fathers. But as touching Joppa and Gazara, which thou demandest, they did great harm among the people throughout our country, we will give a hundred talents for them.'

And he answered him not a word, but returned in a rage to the king, and reported unto him these words, and the glory of Simon, and all that he had seen: and the king was exceeding wroth.

Antiochus Sidetes proceeded to send an army under Cendebæus to compel Simon to yield to his demands. But his attempt at force utterly failed.

And the king appointed Cendebæus chief captain of the sea coast, and gave him forces of foot and horse: and he commanded him to encamp before Judæa, and he commanded him to build up Kidron, and to fortify the gates, and that he should fight against the people: but the king pursued Tryphon.

And Cendebæus came to Jamnia, and began to provoke the people, and to invade Judæa, and to take the people captive, and to slay them. And he built Kidron, and set horsemen there, and forces of foot, to the end that issuing out they might make outroads upon the ways of Judæa, according as the king commanded him.

And John went up from Gazara, and told Simon his father what Cendebæus was doing. And Simon called his two eldest sons, Judas and John, and said unto them, 'I and my brethren and my father's house have fought the battles of Israel from our youth, even unto this day; and things have prospered in our hands, that we should deliver Israel oftentimes. But now I am old, and ye moreover, by his mercy, are of a sufficient age: be ye instead of me and my brother, and go forth and fight for our nation; but let the help which is from heaven be with you.'

And he chose out of the country twenty thousand men of war and horsemen, and they went against Cendebæus, and slept at Modin. And rising up in the morning, they went into the plain, and, behold, a great host came to meet them, of footmen and horsemen: and there was a brook betwixt them. And he encamped over against them, he and his people: and he saw that the people were afraid to pass over the brook, and he passed over first, and the men saw him, and passed over after him. And he divided the people, and set the horsemen in the midst of the footmen: but the enemies' horsemen were exceeding many.

And they sounded with the trumpets; and Cendebæus and his army were put to the rout, and there fell of them many wounded to death, but they that were left fled to the stronghold: at that time was Judas John's brother wounded: but John pursued after them, till he came unto Kidron, which Cendebæus had built; and they fled unto the towers that are in the fields of Azotus; and he burned it with fire; and there fell of them about two thousand men. And he returned into Judæa in peace.

§ 10. *The death of Simon.*—Simon was now no more disturbed by any Syrian incursion. The peace and independence of Judæa were secured. Yet Simon too, like all the other sons of Mattathias, was destined to die a violent death. But whereas the other sons had been killed by a foreign enemy, Simon fell by the treacherous stroke of his own son-in-law. The tale of his death is thus related to us. The date was February, 135 B.C.

And Ptolemy the son of Abubus had been appointed captain for the plain of Jericho, and he had much silver and gold; for he was the high priest's son in law. And his heart was lifted up, and he was minded to make himself master of the country, and he took counsel deceitfully against Simon and his sons, to make away with them.

Now Simon was visiting the cities that were in the country, and taking care for the good ordering of them; and he went down to Jericho, himself and Mattathias and Judas his sons, in the hundred and seventy and seventh year, in the eleventh month, the same is the month Sebat: and the son of Abubus received them deceitfully into the little stronghold that is called Dok, which he had built, and made them a great banquet, and hid men there. And when Simon and his sons had drunk freely, Ptolemy and his men rose up, and took their arms, and came in upon Simon into the banqueting place, and slew him, and his two sons, and certain of his servants. And he committed a great iniquity, and recompensed evil for good.

§ 11. *A panegyric upon Simon.*—Yet though Simon's reign—for reign we may justly call it—ended thus tragically, it was upon the whole a seven-year period of advance and prosperity. Not unjustified by any means are the glowing words, to which I referred before, in which our excellent historian, from whom we now regretfully take leave, characterizes in terms of praise and pride the days of Simon. It is interesting to compare the words of the historian with the one hundred and first Psalm (p. 574). Whether Simon attempted to carry out the Psalmist's conception of the ideal prince, or whether the Psalmist based his ideal upon Simon, cannot here be discussed or decided.

And the land had rest all the days of Simon: and he sought the good of his nation; and his authority and his glory was well-pleasing to them all his days. And amid

all his glory he took Joppa for a haven, and made it an entrance for the isles of the sea; and he enlarged the borders of his nation, and gat possession of the country; and he gathered together a great number of captives, and gat the dominion of Gazara, and Bethsura, and the citadel, and he took away from it its uncleannesses; and there was none that resisted him.

And they tilled their land in peace, and the land gave her increase, and the trees of the plains their fruit. The ancient men sat in the streets, they communed all of them together of good things, and the young men put on glorious and warlike apparel. He provided victuals for the cities, and furnished them with all manner of munition, until the name of his glory was named unto the end of the earth.

He made peace in the land, and Israel rejoiced with great joy: and they sat each man under his vine and his fig tree, and there was none to make them afraid: and there ceased in the land any that fought against them: and the kings were discomfited in those days. And he strengthened all those of his people that were brought low: the law he searched out, and every lawless and wicked person he took away. He glorified the sanctuary, and the vessels of the temple he multiplied.

CONCLUSION

The First Book of the Maccabees closes with the death of Simon, and here my story of the Maccabees will close likewise. It is just possible, as we saw in the last section, that one or two Psalms may refer to Simon, but it is exceedingly unlikely that any of them, or indeed that any other words of the existing Hebrew Bible, were written after his death. It is therefore fitting that in this *Bible for Home Reading* the history of the Jews should also terminate at this date—three hundred years after Nehemiah's second visit to Jerusalem. In other books than mine must be read the decline and fall of the Maccabean house, and the record of the two hundred years which elapsed between the death of Simon and the destruction of the Jewish state in the reign of the Roman Emperor Vespasian. The story of these two hundred years, culminating, as they do, in a long agony, which continued under various forms far beyond Vespasian, is one of the strangest and saddest chapters in the history of mankind.

The religion of the Jews in its essence and fundamentals was too great and universal to be confined to the limits of a single people. The combination of such a religion with a small political community produced a situation which the Roman Empire made more and more anomalous and impossible. A religion which has national rites must also have national dogmas; but a God who is one and universal must be worshipped with rites in which all men can join. But this equalization of rite with doctrine and dogma was the work of ages; and even now, from causes into which I cannot here enter, it is only in process of accomplishment. One great stage in the process has, however, been reached, and in England we find its best and fullest illustration. We English Jews know but one people, one nation, one country, as our own. Our religion and our nation are separate and distinct, and just as there are millions who are of our nation but not of our religion, so there are millions who belong to our religion and are not of our nation. The further and final stage, when our religion will be more comprehensive still,

when its adherents will be of many races as well as of many nations, and its rites will have assumed a purely universal shape, will yet, we may hope and pray, become a reality in the future.

Even now there is much which is common to ourselves and to the many forms and varieties of Christianity, the dominant religion of Europe and of all European colonies and offshoots. And the more our own religion keeps true and draws near to the best spirit and highest teaching of the prophets, and the more Christianity on the other hand keeps true and draws near to the teaching of its founder, the greater this common element becomes. In their fundamental essentials the religions of liberal thinkers and of good men in every creed are gradually approximating more nearly to one another, even though this approximation is often unperceived by themselves. And the result, we may make bold to say, seems all in the direction of a universalized Judaism, under whatever name it may be called. The most intimate relation between religion on the one hand and morality and truth on the other, the worship of one God who is himself the source of goodness and of truth,—such seem to be essential features of the faith to which we may look forward as the common possession of civilized man.

And now there only remain to be said a few words of conclusion.

In the first chapter of the first part of this book, I said that 'the Bible tells us about goodness and God. This is what gives to it its unique value. No other book has told men so well and so truly of goodness and God as the Bible. All that it says about God, and all that it says about goodness, is not indeed of equal value and of equal truth: there are degrees of excellence and of worth. But, taken as a whole, no other book has spoken and still speaks of God and goodness as this book, the Bible.'

Now this assertion has not been proved. It could only be proved by comparison—by comparing the Bible with other religious and ethical books which are wholly independent of it. It was impossible to do that here, though it has been done by many learned persons whose impartial judgement is the basis of my own unlearned assertion. But what most persons who have read even so much of the Bible as is printed in these two volumes will admit is that its doctrines about God and goodness are so noble, simple and comprehensive that they remain of permanent value and admit of endless application and development.

For what, to mention only some salient points, have we learnt in these two volumes of Biblical selections?

We have learnt, first of all, the great and fundamental doctrine

of the One God. One divine power in and for the universe of things and souls, and this one divine power a pure and self-consistent Unity. 'The Lord he is God in heaven above and upon the earth beneath: there is none else.' 'Hear, O Israel; the Lord our God, the Lord is One.' For this doctrine the Jews have gone in thousands resolutely to death: for this doctrine they have lived sore and stunted lives of wretchedness and misery; by this doctrine they transmuted those trouble-stricken lives into sublimity and joy; this doctrine we also have to cherish, to do what in us lies to diffuse it and make it to prevail.

And the highest teaching which by God's gift of reason we can pick out of the Bible concerning this one and only God does not stop short at the bare assertion of his existence and unity. He is the world's ruler, and his spirit sustains it. He 'cares for' the 'work of his hands.' He is goodness and the source of goodness. He is righteous. It does not matter whether we call him Supreme Righteousness, Supreme Goodness, Supreme Justice, or Supreme Love. For God is One, and these parts or aspects of virtue which may be sundered or opposed in man are in him indissolubly united. They fade into each other: they are the many colours into which the one white light is necessarily broken up to human eyes.

This God enters into relations with man, who is 'created in his image.' 'The Lord is merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and plenteous in lovingkindness.' He is 'as a father': he indeed is our 'father' and our 'creator.' He is mysteriously omnipresent. 'Thou art there.' He may be said in a figure to 'dwell in the high and holy place,' but also 'with him that is of a contrite and humble spirit.' He is 'near' to those who 'seek' him; his 'ears' are ever 'open' to the prayers of man. He 'searcheth' all hearts: whom he 'loveth he correcteth.'

The good God is the author of goodness. The 'understanding' or the reason, which is man's privilege, is the condition of goodness: its source is God. He helps man to be good. 'Give me understanding.' 'Guide our hearts unto thee.' By goodness man 'serves' God, and man's goodness is mainly shown in a life of active righteousness and lovingkindness toward his fellows. 'He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?' We have seen that the two fundamental commands of the Law, recognized as such by all accredited Jewish teachers, are the dual injunctions to love God and love man. 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might.' 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.'

Social justice, compassion, lovingkindness—these are the true divine commands. The best parts of the Bible are instinct with a consuming passion for righteousness, with a fiery hatred of oppression, of injustice, of cruelty. Every philanthropic and social worker can still be inspired by the words of the Hebrew prophets, and by the sympathy of seer and lawgiver alike for the poor and the oppressed.

The service of man is the best service of God. Ritual and worship have their place, but the place is subordinate. From Prophet, Sage and Psalmist we have the same high teaching. 'Let justice roll on like water, and righteousness as a perpetual stream.' 'I desire love and not sacrifice, and the knowledge of God rather than burnt offerings.' 'Rend your heart and not your garments.' 'The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination unto the Lord.' 'Thou desirest not sacrifice, else would I give it; thou delightest not in burnt offering. The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.' Only the 'clean hands and pure heart' may 'stand' in God's 'holy place.'

We found no fixed and formal doctrine of the human will and of the divine grace. But we found doctrines and implications which seemed to answer to our fullest experience and our deepest needs. We are responsible to God for our actions and our character: we are 'free' to choose the good and reject the evil. But there is 'no man that sinneth not.' Yet after 'sin' there may be 'repentance'—one of God's choicest gifts to man. We *can* repent: we can free ourselves from bondage to sin. But though we are 'free' to choose the good and reject the evil, and 'free' to 'repent' if we have chosen the evil, this freedom is partly the grace of God. God helps us to be good. Man prays to him for this assistance, for this spiritual aid and strengthening, and this prayer is not refused. We have to try to 'make us a new heart,' but this new heart is the gift of God. This apparent contradiction, which yet seems to correspond with the deepest human experience, has been met with by us in our journey through the Bible again and again.

The sore problems which vex the human heart and mind concerning evil and sin, the problems about crime and misery, about disease, idiocy and madness, or about savage life and the slow evolution of morality, are not solved for us in the Bible. No human book or teacher can solve them. But in one of the greatest of the Biblical books some of them (in a simple form) are fearlessly enunciated and fearlessly faced, and we find elements of consolation. 'The Lord gave, and the Lord hath

taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord'; and again, 'Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?' 'He delivereth the afflicted through his affliction, and openeth his ear through suffering.' And the Psalmist helps us too when he exclaims: 'It is good for me that I have been afflicted, that I might learn thy statutes.' 'I know, O Lord, that thou in faithfulness hast afflicted me.'

That living faith in God which rises to communion with him is suggested to us in the Bible as the highest product or reward of religion. We find the record of it in the Psalter. The Law is the delight of the author of the 119th Psalm because it is the expression of God's will, because it is a vehicle or means which leads him to God and brings God near to him. The keeping of it is its own great reward, just as we find here and there the great complementary doctrine that sin is its own punishment. 'The wicked shall fall by his own wickedness. The backslider hath his fill from his own ways; and a good man from his own deeds.'

The life of goodness culminates in the life with God. 'My soul clingeth fast unto thee; thy right hand upholdeth me.' 'The Lord is my light.' 'The Lord is my shepherd . . . my cup runneth over.' 'With thee is the fountain of life: through thy light we see light.' 'In thy presence is fulness of joy; in thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.' 'To be near unto God is my good.' 'Whom have I in heaven but thee? And there is nought upon earth that I desire beside thee.' We are conscious that the rapturous side of personal religion needs no finer stimulus than sayings such as these.

These are scattered sayings, a point here and a point there; but how great they are, how illuminative! how much they imply, how applicable they are to every age, how admirably capable of expansion, illustration, development!

I stated in the opening chapter of Part I that the Biblical doctrines about goodness and God are mixed up with the history of Israel. They are found in a national framework. The Jews stand in some intimate relation to these doctrines. They are their guardians and their propagators. We were not able to accept all that is contained in the Bible about the relation of the Jews to God and to their fellow-men; but the highest doctrine of the Hebrew scriptures on these subjects was alike convincing and inspiring.

That highest doctrine may be said to include the notion that God is the father of all men, and that he cares for all without distinction of race or creed. A certain Rabbi once said that the greatest principle in the Pentateuch was the bidding: 'Thou

shalt love thy neighbour as thyself'; but another Rabbi said that the simple statement: 'This is the book of the generations of Adam' (Part I, p. 515), was greater still. He clearly meant to indicate that this statement implied the equal fraternity of the entire human race. 'Should I not have pity on Nineveh?' 'Are ye not as the children of the Ethiopians unto me, O children of Israel? Did I not bring up Israel out of the land of Egypt, and the Philistines from Caphtor and Aram from Kir?' God is 'the God of the spirits of all flesh': he is 'good to all, and his lovingkindness is over all his works.'

What place or function has Israel if all men are equally God's children? Has it only a place or function according to the lower and more national teaching of the Hebrew scriptures, according to which, in contradiction to the theory of the impartial divine fatherhood and the fraternity of man, Israel is or will be specially 'favoured' by God? No. Just in proportion as the higher doctrine of God and man is recognized and understood does the position and function of Israel become higher and more spiritual. The 'kingdom of priests' (Part I, p. 80) must exercise its priestly functions for the benefit of the world. The Jews are called for a special purpose: to them the knowledge of God came early in their history; they have to undergo a special training, a purification as if by fire. 'You only have I known out of all the families of the earth: therefore will I visit upon you all your iniquities.' We recall the solemn words of the Second Isaiah, which have never been renounced or denied by any subsequent Jewish teacher, though they have often been obscured and forgotten: 'Behold my servant whom I uphold; my chosen, in whom my soul delighteth: I have put my spirit upon him; he shall bring forth true religion to the nations. He shall not clamour nor cry, nor cause his voice to be heard in the street. A bruised reed shall he not break, and a dimly burning wick shall he not quench: he shall bring forth true religion faithfully. He shall not burn dimly, nor shall his spirit be crushed, till he have set true religion in the earth; and the isles shall wait for his teaching.' And again of the ideal Israel, whose duty extends beyond the limits of his own people to the world at large, the words were spoken: 'It is too light a thing that thou shouldest be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel: I will also give thee for a light to the nations, that my salvation may be unto the end of the earth.' And finally we remember the great passage about the Servant who suffered for the sake of others, a passage which in all probability refers to the best and purest spirits in Israel suffering for the sake of the nation as a whole,

but which was generally interpreted by the Synagogue to refer to the relation of Israel to the nations of the world. 'He bare our sickness and carried our pains; yet did we esteem him stricken, smitten of God and afflicted. But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was crushed for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and through his stripes we have been healed. All we like sheep had gone astray; we turned every one to his own way; and the Lord made to light on him the guilt of us all.'

Clearly the teaching of all these various passages must be recast and reinterpreted to suit the exigencies of our own time. Into this I cannot enter, but what is plainly put before us is a conception according to which Israel is called to serve, to suffer and to teach, and not to conquer, to triumph and to enjoy. It is an election of spiritual privilege and of spiritual responsibility.

In harmony with the highest teaching of the Bible about Israel is its highest teaching about the future. God wills that his world, the world of man, should become better, not worse. With the optimism of faith the Hebrew seers and poets look *forward* to a Golden Age: they do not relegate it to a distant and irrecoverable past. Righteousness and peace shall at last prevail. 'They shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.' This is the final issue of Israel's work. 'The earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea.' We recall the lyric outbursts of the Psalmists: 'Let the peoples praise thee, O God; let all the peoples praise thee.' 'All nations whom thou hast made shall come and worship before thee, O Lord, and shall glorify thy name.' And finally: 'And Zion each one calls Mother; yea, each one was born therein.' Such is the exalted hope, ethical and religious in one, world-wide in its range, spiritual in its goal, which the highest teachers of the Bible explicitly connect and co-ordinate with the mission and the destiny of Israel.

The religious principles which have been indicated in the foregoing sentences are great, comprehensive and adaptable. They are wide and general enough to be serviceable from age to age. They are not merely isolated doctrines, but in their combination they constitute, as it seems to me, a religion. They form, to my thinking, the essence of Judaism.

But are we to suppose that there could or can be no religious development, no fresh contribution to religious and ethical teaching, beyond what is contained in these Hebrew scriptures? Such an idea, it seems to me, would be very erroneous. No human product

is or can be perfect or complete, and the Hebrew scriptures, though touched by the spirit of God, are yet, like every other book, the work of man. We worship God only: we do not worship a book. One only is perfect: nor could God himself endow any of his creatures with the perfection that is his alone.

In morals and religion there can be no finality, no absolute attainment. Such seems to be the conclusion we may draw from human nature and from history. You can indeed say of certain broad and general principles, as of certain formal laws, that they are permanent and incapable of improvement, but the application of those principles and laws, their better formulation, the fuller perception of their drift and many-sided implications, their relation to changing circumstance—all this involves endless progress and development. 'God is one.' 'There is one God.' 'Love God.' 'Love man.' 'Be good.' 'Do good.' Statements and injunctions such as these can scarcely be susceptible of improvement or change. But happily there can hardly be a limit to our better and fuller comprehension of what Perfect Goodness implies, of what the nature of the divine rule seems to be, and how we best can 'love' God and man.

We find the same kind of possible development in Poetry, in Art, in Music, in Philosophy. No poet has exhausted the possibilities of poetry; nor can any system of philosophy be final and complete. There is no side or aspect of the spiritual and mental creations of man, whether we suppose them aided by special divine guidance or not, which must not be regarded as in process of development, moving forward towards a perfection which can never wholly be attained.

The capacity for religious thought was not broken in the Jewish race when the last words of the Hebrew Scriptures were written. And there were various points in the principles already reached and taught which needed enlargement and clarification. We saw, for instance, how the great doctrine of self-sacrifice was taught by the Second Isaiah in the passage about the suffering Servant; this doctrine needed a fresh and fuller statement; it was capable of almost endless application. The doctrine of the common divine fatherhood taught by the author of Jonah required constant reiteration and more systematic presentment. The higher teaching of the Book of Job could not stay where the author had left it. The tendency to regard the unrepentant sinner as outside the providence of God needed correction; the desire to redeem him needed strengthening. In the very latest passages of the Book of Isaiah and in the Book of Daniel we saw the dawning hope of a life after death lived in communion with God. Already in the

'Apocrypha' we found that hope more firmly held and more purely taught. The great words, 'The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God: their hope is full of immortality,' are no less great and no less original because they are in the Greek Apocrypha and not in the Hebrew Bible.

God does not choose to give moral and religious truth to the world by one channel only and at one time. The sacred books of many nations, the founders and teachers of many different religions (such as Mohammed and Buddha), the great moralists and philosophers (such as Socrates and Plato), are sufficient proof to the contrary. Many races have contributed, each in its degree, to the total store. The Jewish race has made, as we believe, the largest and most fruitful contributions. The sages and saints of the Talmud have added to the treasures accumulated in the Hebrew Scriptures. When, for instance, we run our eye over the so-called 'Ethics of the Fathers,' we come across pearls of price which are original contributions to morality and religion. They fit in with and fit on to the principles of the scriptures, but they are none the less new spiritual creations. I open the Authorized Daily Prayer Book on p. 197, and I read: 'Rabbi Jacob said, This world is like a vestibule before the world to come; prepare thyself in the vestibule, that thou mayest enter into the hall. He used to say, Better is one hour of repentance or good deeds in this world than the whole life of the world to come; and better is one hour of blissfulness of spirit in the world to come than all the life of this world.' Here is something great and new. The Rabbinical quotations which from exigencies of space have only occasionally been made in these two volumes are not mere repetitions of Biblical sayings and thoughts. They are new applications, fresh developments. An adequate Rabbinic *florilegium* would give a surprising number of such original thoughts and principles. Is our own age wholly wanting in them? I trust not.

These considerations may make what I have now to say more easy to understand. In the opening chapter of my First Part, I spoke about the influence which the Bible has had in the religious and moral education of the human race. I pointed out that 'for Europe, America, Australia, the Bible,' all written in Asia as it was, has been nevertheless 'the most important book which has ever been written.' 'It has taught people more, and helped people more; it has made them better, gentler, nobler, than is the case with any other book.' Now it is right and fair that I should here point out that the Bible which has done these things is the Hebrew Bible and something more. The 'Bible,' as the word is understood by all Christians, and indeed by everybody

except the Jews, includes besides the Hebrew Bible a smaller collection of sacred writings in Greek. As everybody knows, the Hebrew part of this larger Bible is called the Old Testament; the Greek part is called the New Testament. In Europe, America, and Australia the Jews form a small minority. The mass of civilized humanity in the parts of the world just named profess some form of Christianity of whose origin and earliest history the New Testament contains the record. It is the Old and New Testaments together which have taught the world about goodness and God.

The last words of the Hebrew Bible (or 'Old Testament') were, as we have seen, written perhaps as late as 135 B.C. At any rate, one entire book (Daniel) was not written before 168 B.C. The interval in time between the two 'Testaments' is not very long. For the New Testament was completed about three hundred years after Daniel. It tells of the life and death, the sayings and the doctrine of the Jewish teacher, who was believed by his disciples to be the 'Messiah' predicted by some of the prophets of old. 'Messiah' is in Greek called *Christ*. (The Greek word *Christos* means *anointed*, and is the translation of the Hebrew *Mashêach*, which has the same signification. So where it says in the Second Isaiah [Part I, p. 492], 'Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus,' the Greek has, 'Thus saith the Lord God to my *Christos*, to Cyrus.') We, in common with the rest of the world, now reckon our time from the date when the birth of the Founder of Christianity is computed to have taken place. In addition to the history of the Founder's life, told in four distinct and separate records, the New Testament also comprises some account of the community which he originated, and some important letters or sermons of his earliest disciples. The name of the Founder was Jesus of Nazareth.

Why do not the Jews include the 'New Testament' as well as the 'Old Testament' within their Bible? I cannot give an adequate answer to this question here and now. It would take too long. For I should have to include an account of the New Testament writings and a criticism of their worth. I should also have to discuss the relation of Judaism to Christianity. I can only offer in the place of all this a few general considerations.

None of us can ever hope to understand entirely the methods by which God has brought and will bring the world to a fuller and better knowledge of him and to a higher and purer morality. Still less can we hope to understand the reasons which underlie and justify those methods, however strange and slow and vacillating they may appear to us. The old problems rise up before our minds.

Why has there been this long development since man was man? Why had and have there to be savage races with such poor and feeble and distorted notions of goodness and God? Why is there such a strange mixture in the different religions and in the various ethical codes and practices of good and evil, of falsehood and truth? There seems so much irony in it all, as well as so much sadness and strangeness. And though the irony and the sadness and the strangeness are not the same to different persons, different races, different creeds, they exist for us all; and the varieties do not resolve one another.

Even in the greatest gifts of God to struggling humanity there seems to be a double strand. Even in the Hebrew Bible, for example, we found doctrines which we could not regard as good and true, and we found them mixed up and blended with, and even sustaining and assisting, doctrines which seemed to us wholly right and pure. The world seems to be carried forward by new good which yet is not wholly good, or which yet contains within it seeds of evil. It is taught and helped by fresh truths which yet contain within them germs of falsehood. Great and noble results are often achieved through illusion or error: few recognize the illusion till the results are secured.

Again, a great teacher appears in the world and teaches new truths; or old truths forgotten and misunderstood. His words are full of meaning to himself, but they are not grasped in their fulness and their purity by those to whom he speaks or for whom he writes. Perhaps he is not always wholly consistent with himself. The big ideas by which he lives are hard to translate into words. He does great good; the world advances by his teaching, and yet perhaps the very truths by which he sought to correct existing evils may afterwards, by exaggeration and distortion, need correction in their turn. The new movement has its own onesidedness. The living truths become dead formulae, barren dogmas of no spiritual profit and avail. 'Phrases,' as has well been said, 'which in the first instance have crystallized some precious human experience, and enshrined it in apt and often lovely words, presently pass into current language,' and they are then often used with evil results by those who have never known the fresh feelings and pure ideas which originally had given them birth. The history of religion is full of these curious phenomena. They are part of the world's complexity, part of its life; ever demanding that we should reappropriate, each generation for itself, the spiritual treasures of the past, so that gradually the good may increase and the evil may diminish. 'The old order changeth, yielding place to new, and God fulfils himself in many ways, lest one good custom should

corrupt the world.' It would go too far to invert the adage of Shakespeare's King Henry, and to declare: 'There is a soul of evil in things good'; but it *is* true, and it seems to be one of the strange methods by which God makes us think and move forward, that there lurks in good a frequent element or germ of evil. Yet even this apparently mournful fact God uses for his own great purpose in the spiritual education of the human race. By means of it he urges us on, by the working of it he leads us forward.

To my mind, and to the mind of most Jews, this mixture of truth and falsehood is curiously illustrated by the religious teaching of the 'New Testament.' There is much in that book which is great and noble, much which is sublime and tender, much which is good and true. Of this 'much,' the greater part consists in a fresh presentment of some of the best and highest teaching in the 'Old Testament,' in a vivid reformulation of it, in an admirable picking and choosing, an excellent bringing together. But a part consists in a further development, or in clearer and more emphatic expressions of certain truths which previously were only implicit or not fully drawn out. Thus of its excellence part may in this sense be called old and part may in this sense be called new. But in close and curious combination with what is good there are some things which are erroneous and harmful, and there are others which are liable to dangerous perversion, or which hold within them the germs of evil and have borne evil fruit.

Among the good and true elements of the 'New Testament' may be mentioned important and suggestive modifications of the doctrine of retribution and of the relation of suffering to sin, a fresh and noble restatement of the old prophetic doctrine, 'I desire love and not sacrifice,' a passionate enthusiasm for the moral and religious regeneration of the outcast and the sinner, fine teaching about the nature and power of love and the duty of forgiveness, fresh contributions to the conception of self-sacrifice, suffering, and religious inwardness, suggestive (if somewhat dangerous) teaching on the subject of the divine 'immanence' and of the 'divine' in man, a striking presentment of the true and intimate relation of the human child to the divine Father, and, last not least, a clear and emphatic recognition that this divine fatherhood extends equally to the Gentile and the Jew. It should be noted that parallels to many of these excellent teachings are also to be found in the Rabbinical writings. It was indeed perfectly natural that the same religious ideas and developments should occur independently to several Jewish minds. Thus, for example, the deep reply which, according to the Talmud, was made by the 'wise men of the south' to the king of Macedon is the precise

equivalent of one of the most notable sayings attributed to Jesus of Nazareth. ('Alexander said to them, "What should a man do that he may live?" They said, "Let him kill himself." "And what should a man do that he may die?" They said, "Let him seek to keep himself alive."')

Among the elements of the 'New Testament' to which Jewish critics (as it seems to me most rightly) take strong exception there may be mentioned the serious weakening of that fundamental doctrine of Judaism which declares the unity of God, the exaltation of a man into partnership with Deity, the strange conception of the absolute incarnation of God in human form, the putting of an intermediary, half God and half man, or wholly man and wholly God, between the human child and the divine Father, certain teachings about atonement, demoniacal 'possession' and punishment after death, and a one-sided conception of 'faith' containing within it the seeds of persecution and fanaticism, and sometimes tending to the severance of morality from religion.

For good and for evil—and the two have often been strangely mixed up and interwoven together—the New Testament has been of enormous influence in the moral and religious history of the world. For that reason alone all Jews who, like other civilized persons, want to know about that history must read the New Testament, and read it, if they can, with impartial minds, ready to receive the good and to reject the evil. But it cannot be admitted into a Jewish *Bible for Home Reading*. Not only that the critical study of it is unsuited for the young. There is more than this involved. For if it be said that in the Hebrew Bible too we have found higher and lower teaching, doctrine to reject as well as doctrine to receive, this argument would not suffice for the inclusion of the New Testament into the Bible of the Jews. It is one thing to observe, with growing thought and developed conceptions of religion and morality, deficiencies and unevennesses in the sacred scriptures which *have been* your community's sacred scriptures for 2,000 years; it is quite another thing to add on to those scriptures other writings in which evils and errors, some of which I have mentioned above, are known and recognized to exist. Moreover, the grave errors which we Jews think that we can detect in the New Testament are very closely connected with, even if they do not actually constitute, its most essential teachings. These errors are in fact among the very points which the great mass of Christians regard as its most peculiar characteristics and its most vital truths. Some of them, at any rate, seem to us to contradict the teaching of the Old Testament just where that teaching is at its truest, its purest and its best. For these reasons,

even if there were no others, the Bible of the Jews must remain limited to the books which now compose it. Later on, if I happen to live, I may be able to issue an edition of the New Testament for Jewish readers, in which I shall try to distinguish between the good and the evil, seeking to render full justice to what is great and new, while pointing out at the same time that which seems to me either directly false or liable to dangerous perversion.

We are not limited for our moral and religious 'edification,' the building up of our moral and religious character, to the Biblical books. We may find truth, consolation and enlightenment wherever we can. But from the Hebrew Scriptures we still can gather those essential doctrines by which the purest faith in the Divine can be quickened and sustained, and by which the noblest life among and for our fellow-men can be lived in the realized presence of God.

INDEXES

The first index follows the pages of the present volume, and gives the references to all those passages of the Bible which are here printed in large type. The numbering of the chapters and verses is in accordance with the Authorized Version. In the selections from the Apocrypha the numbering follows the Revised Version. The omission of part of a verse is not indicated in the index.

The second index follows the books and chapters of the Bible and the Apocrypha, and shows what Biblical and Apocryphal passages have been quoted in this volume, and on what pages they are to be found. The order of the Biblical books follows the Authorized Version; the order of the Apocryphal books follows the Revised Version.

I.

PAGE

4. Isaiah lxiii. 7, 8.
5. — lxiii. 9–16.
6. — lxiii. 17–19; lxiv. 1–8.
7. — lxiv. 9–12.
18. Song of Songs viii. 6, 7.
24. Proverbs x. 19–21, 31; xii. 18, 19, 22, 23; xiv. 3; xv. 4, 23, 28; xvi. 24; xvii. 20, 27, 28; xviii. 4, 6, 7.
25. — xviii. 13, 21; xx. 15; xxi. 23; x. 8, 11; xxvi. 28; xxv. 11; xiii. 2, 3; xiv. 23; xvi. 21.
26. — x. 18; xi. 13; xvi. 28; xvii. 4, 9; xxvi. 20; xviii. 8; xx. 19; xii. 16; xiv. 29; xv. 1, 17; xvi. 32; xvii. 1.
27. — xvii. 14; xxvi. 21; xvii. 19; xx. 3; xxv. 15, 28; xi. 2; xvi. 18, 19; xviii. 12; xx. 9; xxi. 24; xxvii. 2; x. 4.
28. — x. 5, 26; xiii. 11; xv. 19; xix. 15; xxi. 17, 26; xix. 24; xx. 4, 13; xiii. 4; xxi. 25; xxiv. 30–33.

PAGE

29. Proverbs xxiv. 34; xxvi. 13–16; xii. 25; xv. 13, 15, 30; xvii. 22; xviii. 14.
30. — xi. 24, 25, 26, 28; xiii. 23; xiv. 20, 21, 31; xviii. 23; xix. 1; xviii. 11; xix. 17; xxi. 6, 13; xxviii. 3, 8, 20.
31. — xxviii. 27; xxix. 7, 13; xxii. 2.
32. — xvii. 15, 8, 23; xviii. 16, 17; xxiv. 23–25; x. 2, 7, 28, 30; xi. 3, 5, 6, 11; xii. 28.
33. — xv. 6, 27; xvi. 8; xxviii. 1, 13; xxix. 6; xvii. 13; xix. 11; xx. 22; xxiv. 29; x. 12; xxiv. 17, 18.
34. — xxv. 21, 22; xvi. 16; xvii. 12; xiv. 6; xi. 22; xiv. 8, 15, 16; xv. 21; x. 23.
35. — xvi. 22; xix. 3; xx. 5; xxiii. 23; xxiv. 3–5, 9; xxvii. 22; xxviii. 11.
36. — xxvi. 3–5, 7, 9, 12.
37. — x. 17; xiii. 10; xv. 5, 31, 32; xvii. 10; xii. 1; xxvii. 5; xxviii. 23; xiii. 18; xv.

PAGE
16, 33; xvi. 6; xiv. 2, 26, 27.
38. Proverbs xxii. 4; xxix. 25; xi. 1, 20; xv. 3, 8, 9, 11, 26, 29; xvi. 3, 5, 9, 11; xx. 10; xvi. 20; xvii. 3; xviii. 10; xix. 21.
39. — xix. 23; xx. 12, 27; xxi. 2, 3, 31; xxviii. 5, 25; xxix. 26.
40. — xvi. 12–15; xix. 12; xx. 8; xxv. 4–7; xxix. 14, 4; xx. 28; xxiv. 21, 22.
41. — xi. 16; xxi. 9, 19; xviii. 22; xii. 4; xix. 14; xiii. 24; xvii. 6; xx. 11; xxii. 6, 15; xxiii. 24; x. 16; xii. 10; xiii. 12; xiv. 10; xvi. 25.
42. — xiv. 13, 14, 30, 34; xv. 24; xvi. 27; xvii. 17; xviii. 24; xx. 6; xxvii. 6, 17; xxix. 5; xxvii. 9; xx. 14, 17, 29; xxi. 27; xxii, 1, 9; xxiv. 10.
43. — xxv. 12, 13; xxvi. 1; xxv. 18–20, 25; xxvi. 2; xxv. 14; xxvi. 17–19, 23–27; xxvii. 1, 4.
44. — xxvii. 7, 8, 19; xxiii. 4, 5; xxii. 28; xxiii. 10, 11; xxiv. 11, 12; xxiii. 19–21, 29–31.
45. — xxiii. 32–35; xxiv. 1, 2, 19, 20; xxiii. 17, 18.
47. — xxxi. 10–30.
48. — xxxi. 31.
49. — i. 1–14.
50. — i. 15–30.
51. — i. 31–33; ii. 1, 2.
52. — ii. 3–15, 20–22; iii. 1–3.
53. — iii. 4–17.
54. — iii. 18–28, 31, 32; iv. 1–6.
55. — iv. 7–24.
56. — iv. 25–27; v. 1, 2, 22, 23.
57. — vi. 6–19.
58. — ix. 1–6, 11–18.
59. — viii. 1–16.
60. — viii. 17–34.
61. — viii. 35, 36.
67. Ecclesiasticus Prologue.
68. — Prologue (continued) i. 1–8.
69. — i. 9–20; ii. 7.
70. — ii. 8–18; xxxiv. 13.

PAGE
71. Ecclesiasticus xxxiv. 14–17; xl. 18–27.
72. — ii. 1–6.
73. — iv. 11–19; vi. 18–23.
74. — vi. 24–37.
75. — iii. 17–24.
76. — xix. 20–24.
77. — xxxviii. 24–34; xxxix. 1, 2.
78. — xxxix. 3–11.
79. — xxiv. 1, 2.
80. — xxiv. 3–20.
81. — xxiv. 21–34.
82. — vii. 8, 9; xxxv. 12–16; xxxiv. 18–26; xxxv. 1–5.
83. — v. 4–6; xvi. 11–13.
84. — xvi. 14–23.
85. — xv. 11–20; x. 6–8.
86. — x. 10–18, 20–31; xi. 1–3.
87. — xi. 4–6; iv. 20–28.
88. — xx. 22, 23; xli. 16–24; xlii. 1–7.
89. — xlii. 8; xxii. 27; xxiii. 1–3, 7–11.
90. — xxiii. 12, 13; xx. 18; xxviii. 12–26.
91. — xix. 13–16; iv. 1–10; vii. 32–36.
92. — xxvii. 25–27; xxviii. 1–9; iv. 29, 31; vii. 1–3, 11, 20, 21.
93. — xx. 6; vii. 14, 18; vi. 14–17; xxii. 21, 22; xxvii. 16–21; xi. 7, 8; xviii. 15.
94. — xviii. 16, 17; xxi. 2, 3; xxxii. 19; xx. 30, 31; xx. 9–12; xxvi. 16.
95. — xxvi. 17, 29; xxvii. 1, 2; xxxii. 14, 15; xxvii. 9.
96. — viii. 1–13.
97. — viii. 14–19; ix. 10–12, 14–16; xxxi. 12–20, 25, 26.
98. — xxxi. 27–31; xxxii. 1–6; xxxvii. 7–11.
99. — xxxvii. 12–16; xiii. 1–3, 15–21.
100. — xiii. 22, 23; xi. 11–23.
101. — xi. 24–28; xiv. 3–14.
102. — xiv. 15–19; xl. 28–30; xxix. 21–25, 27; xxx. 14–17, 21–24.
103. — xxx. 25; xxxi. 1–11; xl. 1–4.
104. — xl. 5–10; xli. 1–4.
105. — xvi. 24–30; xvii. 1–13.
106. — xvii. 14–32; xviii. 1–10.

PAGE
107. Ecclesiasticus xviii. 11–14.
108. — xxxiii. 7–13.
109. — xxxiii. 14, 15; xxxix. 12–21, 32, 33.
110. — xxxix. 34, 35; xlii. 15–25.
111. — xliii. 1–21.
112. — xliii. 22–33.
113. — li. 1–16.
114. — li. 17–30.
127. Job i. 1–6.
128. — i. 7–20.
129. — i. 21, 22; ii. 1–13.
130. — iii. 1–11.
131. — iii. 13–26.
132. — iv. 1–17.
133. — iv. 18–21; v. 1–15.
134. — v. 16–27.
135. — vi. 1–18.
136. — vi. 19–30; vii. 1–7.
137. — vii. 8–21.
138. — viii. 1–15.
139. — viii. 16–22; ix. 1, 2.
140. — ix. 3–21.
141. — ix. 22–35; x. 1–5.
142. — x. 6–21.
143. — xi. 1–15.
144. — xi. 16–20.
145. — xii. 1–8, 10–18.
146. — xii. 19–25; xiii. 1–14.
147. — xiii. 15, 16, 18–27; xiv. 1, 2; xiii. 28; xiv. 3–6.
148. — xiv. 7–22.
149. — xv. 1–15.
150. — xv. 16–30, 32–35.
151. — xvi. 1–6.
152. — xvi. 7, 9–22; xvii. 1, 3.
153. — xvii. 4, 6–11, 13–16.
154. — xviii. 1–20.
155. — xviii. 21; xix. 1–12.
156. — xix. 13–29.
157. — xix. 25–27.
158. — xx. 1–17, 19–21.
159. — xx. 22–29; xxi. 1–4.
160. — xxi. 5–9, 11–21, 23–25.
161. — xxi. 26–34.
162. — xxii. 1–6.
163. — xxii. 7, 9–17, 19–28.
164. — xxii. 29, 30; xxiii. 1–9.
165. — xxiii. 10–17; xxiv. 1–8, 10, 11.
166. — xxiv. 13, 14, 12, 15–20, 23–25.
167. — xxv. 1–6; xxvi. 5–14.
168. — xxvi. 1–4; xxvii. 2–6.

PAGE
169. Job xxvii. 7–21.
170. — xxvii. 22, 23; xxviii. 1–6.
171. — xxviii. 7–27.
172. — xxviii. 28; xxix. 1–3.
173. — xxix. 4–6, 19, 20, 7–10, 21–25, 11–16.
174. — xxix. 17, 18; xxx. 1–11, 15, 16.
175. — xxx. 17–31; xxxi. 1–4.
176. — xxxi. 5–22.
177. — xxxi. 23, 38–40, 24–37.
180. — xxxii. 1–14, 17, 18.
181. — xxxii. 19–22; xxxiii. 1–18.
182. — xxxiii. 19–33.
183. — xxxiv. 1–6.
184. — xxxiv. 7–25.
185. — xxxiv. 26–37; xxxv. 1–6.
186. — xxxv. 7–16.
187. — xxxvi. 1–12, 15, 16, 18.
188. — xxxvi. 21–25.
189. — xxxvi. 26–30, 32, 33; xxxvii. 1–3, 5–12, 14.
190. — xxxvii. 15–24.
191. — xxxviii. 1–10.
192. — xxxviii. 11–14, 16–31.
193. — xxxviii. 32–35, 37–41; xxxix. 5–13.
194. — xxxix. 14–30; xl. 2, 8.
195. — xl. 9–14, 3–5; xlii. 2–6.
196. — xl. 15–23.
197. — xli. 1–21.
198. — xli. 22–34.
199. — xlii. 7–12.
200. — xlii. 13–17.
215. Ecclesiastes i. 1, 2.
216. — i. 3–18.
217. — ii. 1–11.
218. — ii. 12–26.
219. — iii. 1–7.
220. — iii. 8–22; iv. 1–3.
221. — iv. 4–16.
222. — v. 1–8.
223. — v. 9–20; vi. 1–6.
224. — vi. 7–12; vii. 1–6.
225. — vii. 7–14.
226. — vii. 15–29.
227. — viii. 1–12.
228. — viii. 13–17; ix. 1–3.
229. — ix. 4–15.
230. — ix. 16–18; x. 1–3, 8–13, 4, 5.
231. — x. 6, 7, 16–20; xi. 1–6.
232. — xi. 7–10; xii. 1–6.
233. — xii. 7, 8.

PAGE
234. Ecclesiastes xii. 9–14.
242. Wisdom of Solomon xi. 21–23.
243. — xi. 24–26; xii. 1; xiii. 1.
244. — xiii. 2–13.
245. — xiii. 14–19; xiv. 1–11.
246. — xiv. 12–21, 27–29.
247. — xiv. 30, 31; xv. 1–3.
248. — i. 1–12.
249. — i. 13–16; ii. 1–5.
250. — ii. 6–24; iii. 1–3.
251. — iii. 4–6; iv. 1, 2, 7–13.
252. — iv. 20; v. 1–14.
253. — v. 15; vi. 1–11.
254. — vi. 12–25.
255. — vii. 1, 3–19.
256. — vii. 20–30; viii. 1.
257. — viii. 2–11.
258. — viii. 12–21; ix. 1–8.
259. — ix. 9–18.
266. Amos i. 1–8.
267. — i. 9–12; ii. 1–12.
268. — ii. 13–16.
269. — iii. 1–10.
270. — iii. 11–15; iv. 1–3.
271. — iv. 4–11.
272. — iv. 12, 13.
273. — v. 1–16.
274. — v. 17–20.
275. — v. 21–27; vi. 1–12.
276. — vi. 13, 14.
277. — vii. 1–7.
278. — vii. 8–15.
279. — vii. 16, 17; viii. 1–5, 7–10.
280. — viii. 11–14; ix. 1–3.
281. — ix. 4–8a.
282. — ix. 8b–13.
283. — ix. 14, 15.
287. Hosea i. 1–3.
288. — i. 4–11; ii. 1.
289. — ii. 2–13.
290. — ii. 14–23.
291. — iii. 1–5.
292. — iv. 1–13, 15–19.
294. — v. 1–5.
295. — v. 6–15.
296. — vi. 1–11.
297. — vii. 1, 2, 8–16; viii. 1–3.
298. — viii. 4–9.
299. — viii. 10–14; ix. 1–8.
300. — ix. 10, 11, 15–17; x. 1–7.
301. — x. 8, 11–15.
302. — xi. 1–11.
303. — xi. 12; xii. 1–14.
304. — xiii. 1–12, 14.

PAGE
305. Hosea xiii. 15, 16.
306. — xiv. 1–9.
312. Isaiah i. 1, 2.
313. — i. 3–11.
314. — i. 12–21.
315. — i. 22–31; ii. 1.
316. — ii. 2–7.
317. — ii. 8–10, 18–22, 11–13.
318. — ii. 14–17; iii. 1–11.
319. — iii. 12–26; iv. 1.
320. — iv. 2–6; v. 1, 2.
321. — v. 3–8.
322. — v. 9–23.
323. — v. 24; vi. 1–3.
324. — vi. 4–13; vii. 1.
325. — vii. 2–16.
326. — vii. 17–20.
327. — vii. 21–25; viii. 1–8.
328. — viii. 9–16.
329. — viii. 17–22.
330. — ix. 1–4.
331. — ix. 5–10.
332. — ix. 11–21; x. 1, 2.
333. — x. 3, 4; v. 25–30.
334. — x. 5–14.
335. — x. 15–27.
336. — x. 28–34; xi. 1, 2.
337. — xi. 3–15.
338. — xi. 16; xii. 1–6.
339. — xxviii. 1–3.
340. — xxviii. 4–13.
341. — xxviii. 14–21.
342. — xxviii. 22–29.
343. — xxix. 1–8.
344. — xxix. 9–14.
345. — xxix. 15–24; xxx. 1.
346. — xxx. 2–6.
347. — xxx. 8–18.
348. — xxx. 19–26.
349. — xxx. 27–33.
350. — xxxi. 1–9.
352. — xxii. 1–8.
353. — xxii. 9–13.
354. — xxii. 14.
355. — xxxii. 1–6.
356. — xxxii. 7–13.
357. — xxxii. 14–20; xxxiii. 1–7.
358. — xxxiii. 8–24.
362. — xxiv. 1–3.
363. — xxiv. 4–16.
364. — xxiv. 17–23.
365. — xxv. 1–8.
366. — xxv. 9–11.
367. — xxvi. 1–16, 18, 19.

PAGE
368. Isaiah xxvi. 20, 21 ; xxvii. 1.
369. — xxvii. 2-7, 9-11.
370. — xxvii. 12, 13.
371. — xxv. 8.
373. Joel i. 1, 2.
374. — i. 3-13.
375. — i. 14-20 ; ii. 1, 2.
376. — ii. 3-12.
377. — ii. 13-17.
378. — ii. 18-30.
379. — ii. 31, 32 ; iii. 1, 2.
380. — iii. 3-19.
381. — iii. 20, 21. Habakkuk i. 12, 13.
382. Habakkuk ii. 1-4. Malachi ii. 10 ; iv. 2 ; ii. 5.
383. Malachi ii. 6, 7 ; i. 11. Zephaniah iii. 9.
384. Micah vii. 18-20. Isaiah lxvi. 13. Zechariah xiv. 9.
388. Esther i. 1-4.
389. — i. 5-17.
390. — i. 18-22 ; ii. 1-8.
391. — ii. 9-18.
392. — ii. 20-23 ; iii. 1-6.
393. — iii. 7-15.
394. — iv. 1-8.
395. — iv. 9-17.
396. — v. 1-12.
397. — v. 13, 14 ; vi. 1-11.
398. — vi. 12-14 ; vii. 1-7.
399. — vii. 8-10 ; viii. 1-9.
400. — viii. 10-17 ; ix. 1, 2.
401. — ix. 3-18.
402. — ix. 19-30.
403. — ix. 31, 32 ; x. 1-3.
409. Jonah i. 1-10.
410. — i. 11-17 ; ii. 1-8.
411. — ii. 9, 10 ; iii. 1-10 ; iv. 1-5.
412. — iv. 6-11.
433. Psalm i. 1-6.
434. — iii. 1-8 ; iv. 1.
435. — iv. 2-8 ; v. 1-5.
436. — v. 6-12.
437. — vi. 1-7.
438. — vi. 8-10 ; xi. 1-7.
439. — xii. 1-8.
440. — xiii. 1-6 ; xvii. 1-9, 15.
442. — xxii. 1-9.
443. — xxii. 11-25.
444. — xxii. 26-31.
445. — xxv. 1-16.
446. — xxv. 17-22 ; xxvi. 1-8.
447. — xxvi. 9-12 ; xxvii. 7-14.

PAGE
448. Psalm xxxi. 1-10.
449. — xxxi. 11-24.
450. — xxxviii. 1-10.
451. — xxxviii. 11-22 ; xxxix. 1.
452. — xxxix. 2-13.
454. — xli. 1-12.
455. — xlii. 1-7, 9-11 ; xliii. 1-3.
456. — xliii. 4, 5 ; lv. 1-11.
457. — lv. 12-14, 16-19 ; lvi. 1-8.
458. — lvi. 9-13 ; lvii. 1-9.
459. — lvii. 10, 11 ; lxii. 1-11.
460. — lxii. 12.
461. — lxix. 1-15.
462. — lxix. 16-21, 29-36.
463. — lxxi. 1-11.
464. — lxxi. 12-24.
465. — lxxvii. 1-9.
466. — lxxvii. 10-20.
467. — lxxxv. 1-13.
468. — lxxxvi. 1-15.
469. — lxxxvi. 16, 17 ; lxxxviii. 1-10.
470. — lxxxviii. 11-18.
471. — xc. 1-12.
472. — xc. 13-17.
474. — xciv. 1-16.
475. — xciv. 17-23 ; cii. 1, 2.
476. — cii. 3-22.
477. — cii. 23-28 ; cxxxvii. 1-5.
478. — cxxxvii. 6-9 ; cxli. 1-3.
479. — cxli. 4, 5, 8-10 ; cxlii. 1-6.
480. — cxlii. 7 ; cxliii. 1.
481. — cxliii. 2-12.
482. — lxxx. 1-7.
483. — lxxx. 8-19 ; lxxix. 1-5.
484. — lxxix. 6-13 ; lxxiv. 1-6.
485. — lxxiv. 7-23.
486. — xliv. 1-9.
487. — xliv. 10-26.
492. — li. 1-4.
493. — li. 5-17.
499. — li. 18, 19.
502. — xvi. 1, 2, 5-8.
503. — xvi. 9-11.
505. — xxiii. 1-6.
509. — xxvii. 1-6.
510. — lxiii. 1-8.
511. — lxxxiv. 1-12.
516. — xxx. 1, 2.
517. — xxx. 3-12 ; xl. 1, 2.
518. — xl. 3-11.
519. — xlvi. 1-3.
520. — xlvi. 4-11 ; xlviii. 1-4.
521. — xlviii. 5-14.

PAGE
522. Psalm lxxxvii. 1–7.
523. — lxxxvii. 1–7 (repeated); lxvi. 1, 2.
524. — lxvi. 3–19.
525. — lxvi. 20; lxvii. 1–7.
526. — xlvii. 1–9.
527. — xciii. 1–5.
528. — xcv. 1–11.
529. — xcvi. 1–7.
530. — xcvi. 8–13; xcvii. 1–7.
531. — xcvii. 8–12; xcviii. 1–9.
532. — xcix. 1–9.
533. — c. 1–5.
534. — lxxxi. 1–7.
535. — lxxxi. 8–16; cxiii. 1–3.
536. — cxiii. 4–9; cxiv. 1–3.
537. — cxiv. 4–8; cxv. 1–10.
538. — cxv. 11–16, 18; cxvi. 1, 2.
539. — cxvi. 3–19.
540. — cxvii. 1, 2.
541. — cxviii. 1–13.
542. — cxviii. 14–27.
543. — cxviii. 28, 29; cxxxviii. 1–5.
544. — cxxxviii. 6–8.
546. — cxx. 1–7.
547. — cxxi. 1–8.
549. — cxxii. 1–9; cxxiii. 1–4.
550. — cxxiv. 1–8.
551. — cxxv. 1–5.
552. — cxxvi. 1–6.
553. — cxxvii. 1–5.
555. — cxxviii. 1–6; cxxix. 1–7.
556. — cxxix. 8; cxxx. 1–8.
557. — cxxxi. 1–3.
558. — cxxxiii. 1–3.
559. — cxxxiv. 1–3.
561. — xviii. 1–7.
562. — xviii. 8–24.
563. — xviii. 25–43.
564. — xviii. 44–50.
565. — lxxxix. 1–7.
566. — lxxxix. 8–27.
567. — lxxxix. 28–47.
568. — lxxxix. 48–52.
569. — xx. 1–9.
570. — xxi. 1–13.
571. — lxi. 1–8.
572. — lxxii. 1–15.
573. — lxxii. 16–19.
574. — ci. 1–8.
575. — ii. 1–9.
576. — ii. 10–12.
577. — cx. 1–7.

PAGE
579. Psalm xlv. 1–6.
580. — xlv. 7–17.
583. — xv. 1–5.
584. — xxiv. 1–10.
585. — xxxii. 1–5.
586. — xxxii. 6–11.
587. — xxxiv. 1–6.
588. — xxxiv. 7–22.
589. — xxxvii. 1–14.
590. — xxxvii. 15–29.
591. — xxxvii. 30–40.
592. — xlix. 1–4.
593. — xlix. 5–20.
595. — lxxiii. 1–11.
596. — lxxiii. 12–28.
598. — l. 1–7.
599. — l. 8–23.
601. — xci. 1–11.
602. — xci. 12–16; cvii. 1–4.
603. — cvii. 5–24.
604. — cvii. 25–43.
606. — cxi. 1–10.
607. — cxii. 1–10.
610. — cxix. 1–16.
611. — cxix. 17–34.
612. — cxix. 35–52.
613. — cxix. 53–70.
614. — cxix. 71–87.
615. — cxix. 88–105.
616. — cxix. 106–123.
617. — cxix. 124–141.
618. — cxix. 142–159.
619. — cxix. 160–176.
623. — xix. 1–11.
624. — xix. 12–14.
627. — xxix. 1–4.
628. — xxix. 5–11.
629. — viii. 1–9.
630. — ciii. 1.
631. — ciii. 2–19.
632. — ciii. 20–22; civ. 1–6.
633. — civ. 7–24.
634. — civ. 25–35.
636. — lxv. 1–7.
637. — lxv. 8–13.
638. — xxxvi. 5–7.
639. — xxxvi. 8, 9; xcii. 1–3.
640. — xcii. 4–15.
642. — cxxxix. 1–11.
643. — cxxxix. 12–18, 23, 24.
644. — cxlv. 1–3.
645. — cxlv. 4–21.
646. — xxxiii. 1–9.
647. — xxxiii. 10–22.

PAGE
648. Psalm cxlvi. 1–7.
649. — cxlvi. 8–10.
650. — cxlvii. 1–13.
651. — cxlvii. 14–20; cxlviii. 1, 2.
652. — cxlviii. 3–14; cxlix. 1–3.
653. — cxlix. 4–9.
654. — cl. 1–6.
662. 2 Macc. iv. 7–12.
663. — iv. 13–17; 23–26.
664. 1 Macc. i. 1–8.
665. — i. 9–25.
666. — i. 26–28.
667. — i. 29–32.
668. — i. 33–45.
669. — i. 46–64.
670. 2 Macc. vi. 18–23.
671. — vi. 24–31; vii. 1–4.
672. — vii. 5–18.
673. — vii. 19–30.
674. — vii. 31–41.
676. 1 Macc. ii. 1–18.
677. — ii. 19–38.
678. — ii. 39–48.
679. — ii. 49–64.
680. — ii. 65–70.
686. Daniel i. 1–13.
687. — i. 14–21; ii. 1.
688. — ii. 2–16.
689. — ii. 17–29.
690. — ii. 30–43.
691. — ii. 44–49.
692. — iii. 1–11.
693. — iii. 12–24.
694. — iii. 25–30.
695. — iv. 1–13.
696. — iv. 14–25.
697. — iv. 26–36.
698. — iv. 37; v. 1.
699. — v. 2–13.
700. — v. 14–24.
701. — v. 25–31.
702. — vi. 1–12.
703. — vi. 13–24.
704. — vi. 25–28.
705. — vii. 1–11.
706. — vii. 12–25.
707. — vii. 26–28.
708. — viii. 1–5.
709. Daniel viii. 6–21.
710. — viii. 22–27.
711. — ix. 1.
712. — ix. 2–13.
713. — ix. 14–25.
714. — ix. 26, 27.
717. — x. 1–12.
718. — x. 13–21, xi. 1–3.
719. — xi. 4–15.
720. — xi. 16–20.
722. — xi. 21–33.
723. — xi. 34–39.
725. — xi. 40–44.
726. — xi. 45; xii. 1–5.
727. — xii. 6–13.
731. 1 Macc. iii. 1–7.
732. — iii. 8–24.
733. — iii. 25–36.
734. — iii. 37–50.
735. — iii. 51–60; iv. 1–10.
736. — iv. 11–25.
737. — iv. 26–32.
738. — iv. 33–39.
739. — iv. 40–57.
740. — iv. 58, 59.
744. — vi. 1–15.
745. — vi. 16, 17, 43–46, 61.
746. — vi. 62, 63; vii. 4–9.
747. — vii. 10–20.
748. — vii. 21–37.
749. — vii. 38–50.
750. — viii. 1–12.
751. — viii. 13–23.
752. — viii. 24–32; ix. 1.
753. — ix. 2–16.
754. — ix. 17–22.
756. — ix. 23–31.
758. — x. 60–66.
759. — xii. 39–41.
760. — xii. 42–53; xiii. 1.
761. — xiii. 2–17.
762. — xiii. 18–30.
763. — xiii. 49–52.
764. — xv. 32–36.
765. — xv. 38–41; xvi. 1–10.
766. — xvi. 11–17; xiv. 4.
767. — xiv. 5–15.

II.

ESTHER PAGE

i. 1-4 388
i. 5-17 389
i. 18-22 390
ii. 1-8 390
ii. 9-18 391
ii. 20-23 392
iii. 1-6 392
iii. 7-15 393
iv. 1-8 394
iv. 9-17 395
v. 1-12 396
v. 13, 14 397
vi. 1-11 397
vi. 12-14 398
vii. 1-7 398
vii. 8-10 399
viii. 1-9 399
viii. 10-17 400
ix. 1, 2 400
ix. 3-18 401
ix. 19-30 402
ix. 31, 32 403
x. 1-3 403

JOB

i. 1-6 127
i. 7-20 128
i. 21, 22 129
ii. 1-13 129
iii. 1-11 130
iii. 13-26 131
iv. 1-17 132
iv. 18-21 133
v. 1-15 133
v. 16-27 134
vi. 1-18 135
vi. 19-30 136
vii. 1-7 136
vii. 8-21 137
viii. 1-15 138
viii. 16-22 139
ix. 1, 2 139
ix. 3-21 140
ix. 22-35 141

JOB PAGE

x. 1-5 141
x. 6-21 142
xi. 1-15 143
xi. 16-20 144
xii. 1-8, 10-18 145
xii. 19-25 146
xiii. 1-14 146
xiii. 15, 16, 18-28 147
xiv. 1-6 147
xiv. 7-22 148
xv. 1-15 149
xv. 16-30, 32-35 150
xvi. 1-6 151
xvi. 7, 9-22 152
xvii. 1, 3 152
xvii. 4, 6-11, 13-16 153
xviii. 1-20 154
xviii. 21 155
xix. 1-12 155
xix. 13-29 156
xx. 1-17, 19-21 158
xx. 22-29 159
xxi. 1-4 159
xxi. 5-9, 11-21, 23-25 160
xxi. 26-34 161
xxii. 1-6 162
xxii. 7, 9-17, 19-28 163
xxii. 29, 30 164
xxiii. 1-9 164
xxiii. 10-17 165
xxiv. 1-8, 10, 11 165
xxiv. 12-20, 23-25 166
xxv. 1-6 167
xxvi. 1-4 168
xxvi. 5-14 167
xxvii. 2-6 168
xxvii. 7-21 169
xxvii. 22, 23 170
xxviii. 1-6 170
xxviii. 7-27 171
xxviii. 28 172
xxix. 1-3 172
xxix. 4-16 173
xxix. 17, 18 174

JOB PAGE

xxix. 19–25 173
xxx. 1–11, 15, 16 174
xxx. 17–31 175
xxxi. 1–4 175
xxxi. 5–22 176
xxxi. 23–40 177
xxxii. 1–14, 17, 18 . . . 180
xxxii. 19–22 181
xxxiii. 1–18 181
xxxiii. 19–33 182
xxxiv. 1–6 183
xxxiv. 7–25 184
xxxiv. 26–37 185
xxxv. 1–6 185
xxxv. 7–16 186
xxxvi. 1–12, 15, 16, 18 . . 187
xxxvi. 21–25 188
xxxvi. 26–30, 32, 33 . . . 189
xxxvii. 1–3, 5–12, 14 . . . 189
xxxvii. 15–24 190
xxxviii. 1–10 191
xxxviii. 11–14, 16–31 . . . 192
xxxviii. 32–35, 37–41 . . . 193
xxxix. 5–13 193
xxxix. 14–30 194
xl. 2 194
xl. 3–5 195
xl. 8 194
xl. 9–14 195
xl. 15–23 196
xli. 1–21 197
xli. 22–34 198
xlii. 2–6 195
xlii. 7–12 199
xlii. 13–17 200

PSALMS

i. 1–6 433
ii. 1–9 575
ii. 10–12 576
iii. 1–8 434
iv. 1 434
iv. 2–8 435
v. 1–5 435
v. 6–12 436
vi. 1–7 437
vi. 8–10 438
viii. 1–9 629
xi. 1–7 438
xii. 1–8 439
xiii. 1–6 440
xv. 1–5 583
xvi. 1, 2, 5–8 502
xvi. 9–11 503

PSALMS PAGE

xvii. 1–9, 15 440
xviii. 1–7 561
xviii. 8–24 562
xviii. 25–43 563
xviii. 44 50 564
xix. 1–11 623
xix. 12–14 624
xx. 1–9 569
xxi. 1–13 570
xxii. 1–9 442
xxii. 11–25 443
xxii. 26–31 444
xxiii. 1–6 505
xxiv. 1–10 584
xxv. 1–16 445
xxv. 17–22 446
xxvi. 1–8 446
xxvi. 9–12 447
xxvii. 1–6 509
xxvii. 7–14 447
xxix. 1–4 627
xxix. 5–11 628
xxx. 1, 2 516
xxx. 3–12 517
xxxi. 1–10 448
xxxi. 11–24 449
xxxii. 1–5 585
xxxii. 6–11 586
xxxiii. 1–9 646
xxxiii. 10–22 647
xxxiv. 1–6 587
xxxiv. 7–22 588
xxxvi. 5–7 638
xxxvi. 8, 9 639
xxxvii. 1–14 589
xxxvii. 15–29 590
xxxvii. 30–40 591
xxxviii. 1–10 450
xxxviii. 11–22 451
xxxix. 1 451
xxxix. 2–13 452
xl. 1, 2 517
xl. 3–11 518
xli. 1–12 454
xlii. 1–7, 9–11 455
xliii. 1–3 455
xliii. 4, 5 456
xliv. 1–9 486
xliv. 10–26 487
xlv. 1–6 579
xlv. 7–17 580
xlvi. 1–3 519
xlvi. 4–11 520
xlvii. 1–9 526

PSALMS	PAGE
xlviii. 1–4	520
xlviii. 5–14	521
xlix. 1–4	592
xlix. 5–20	593
l. 1–7	598
l. 8–23	599
li. 1–4	492
li. 5–17	493
li. 18, 19	499
lv. 1–11	456
lv. 12–14, 16–19	457
lvi. 1–8	457
lvi. 9–13	458
lvii. 1–9	458
lvii. 10, 11	459
lxi. 1–8	571
lxii. 1–11	459
lxii. 12	460
lxiii. 1–8	510
lxv. 1–7	636
lxv. 8–13	637
lxvi. 1, 2	523
lxvi. 3–19	524
lxvi. 20	525
lxvii. 1–7	525
lxix. 1–15	461
lxix. 16–21, 29–36	462
lxxi. 1–11	463
lxxi. 12–24	464
lxxii. 1–15	572
lxxii. 16–19	573
lxxiii. 1–11	595
lxxiii. 12–28	596
lxxiv. 1–6	484
lxxiv. 7–23	485
lxxvii. 1–9	465
lxxvii. 10–20	466
lxxix. 1–5	483
lxxix. 6–13	484
lxxx. 1–7	482
lxxx. 8–19	483
lxxxi. 1–7	534
lxxxi. 8–16	535
lxxxiv. 1–12	511
lxxxv. 1–13	467
lxxxvi. 1–15	468
lxxxvi. 16, 17	469
lxxxvii. 1–7	522, 523
lxxxviii. 1–10	469
lxxxviii. 11–18	470
lxxxix. 1–7	565
lxxxix. 8–27	566
lxxxix. 28–47	567
lxxxix. 48–52	568

PSALMS	PAGE
xc. 1–12	471
xc. 13–17	472
xci. 1–11	601
xci. 12–16	602
xcii. 1–3	639
xcii. 4–15	640
xciii. 1–5	527
xciv. 1–16	474
xciv. 17–23	475
xcv. 1–11	528
xcvi. 1–7	529
xcvi. 8–13	530
xcvii. 1–7	530
xcvii. 8–12	531
xcviii. 1–9	531
xcix. 1–9	532
c. 1–5	533
ci. 1–8	574
cii. 1, 2	475
cii. 3–22	476
cii. 23–28	477
ciii. 1	630
ciii. 2–19	631
ciii. 20–22	632
civ. 1–6	632
civ. 7–24	633
civ. 25–35	634
cvii. 1–4	602
cvii. 5–24	603
cvii. 25–43	604
cx. 1–7	577
cxi. 1–10	606
cxii. 1–10	607
cxiii. 1–3	535
cxiii. 4–9	536
cxiv. 1–3	536
cxiv. 4–8	537
cxv. 1–10	537
cxv. 11–16, 18	538
cxvi. 1, 2	538
cxvi. 3–19	539
cxvii. 1, 2	540
cxviii. 1–13	541
cxviii. 14–27	542
cxviii. 28, 29	543
cxix. 1–16	610
cxix. 17–34	611
cxix. 35–52	612
cxix. 53–70	613
cxix. 71–87	614
cxix. 88–105	615
cxix. 106–123	616
cxix. 124–141	617
cxix. 142–159	618

PSALMS PAGE
cxix. 160–176 619
cxx. 1–7 546
cxxi. 1–8 547
cxxii. 1–9 549
cxxiii. 1–4 549
cxxiv. 1–8 550
cxxv. 1–5 551
cxxvi. 1–6 552
cxxvii. 1–5 553
cxxviii. 1–6 555
cxxix. 1–7 555
cxxix. 8 556
cxxx. 1–8 556
cxxxi. 1–3 557
cxxxiii. 1–3 558
cxxxiv. 1–3 559
cxxxvii. 1–5 477
cxxxvii. 6–9 478
cxxxviii. 1–5 543
cxxxviii. 6–8 544
cxxxix. 1–11 642
cxxxix. 12–18, 23, 24 . . . 643
cxli. 1–3 478
cxli. 4, 5, 8–10 479
cxlii. 1–6 479
cxlii. 7 480
cxliii. 1 480
cxliii. 2–12 481
cxlv. 1–3 644
cxlv. 4–21 645
cxlvi. 1–7 648
cxlvi. 8–10 649
cxlvii. 1–13 650
cxlvii. 14–20 651
cxlviii. 1, 2 651
cxlviii. 3–14 652
cxlix. 1–3 652
cxlix. 4–9 653
cl. 1–6 654

PROVERBS
i. 1–1 49
i. 15–30 50
i. 31–33 51
ii. 1, 2 51
ii. 3–15, 20–22 52
iii. 1–3 52
iii. 4–17 53
iii. 18–28, 31, 32 54
iv. 1–6 54
iv. 7–24 55
iv. 25–27 56
v. 1, 2, 22, 23 56

PROVERBS PAGE
vi. 6–19 57
viii. 1–16 59
viii. 17–34 60
viii. 35, 36 61
ix. 1–6, 11–18 58
x. 2, 7, 28, 30 32
x. 4 27
x. 5, 26 28
x. 8, 11 25
x. 12 33
x. 16 41
x. 17 37
x. 18 26
x. 19–21, 31 24
x. 23 34
xi. 1, 20 38
xi. 2 27
xi. 3, 5, 6, 11 32
xi. 13 26
xi. 16 41
xi. 22 34
xi. 24–26, 28 30
xii. 1 37
xii. 4, 10 41
xii. 16 26
xii. 18, 19, 22, 23 24
xii. 25 29
xii. 28 32
xiii. 2, 3 25
xiii. 4, 11 28
xiii. 10 37
xiii. 12 41
xiii. 18 37
xiii. 23 30
xiii. 24 41
xiv. 2, 26, 27 37
xiv. 3 24
xiv. 6, 8, 15, 16 34
xiv. 10 41
xiv. 13, 14, 30, 34 42
xiv. 20, 21, 31 30
xiv. 23 25
xiv. 29 26
xv. 1, 17 26
xv. 3, 8, 9, 11, 26, 29 . . . 38
xv. 4, 23, 28 24
xv. 5, 16, 31, 32, 33 . . . 37
xv. 6. 27 33
xv. 13, 15, 30 29
xv. 19 28
xv. 21 34
xv. 24 42
xvi. 3, 5, 9, 11, 20 38
xvi. 6 37

PROVERBS	PAGE
xvi. 8	33
xvi. 12–15	40
xvi. 16	34
xvi. 18, 19	27
xvi. 21	25
xvi. 22	35
xvi. 24	24
xvi. 25	41
xvi. 27	42
xvi. 28, 32	26
xvii. 1, 4, 9	26
xvii. 3	38
xvii. 6	41
xvii. 8, 15, 23	32
xvii. 10	37
xvii. 12	34
xvii. 13	33
xvii. 14, 19	27
xvii. 17	42
xvii. 20, 27, 28	24
xvii. 22	29
xviii. 4, 6, 7	24
xviii. 8	26
xviii. 10	38
xviii. 11, 23	30
xviii. 12	27
xviii. 13, 21	25
xviii. 14	29
xviii. 16, 17	32
xviii. 22	41
xviii. 24	42
xix. 1, 17	30
xix. 3	35
xix. 11	33
xix. 12	40
xix. 14	41
xix. 15, 24	28
xix. 21	38
xix. 23	39
xx. 3, 9	27
xx. 4, 13	28
xx. 5	35
xx. 6, 14, 17, 29	42
xx. 8, 28	40
xx. 10	38
xx. 11	41
xx. 12, 27	39
xx. 15	25
xx. 19	26
xx. 22	33
xxi. 2, 3, 31	39
xxi. 6, 13	30
xxi. 9, 19	41
xxi. 17, 25, 26	28

PROVERBS	PAGE
xxi. 23	25
xxi. 24	27
xxi. 27	42
xxii. 1, 9	42
xxii. 2	31
xxii. 4	38
xxii. 6, 15	41
xxii. 28	44
xxiii. 4, 5, 10, 11, 19–21, 29–31	44
xxiii. 17, 18, 32–35	45
xxiii. 23	35
xxiii. 24	41
xxiv. 1, 2, 19, 20	45
xxiv. 3–5, 9	35
xxiv. 10	42
xxiv. 11, 12	44
xxiv. 17, 18	33
xxiv. 21, 22	40
xxiv. 23–25	32
xxiv. 29	33
xxiv. 30–33	28
xxiv. 34	29
xxv. 4–7	40
xxv. 11	25
xxv. 12, 13, 14, 18–20, 25	43
xxv. 15, 28	27
xxv. 21, 22	34
xxvi. 1, 2, 17–19, 23–27	43
xxvi. 3–5, 7, 9, 12	36
xxvi. 13–16	29
xxvi. 20	26
xxvi. 21	27
xxvi. 28	25
xxvii. 1, 4	43
xxvii. 2	27
xxvii. 5	37
xxvii. 6, 9, 17	42
xxvii. 7, 8, 19	44
xxvii. 22	35
xxviii. 1, 13	33
xxviii. 3, 8, 20	30
xxviii. 5, 25	39
xxviii. 11	35
xxviii. 23	37
xxviii. 27	31
xxix. 4, 14	40
xxix. 5	42
xxix. 6	33
xxix. 7, 13	31
xxix. 25	38
xxix. 26	39
xxxi. 10–30	47
xxxi. 31	48

ECCLESIASTES

	PAGE
i. 1, 2	215
i. 3–18	216
ii. 1–11	217
ii. 12–26	218
iii. 1–7	219
iii. 8–22	220
iv. 1–3	220
iv. 4–16	221
v. 1–8	222
v. 9–20	223
vi. 1–6	223
vi. 7–12	224
vii. 1–6	224
vii. 7–14	225
vii. 15–29	226
viii. 1–12	227
viii. 13–17	228
ix. 1–3	228
ix. 4–15	229
ix. 16–18	230
x. 1–5	230
x. 6, 7	231
x. 8–13	230
x. 16–20	231
xi. 1–6	231
xi. 7–10	232
xii. 1–6	232
xii. 7, 8	233
xii. 9–14	234

SONG OF SONGS

viii. 6, 7	18

ISAIAH

i. 1, 2	312
i. 3–11	313
i. 12–21	314
i. 22–31	315
ii. 1	315
ii. 2–7	316
ii. 8–13	317
ii. 14–17	318
ii. 18–22	317
iii. 1–11	318
iii. 12–26	319
iv. 1	319
iv. 2–6	320
v. 1, 2	320
v. 3–8	321
v. 9–23	322
v. 24	323
v. 25–30	333
vi. 1–3	323

ISAIAH

	PAGE
vi. 4–13	324
vii. 1	324
vii. 2–16	325
vii. 17–20	326
vii. 21–25	327
viii. 1–8	327
viii. 9–16	328
viii. 17–22	329
ix. 1–4	330
ix. 5–10	331
ix. 11–21	332
x. 1–2	332
x. 3, 4	333
x. 5–14	334
x. 15–27	335
x. 28–34	336
xi. 1, 2	336
xi. 3–15	337
xi. 16	338
xii. 1–6	338
xxii. 1–8	352
xxii. 9–13	353
xxii. 14	354
xxiv. 1–3	362
xxiv. 4–16	363
xxiv. 17–23	364
xxv. 1–8	365
xxv. 9–11	366
xxvi. 1–16, 18, 19	367
xxvi. 20, 21	368
xxvii. 1	368
xxvii. 2–7, 9–11	369
xxvii. 12, 13	370
xxviii. 1–3	339
xxviii. 4–13	340
xxviii. 14–21	341
xxviii. 22–29	342
xxix. 1–8	343
xxix. 9–14	344
xxix. 15–24	345
xxx. 1	345
xxx. 2–6	346
xxx. 8–18	347
xxx. 19–26	348
xxx. 27–33	349
xxxi. 1–9	350
xxxii. 1–6	355
xxxii. 7–13	356
xxxii. 14–20	357
xxxiii. 1–7	357
xxxiii. 8–24	358
lxiii. 7, 8	4
lxiii. 9–16	5
lxiii. 17–19	6

ISAIAH PAGE
lxiv. 1–8 6
lxiv. 9–12 7
lxvi. 13 384

DANIEL
i. 1–13 686
i. 14–21 687
ii. 1 687
ii. 2–16 688
ii. 17–29 689
ii. 30–43 690
ii. 44–49 691
iii. 1–11 692
iii. 12–24 693
iii. 25–30 694
iv. 1–13 695
iv. 14–25 696
iv. 26–36 697
iv. 37 698
v. 1 698
v. 2–13 699
v. 14–24 700
v. 25–31 701
vi. 1–12 702
vi. 13–24 703
vi. 25–28 704
vii. 1–11 705
vii. 12–25 706
vii. 26–28 707
viii. 1–5 708
viii. 6–21 709
viii. 22–27 710
ix. 1 711
ix. 2–13 712
ix. 14–25 713
ix. 26, 27 714
x. 1–12 717
x. 13–21 718
xi. 1–3 718
xi. 4–15 719
xi. 16–20 720
xi. 21–33 722
xi. 34–39 723
xi. 40–44 725
xi. 45 725
xii. 1–5 726
xii. 6–13 727

HOSEA
i. 1–3 287
i. 4–11 288
ii. 1 288
ii. 2–13 289
ii. 14–23 290

HOSEA PAGE
iii. 1–5 291
iv. 1–13, 15–19 292
v. 1–5 294
v. 6–15 295
vi. 1–11 296
vii. 1, 2, 8–16 297
viii. 1–3 297
viii. 4–9 298
viii. 10–14 299
ix. 1–8 299
ix. 10, 11, 15–17 300
x. 1–7 300
x. 8, 11–15 301
xi. 1–11 302
xi. 12 303
xii. 1–14 303
xiii. 1–12, 14 304
xiii. 15, 16 305
xiv. 1–9 306

JOEL
i. 1, 2 373
i. 3–13 374
i. 14–20 375
ii. 1, 2 375
ii. 3–12 376
ii. 13–17 377
ii. 18–30 378
ii. 31, 32 379
iii. 1, 2 379
iii. 3–19 380
iii. 20, 21 381

AMOS
i. 1–8 266
i. 9–12 267
ii. 1–12 267
ii. 13–16 268
iii. 1–10 269
iii. 11–15 270
iv. 1–3 270
iv. 4–11 271
iv. 12, 13 272
v. 1–16 273
v. 17–20 274
v. 21–27 275
vi. 1–12 275
vi. 13, 14 276
vii. 1–7 277
vii. 8–15 278
vii. 16, 17 279
viii. 1–5, 7–10 279
viii. 11–14 280
ix. 1–3 280

AMOS PAGE
ix. 4–8 a 281
ix. 8 b–13 282
ix. 14, 15 283

JONAH
i. 1–10 409
i. 11–17 410
ii. 1–8 410
ii. 9, 10 411
iii. 1–10 411
iv. 1–5 411
iv. 6–11 412

MICAH
vii. 18–20 384

HABAKKUK
i. 12, 13 381
ii. 1–4 382

ZEPHANIAH
iii. 9 383

ZECHARIAH
xiv. 9 384

MALACHI
i. 11 383
ii. 5 382
ii. 6, 7 383
ii. 10 382
iv. 2 382

WISDOM OF SOLOMON
i. 1–12 248
i. 13–16 249
ii. 1–5 249
ii. 6–24 250
iii. 1–3 250
iii. 4–6 251
iv. 1, 2, 7–13 251
iv. 20 252
v. 1–14 252
v. 15 253
vi. 1–11 253
vi. 12–25 254
vii. 1, 3–19 255
vii. 20–30 256
viii. 1 256
viii. 2–11 257
viii. 12–21 258
ix. 1–8 258
ix. 9–18 259
xi. 21–23 242

WISDOM OF SOLOMON PAGE
xi. 24–26 243
xii. 1 243
xiii. 1 243
xiii. 2–13 244
xiii. 14–19 245
xiv. 1–11 245
xiv. 12–21, 27–29 246
xiv. 30, 31 247
xv. 1–3 247

ECCLESIASTICUS
Prologue 67, 68
i. 1–8 68
i. 9–20 69
ii. 1–6 72
ii. 7 69
ii. 8–18 70
iii. 17–24 75
iv. 1–10 91
iv. 11–19 73
iv. 20–28 87
iv. 29, 31 92
v. 4–6 83
vi. 14–17 93
vi. 18–23 73
vi. 24–37 74
vii. 1–3 92
vii. 8, 9 82
vii. 11 92
vii. 14, 18 93
vii. 20, 21 92
vii. 32–36 91
viii. 1–13 96
viii. 14–19 97
ix. 10–12, 14–16 97
x. 6–8 85
x. 10–18, 20–31 86
xi. 1–3 86
xi. 4–6 87
xi. 7, 8 93
xi. 11–23 100
xi. 24–28 101
xiii. 1–3, 15–21 99
xiii. 22, 23 100
xiv. 3–14 101
xiv. 15–19 102
xv. 11–20 85
xvi. 11–13 83
xvi. 14–23 84
xvi. 24–30 105
xvii. 1–13 105
xvii. 14–32 106
xviii. 1–10 106
xviii. 11–14 107

Ecclesiasticus	page
xviii. 15	93
xviii. 16, 17	94
xix. 13–16	91
xix. 20–24	76
xx. 6	93
xx. 9–12	94
xx. 18	90
xx. 22, 23	88
xx. 30, 31	94
xxi. 2, 3	94
xxii. 21, 22	93
xxii. 27	89
xxiii. 1–3, 7–11	89
xxiii. 12, 13	90
xxiv. 1, 2	79
xxiv. 3–20	80
xxiv. 21–34	81
xxvi. 16	94
xxvi. 17, 29	95
xxvii. 1, 2, 9	95
xxvii. 16–21	93
xxvii. 25–27	92
xxviii. 1–9	92
xxviii. 12–26	90
xxix. 21–25, 27	102
xxx. 14–17, 21–24	102
xxx. 25	103
xxxi. 1–11	103
xxxi. 12–20, 25, 26	97
xxxi. 27–31	98
xxxii. 1–6	98
xxxii. 14, 15	95
xxxii. 19	94
xxxiii. 7–13	108
xxxiii. 14, 15	109
xxxiv. 13	70
xxxiv. 14–17	71
xxxiv. 18–26	82
xxxv. 1–5, 12–16	82
xxxvii. 7–11	98
xxxvii. 12–16	99
xxxviii. 24–34	77
xxxix. 1, 2	77
xxxix. 3–11	78
xxxix. 12–21, 32, 33	109
xxxix. 34, 35	110
xl. 1–4	103
xl. 5–10	104
xl. 18–27	71
xl. 28–30	102
xli. 1–4	104
xli. 16–24	88
xlii. 1–7	88
xlii. 8	89

Ecclesiasticus	page
xlii. 15–25	110
xliii. 1–21	111
xliii. 22–33	112
li. 1–16	113
li. 17–30	114
1 Maccabees	
i. 1–8	664
i. 9–25	665
i. 26–28	666
i. 29–32	667
i. 33–45	668
i. 46–64	669
ii. 1–18	676
ii. 19–38	677
ii. 39–48	678
ii. 49–64	679
ii. 65–70	680
iii. 1–7	731
iii. 8–24	732
iii. 25–36	733
iii. 37–50	734
iii. 51–60	735
iv. 1–10	735
iv. 11–25	736
iv. 26–32	737
iv. 33–39	738
iv. 40–57	739
iv. 58, 59	740
vi. 1–15	744
vi. 16, 17, 43–46, 61	745
vi. 62, 63	746
vii. 4–9	746
vii. 10–20	747
vii. 21–37	748
vii. 38–50	749
viii. 1–12	750
viii. 13–23	751
viii. 24–32	752
ix. 1	752
ix. 2–16	753
ix. 17–22	754
ix. 23–31	756
x. 60–66	758
xii. 39–41	759
xii. 42–53	760
xiii. 1	760
xiii. 2–17	761
xiii. 18–30	762
xiii. 49–52	763
xiv. 4	766
xiv. 5–15	767
xv. 32–36	764
xv. 38–41	765

1 Maccabees	page
xvi. 1–10	765
xvi. 11–17	766
2 Maccabees	
iv. 7–12	662
iv. 13–17, 22–26	663
vi. 18–23	670
vi. 24–31	671
vii. 1–4	671
vii. 5–18	672
vii. 19–30	673
vii. 31–41	674

THE END

OXFORD: HORACE HART
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY